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COLLECTIONS
OF THE
Virginia Historical Society.

New Series.

VOL. III.

Virginia Historical Society,
Richmond

Robert F. Wyndham

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WM. ELLIS JONES,
PRINTER,
RICHMOND, VA.



THE
OFFICIAL RECORDS
OF
Robert Dinwiddie,

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY
OF VIRGINIA, 1751-1758,

Now First Printed from the Manuscript

IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE

Virginia Historical Society,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

R. A. BROCK,

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society.

VOL. I.



RICHMOND, VA.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
MDCCCLXXXIII.

Flatiron Hotel
Cattaraugus Mountain
July 10th 1881.

W. A. Brock Esq
Cor. Secy, Virg. Hist. Society
Richmond, Va.

Dear Sir.

On hearing
that the "Lionel's Papers"
would be sold at auction
in London, I requested Mr
J. G. Morgan, my friend
and banker there, to purchase
them, by telegram to say,
I learn that this kind service
have been successful.

The documents embrace
a very interesting period

Autumn H. Clark \$45.00 (9 vols)

in our Colonial History.
extending from 1752 to 1757,
with many letters of Washington.

Believing that they
will prove a valuable
acquisition to your Society,
I present them to it, and
avail myself of this occasion
to renew the assurances of
my deep interest in its
prosperity.

With sincere regards

W. B. Carrum

PREFATORY NOTE.

These valuable records, though never before published, have been, on several occasions, consulted by historians. They were doubtless accessible to Chalmers; and Sparks (who has been followed by other American authors), in his *Writings of Washington*, acknowledges his indebtedness to them. But his examination, it is apprehended, was only superficial, and does not seem to have been impartial.

The manuscripts, as at present constituted, are comprised in five folio volumes; the first four containing the records of the administration of Governor Dinwiddie—being copies of his official letters, addresses, reports, etc.; and the fifth, original letters of Washington, complementary thereto. These last had been dispersed in England as autograph memorials, but were collected and replaced with the records by their late possessor, Henry Stevens, Esquire, F. S. A. At the auction sale of the first portion of his library, in London, July, 1881, these papers were, with the enlightened consideration characteristic of William W. Corcoran, Esquire, purchased by him, and presented to this Society, of which he is a vice-president. He has further liberally contributed towards the cost of their publication. In memorial of his generosity his portrait and letter of presentation accompany this volume.



INTRODUCTION.

The period of the accession of Robert Dinwiddie as the executive of the colony of Virginia was one of anxiety and momentous presage in its history, and the dignity of Lieutenant-Governor, at this critical exigency, was conferred upon him in royal recognition of the singular ability, zeal, and fidelity exhibited by him in previous positions of governmental trust. The Dinwiddie^a is an ancient Scotch family of historic mention. On the "Ragman's Roll,"^b A. D., 1296, appears the name of Alleyn Dinwithie, the progenitor, it is said, of the Dinwiddies who were long seated, as chief proprietors, on lands called after them, in the parish of Applegarth, Annandale, Dumfries-shire.^c Thomas, the chief of the clan, was slain in Dinwiddie Tower in 1503, by the Jardines, and to the same agency was ascribed the assassination of the Laird of Dinwiddie in the streets of Edinburgh in 1512. Among those who gave allegiance to England in 1547 were the Laird of Dunwoody and forty-four

^a The family arms, as borne by Governor Dinwiddie, were: Per fesse, in chief, or, a landscape, trees, etc., thereon an archer shooting with a bow and arrow at a stag, passant, regardant, all ppr. in base, or, on the dexter, a castle and flag, and on the sinister, rocks, between them the sea, on it a ship sailing with one mast, all ppr. *Crest*—An eagle with wings endorsed and inverted, and holding in the dexter claw a Guinea pig. *Motto*: *Ubi libertas ibi patria*. This is the motto also of the Baillie and Hugar families, and was that inscribed by the refugee parliamentarian Ludlow upon his cottage in Switzerland.

^b The "Ragman's Roll" was the list of Barons and men of note, who subscribed submission to Edward I, in 1296, when that sovereign invaded Scotland and despoiled it of historical records and of the sacred coronation stone, which last is still preserved in London.—*Sir Walter Scott's History of Scotland*, i, pp. 66, 162.

^c Governor Dinwiddie received, October 4, 1758, a "Burgess ticket," with the "freedom of the Burgh of Dumfries."

followers.^d The immediate ancestors of Governor Dinwiddie were denizens of Glasgow, and had been, for some generations probably, merchants in honorable esteem, as was his father, Robert Dinwiddie.^e His mother was also of an old Glasgow family of the same calling. She was Sarah, the daughter of Matthew Cumming, who was Baillie of the city in 1691, 1696 and 1699, and the owner of the lands of Carderock in the contiguous parish of Cadder.^f The son, Robert Dinwiddie, was born in 1693, at Germiston, a seat purchased by his father in 1690. He was disciplined in the counting-house, and was probably for a time a merchant in Glasgow. He was appointed, December 1, 1727, a collector of the Customs in the Island of Bermuda, which position he held under successive commissions, until April 11, 1738, when, in acknowledgment of his vigilance and zeal in the discharge of official duty, in the detecting and exposing a long practiced system of fraud in the collection of the Customs of the West India Islands, he received the appointment of "Surveyor-General of Customs of the southern ports of the Continent of America."

He was named, as his predecessors had been, a member of the respective councils of the American Colonies. This mandate was recognized by Governor Gooch, of Virginia, (in which colony Dinwiddie appears to have fixed his chief residence,) but was resisted by the Councillors, who, jealous of interference with their prerogatives, refused to allow him to sit with them, and transmitted a remonstrance to the King for his exclusion.^g

The controversy was decided by the Board of Trade, in May,

d McDowell's History of Dumfries, p. 247.

e In 1737, Sarah Gartshorn, relict of Lawrence, brother of Robert Dinwiddie (the father of the Governor) was put on the rolls of pensioners of Hutcheson Hospital. Both he and his son Matthew are among the "merchants in Glasgow, and forraign traders connected with shipping, and who, in 1778, entered in an agreement for the relief of poor decayed mariners." (*History of Merchants' House of Glasgow*, p. 602). They may have been partners, ruined together in the mercantile depression of Glasgow in 1725.—*Memorandum of J. O. Mitchell, Esq'r, Glasgow*.

f Several pieces of silver plate, with the Dinwiddie and Cumming arms impaled, purchased at the sale of the personal effects of the Governor in 1757, by Colonel Wilson Cary, of "Ceelys," are now in the possession of a descendant of the last—Wilson Miles Cary, Esq'r, Baltimore, Md.

g Chalmers' Introduction, ii, pp. 199, 200.

1742, advising that the royal purpose should be enforced, in opposition to claims dangerous because they were new.

Dinwiddie was specially commissioned, August 17, 1743, with the designation of "Inspector-General," to examine into the duties of the Collector of Customs of the Island of Barbadoes, and in the discharge of this trust, exposed to the English government an enormous defalcation in the revenues there.^b In 1749 he appears to have resided in London as a merchant, engaged in trade with the colonies.ⁱ

He was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, July 20, 1751, and with his wife and two daughters, Elizabeth and Rebecca,^j arrived in the colony November 20th, following.

He was warmly welcomed, as the records evidence, with expressions of respect and regard, but in a little while gave offence by declaring the dissent of the King to certain acts which his more insinuating predecessor, Gooch,^k had approved. Governor Din-

^k The dates of the several appointments of Governor Dinwiddie have been derived from an inspection of the original commissions, obligingly forwarded with other documents to the editor from London, by Mrs. M. A. Dinwiddie, relict of the late General Gilbert Hamilton Dinwiddie, Commissary-General of the British Army, whose warm interest in the present publication, and continued kind offices in essential information, and in photographs of the portraits of the Governor, and of his daughters (in her possession), are gratefully acknowledged. The portrait of the Governor is noble in its expression of earnest purpose, candor, and benignity, whilst that of the daughters, who are depicted at the ages apparently of sixteen and twelve years respectively, evince that the original, by "Allan Ramsay," is a work of art, of exquisite execution in its details and accessories.

ⁱ Among the documents referred to in the preceding note, was a bill of sale, dated April 3, 1749, to "Robert Dinwiddie, Esq'r, of London, merchant," of one-eighth part of the "Warren Frigate, 300 tons burthen, James Nivin, Master," from Andrew Pringle, for the consideration of £193 18s.

^j Among the documents submitted by Mrs. Dinwiddie, is a certificate, dated September 5, 1758, admitting Miss Rebecca Dinwiddie "to the privileges of a Burgess of the town of Renfrew, Scotland."

^k It may be of interest to note that another of the lineage of Governor Gooch, and bearing the same Christian name, preceded him as a resident of the colony. At Temple Farm, the country residence of

widdie, finding that the regulations governing the patenting of lands were but little regarded, and that a practice had long prevailed of securing the possession and use of lands by warrants of survey, without the entering of patents,¹ by which more than a million of acres were unpatented, and the royal revenue from the Quit-rents seriously defrauded—with the advice of the Council, in an endeavor to correct the abuse, and by the exaction of a fee of a pistole on every patent issued, incurred yet greater animosity.

The House of Burgesses unavailingly remonstrated against this exercise of the royal prerogative, and, in 1754, sent Peyton Randolph, (then Attorney-General of the colony,) to England, as its agent, with a salary of £2,500, with a petition to the King for relief from the fee. The decision of the Board of Trade was virtually in favor of Governor Dinwiddie, though their instructions were at first singularly indefinite. This difference, when harmony in council and concert of action were so essential, was unfortunate. The aggrandizing policy in North America, of the French—who asserted their claim to the whole Mississippi valley, in virtue of primal rights of discovery and occupation under the explorations of Marquette, La Salle and others—was a constant menace to English colonization. In every treaty between the two competing Powers, the territorial limits of France had been left undecided. To that fatal treaty between Charles I. and Louis XIII., by which “was restored to France, absolutely and without demarcation of limits, all the places possessed by the English, in New France, Lacadie and Canada, particularly Port Royal, Quebec and Cape Breton,” holds

Governor Spotswood, near Yorktown, Va., within the structure known as the “Temple,” is the tomb of Major William Gooch, (who died October 29, 1655, aged twenty-nine,) bearing the arms of Gooch of Norfolk, (of which family was the Governor,) as follows:

Paly of right, ar. and sa. a chev. of the first, betw. three dogs of the second, spotted of the field. *Crest*—A greyhound passant ar. spotted sa. and collared of the last.

¹Some interesting illustrations of such tenure, as to the grants to the Loyal, and to the Greenbrier Companies, may be found in *Call's (Va.) Reports*, iv., pp. 21-32, 196-213. The memorable case of *Hite et al. v. Fairfax et al.*, is also there reported, pp. 42-83.

McPherson, may be ascribed the subsequent troubles with France.^m From 1690, the colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia, were engaged in almost unremitting hostilities with the savages on their borders, instigated by the French in the North, and the Spaniards in the South. The intent of the French to link their possessions in Louisiana, and on the St. Lawrence, by a chain of forts on the Ohio, was manifest. Governor Dinwiddie, viewing with alarm their encroachments, at the close of October, 1753, dispatched Major George Washington, then only twenty-one years of age, to M. Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, the Commandant of the fort on the Ohio, to demand by whose authority an armed force had crossed the Lakes, and to urge a speedy and peaceable departure. The mission, accomplished under many hardships, was ineffectual, and Governor Dinwiddie immediately instituted the most energetic and wide-spread efforts for defence. His vigilance, zeal and activity were signal. Though suffering from the debilitating effects of a stroke of paralysis, the records herewith presented, evidence a personal activity for the public good which would have been creditable to one of physical capacity the most favored. He promptly reported the impending danger to the English government, and to the executives of the several colonies, urging immediate and effectual measures of resistance, and praying their assistance. He had but meagre response in America, but in the course of the year 1754 was aided with a grant of £20,000, arms, and ordnance stores from Great Britain. The money was ordered to be reimbursed from the revenue of the colony derived from the export duty of two shillings per hogshead on tobacco. The English ministry perceiving from the unfortunate events of 1754, that expedients were fruitless, and that no effective conjoined action of the American colonies could be hoped for, determined on an offensive policy by sea and land, and early in 1755, Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn were sent with a powerful fleet into the North American seas, to intercept the reinforcements of France; and Braddock, with the appointment of Commander-in-chief, was sent to Virginia, with two regular regiments. This last was a success which had been persistently solicited by Governor Dinwiddie, but which now, unfortunately, availed not. However, the disas-

m Chalmers, ii., p. 372.

trous defeat of Braddock inspired the colonists with such alarm that their reviving martial spirit found expression in the organization of companies for defence. Their ardor was stimulated from the pulpit, and several of such stirring appeals from the eloquent Samuel Davies, "the father of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia," are incorporated in his published sermons. The Assembly voted £40,000 for the service, and the Virginia regiment was enlarged to sixteen companies, and the command given to Washington. He had scarcely completed a tour of inspection of the mountain outposts before he was called to arrest the horrors of a savage invasion of the frontiers of Augusta county. The terror inspired by the atrocities committed influenced the Assembly, in 1756, to direct the building of a line of forts from the Potomac river through the Alleghany Mountains to the borders of North Carolina. The construction of these, with the constantly demanded service of the Virginia troops in the protection of the frontiers from the Indians, debarred them for a time from participation in the campaigns in the North against the French, and the futile expedition under Major Andrew Lewis against the Indian towns on the west of the Ohio, known as the Sandy Creek Expedition, was the most pretentious offensive operation of the colony during the year.ⁿ The Earl of Loudon^o arrived in America in July, with the appointment of Governor of Virginia, and a commission as Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, but he was never in the colony, and Dinwiddie continued in the control of its affairs. He appears to have so met the varied and onerous duties of his trust as to have commanded repeatedly the thankful commendation of the colonial clergy and Assembly, and of the English ministry.

ⁿ Among the officers in the expedition were Captains Peter Hog, Wm. Preston, John Smith, Archibald Alexander, Obadiah Woodson, James Overton, and David Stewart, Commissary. It was accompanied by a party of friendly Cherokees, commanded by Captain Richard Pearis. For accounts of the expedition see *Virginia Historical Register*, iv, pp. 143-7, and v, pp. 20-24.

^o John Campbell, born 1705; succeeded his father, Hugh, as Fourth Earl of Loudon, November, 1731; arrived in America, July, 1756; returned to England in 1757; Lieutenant-General in 1758; General in 1770; died April 27, 1782.

The year 1757 was as uneventful in Virginia as its predecessor had been, and at its close, Governor Dinwiddie, worn out with fatigue, was, at his own request, relieved from his arduous station. He sailed for England in January, 1758, after receiving voted testimonials of the regard of the Council and of the municipal authorities of Williamsburg, the seat of government. By the Council, also, he was charged with the delivery to the great Pitt, then at the head of the English ministry, of an address of thanks for his generous course towards the colonies, and with the negotiation of some important interests of Virginia.^p The administration of Governor Dinwiddie had been a peculiarly trying one. His disputes with the Assembly, and his difficulties with Washington, have, through the prejudiced representations of some writers, left an unpleasant impression of his character on the American mind, which has been allowed to veil virtues which would otherwise have commanded undivided esteem and regard. An attempt has been made to blacken his memory with the crime of dishonesty, in the charge of misappropriation, to his own use, of funds entrusted to him for the public service—a calumny which rests alone upon the unsupported statements of his enemies. In all public expenditures he appears to have acted in conjunction with, and by authority of a committee appointed by the Council, and his reports of the disposition of the funds received from England, as indicated by the records, must have been systematically regular.

It should not be forgotten that the government of Virginia was bestowed on him as the meed of singular integrity and vigilance in previous stations; that he was the warm friend of religion, and, withal, entirely tolerant of all mere differences of creed; that he sought the enforcement of morality, and was the patron of knowledge and education. The library of the ancient seat of learning, William and Mary College, until its destruction by fire, during our late internecine war, preserved many tokens of his generosity, each marked with his book-plate. Another memo-

^p Among them, as stated in the manuscript Letter Book of James Abercromby, in the possession of the editor (and more particularly noted on a succeeding page) were the re-imbursement from the Quittrents of the depleted fund, from the duty on tobacco, and the provision by Parliament, of measures for the protection of the colony in the manufacture of iron, and in salt-making.



rial still exists in Virginia—the silver mace presented by him to the corporation of Norfolk.¹

¶ It is now in the custody of Hon. John B. Whitehead, President of the Exchange National Bank of Norfolk, who has kindly presented a photograph of it to the Virginia Historical Society. A description and cut of the mace, contributed by the late Hon. Thomas H. Wynne, may be found in the *American Historical Record*, vol. iii., no. 36, December, 1874, p. 538. It is of silver, in six sections, which screw together, making a length of 43 inches. The staff is 28 inches long, 2½ inches in diameter and elaborately ornamented. The bowl, 7 inches in height by 8½ in diameter, bears in panels the arms of Great Britain. It is surmounted with a crown formed by four bands, supporting upon their top intersection a globe and cross. Around the base of the bowl, in curved line, is the inscription: "The gift of Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Lieut.-Governor of Virginia, to the Corporation of Norfolk, 1753." This interesting relic of royalty was carried by the Mayor of Norfolk in the procession which paraded its streets on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of its incorporation, September 15, 1836, when the late William Maxwell, LL.D., delivered a suitable address. It was again borne by the municipal authorities of Norfolk at the sesqui-centennial celebration of the landing at Jamestown, held on the Island, May, 13, 1857. Another example of the mace—that used by the Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia until the opening of the struggle for freedom, is on deposit in the Cabinet of the Virginia Historical Society. At the close of the Revolution, when all symbols of royalty were peculiarly obnoxious, the Assembly, by resolution, ordered it to be sold, and the proceeds therefrom to be deposited in the State treasury. It was

The faithful service of Governor Dinwiddie appears to have been duly recognized in Great Britain; and Chalmers, the authoritative colonial annalist, warmly and repeatedly commends his "vigilant" and "able" administration in Virginia. Abercromby, the agent of the colony, writing March 6, 1758, from London, to Richard Corbin, Receiver-General of the colony, a member of the Council, and the friend and patron of Washington,^r says,

purchased by Colonel William Heth, an officer of the Revolution (and the great-uncle of the present owner, Major-General Harry Heth, late of the Confederate States Army) who, appreciating its historic significance, to insure its preservation, adapted its form to one of utility, and had the representative portions of it fashioned into a drinking cup of hospitable dimensions. The bowl of the cup, which is symmetrical, is five inches in diameter by four in height. It bears in ornate stamped relief the following armorial insignia, in succession around its circumference: The well known arms of the London Company of Virginia (without supporters), with the motto *En dat Virginia quartam*; the crest of the same; an escutcheon bearing a female figure, standing, holding with her right hand a spear near its pointed head, and leaning with her left upon a shield bearing the human countenance, (*Quære*: May not this figure have been partially suggestive to George Wythe in his design for the arms of Virginia, submitted in 1776?) with the motto, *Virtute et labore florent Respublicæ*; a crest complementary to the last—a falcon passant. The stem of the cup is one and a fourth inches in diameter, with proportionate moulded ornamentation at its junctures with the bowl and base, the last, four and a half inches in diameter, with ornamented rim nearly an inch in height, bears on its top surface the arms of Great Britain. The entire height of the cup is seven and a half inches. The base, it is apparent, formerly surmounted the bowl, and doubtless bore, originally, a banded crown similar to that of the Norfolk mace. The material is silver, with gilded bowl and base. The length of the mace must originally have approximated four feet.

The editor held, in 1881, some correspondence with Hon. Charles Clarke, Speaker of the Canadian Assembly, as to the use of the mace by the several Assemblies of the American Colonies, as it still obtains in the British House of Commons, and it was developed that the mace was used, at least in the colonies of New York, South Carolina and Virginia, and that the respective symbols in question were still in existence.

^r It was through the influence of Richard Corbin, as a member of the

"your good opinion of your late governor is fully confirmed by the kind reception he has met with from the Ministry." He makes use of similar expressions also to John Blair, President of the Council, and who was the acting governor of the colony until the arrival, on the 7th of June, 1758, of Governor Fauquier. Abercromby also makes frequent later acknowledgments of essential aid received by him, from Governor Dinwiddie, in his solicitations of the English ministry in behalf of the colony.[†] These services and many others for his personal friends in Virginia, were continuously rendered by the amiable and benevolent old man when his infirmities had become such that all physical exertion was painful.[‡]

He died at Clifton, Bristol, whither he had gone for the benefit of the baths, July 27, 1770, and was interred in the parish church there,[§] with much "pomp and circumstance."^v His honorable

Council, that Washington received his commission as lieutenant-colonel in 1754. It was transmitted with the following laconic note:

DEAR GEORGE:

I enclose you your commission. God prosper you with it.

Your friend,

RICHARD CORBIN.

—*Neill's Fairfaxes in England and America*, pp. 136-7.

^sMS. Letter-Book. Governor Dinwiddie appears to have aided in the collection of the quota of the colony, of the grants by parliament in 1757 of £50,000, and in 1759 of £200,000, to reimburse the American colonies for advances made by them for the public service. Abercromby remitted to the colony from these grants, respectively, £32,268, 19s. May 8, 1760, and £20,546 on July 3, following.

[†]The son of President John Blair—John Blair, the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Virginia, and Judge of the United States Supreme Court, was the guest, for a time, and protégé of Governor Dinwiddie, whilst pursuing his legal studies in England, as also was a son of Colonel Richard Corbin.

[‡]The editor is indebted to Rev. Beaver H. Blacker, M. A., Clifton, Bristol, England, the learned and accomplished editor of the *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, (in which valuable serial, in response to a query from the writer, it appeared in the number for April, 1885, Part xviii., No. 749), for the epitaph of Governor Dinwiddie. It is inscribed on a large mural slab, now in one of the porches of the parish church

of Clifton, whither it was transferred from the old church. The epitaph is as follows:

"In this church are deposited the remains of
Robert Dinwiddie, Esq'r., formerly Governor of Virginia,
who deceased July 27th, 1770, in the 78th year of his age.

The annals of that country will testify
with what judgment, activity and zeal he exerted himself
in the publick cause,
when the whole North American Continent was involved
in a French and Indian War.

His rectitude of conduct in his Government,
and integrity in other publick employments,
add a lustre to his character, which was revered while he lived,
and will be held in estimation while his name survives.
His more private virtues, and the amiable social qualities he possess'd,
were the happiness of his numerous friends and relations,
many of whom shared his bounty;
all lament his loss.

As his happy dispositions for domestic life
were best known to his affectionate wife and daughters,
they have erected this monument
to the memory of his conjugal and paternal love,
which they will ever cherish and revere
with that piety and tenderness he so greatly merited.

Farewell, blest shade! no more with grief oppress,
Propitious angels guide thee to thy rest!"

v As a curious picture of ceremonials of the period the bill of the attendant funeral expenses, from the original, in the possession of Mrs. M. A. Dinwiddie, London, it is believed, will be deemed to merit insertion here:

"Bristol, Aug'st 1, 1770.

"The Executors of Robert Dinwiddie, Esq'r.,		Dr.		
To Joseph Haythorne.			£.	S. D.
The Inside Coffin, lined,			1.	1. 0.
To a Lead Coffin,			6.	6. 0.
To a Superfine Shroud, whole sheets, Cap, Pillow and Face Cloth,			3.	3. 0.
" 5¼ yd's rich black Sattin, @ 12s.			3.	9. 0.
" Sattin Ribband,			0.	1. 4.
" The Rev. Mr. Taylor, p'r List Gloves,			0.	3. 6.
" Clark and Sexton's, Do.,			0.	7. 0.
" Crape Hatbands, Do., @ 4s.,			0.	8. 0.
" 2 Gentleman's Black Clokes, @ 2s. 6d.,			0.	5. 0.
" 2 Crape Hatbands, Do., @ 4s.,			0.	8. 0.
" 2 p'r Gloves, @ 3s. 6d.,			0.	7. 0.

and stainless record and personal virtues were publicly attested.*

To 6 Underbearers' Clokes, @ 2s. 6d.,	0. 15. 0.
" 6 Crape Hat-bands, @ 4s.,	1. 4. 0.
" 6 p'r Common Gloves, @ 1s. 6d.,	0. 9. 0.
" 4 Coachman's Clokes, @ 2s. 6d.,	0. 10. 0.
" 4 Crape Hat-bands, @ 2s. 6d.,	0. 10. 0.
" 4 p'r Gloves, @ 1s. 6d.,	0. 6. 0.
" 5 Servant's Clokes, @ 2s. 6d.,	0. 12. 6.
" 5 Crape Hat-bands, @ 4s.,	1. 0. 0.
" 5 p'r Gloves, @ 1s. 6d.,	0. 7. 6.
" Dressing 4 Mules, @ 3s.	1. 0. 0.
" 4 Clokes, @ 2s. 6d.,	0. 10. 0.
" 4 Crape Hat-bands, @ 3s. 6d.,	0. 14. 0.
" 4 p'r Gloves, @ 1s. 6d.,	0. 6. 0.
" 6 p'r Wom's Black Kid [Gloves], @ 2s.,	0. 12. 0.
" A Compleat Set of Feathers for the Hearse and 6 Horses,	3. 3. 0.
" Velvet Covering for ye Hearse and 6 Horses,	1. 16. 0.
" Black Cloths to cover 8 Horses,	0. 8. 0.
" 2 Stools and Stool Cloth,	0. 2. 6.
" The best Velvet Pall,	0. 5. 0.
Paid for Brass Plate and Engraving,	1. 11. 6.
P'd 6 Men for bringing down the Corps,	0. 6. 0.
" 2 " at the Custom House,	0. 5. 0.
" for Carriages,	3. 10. 0.
" Braun [<i>sic</i> ?],	0. 2. 0.
" the Clarke of Clifton,	3. 15. 6.
4 p'r Shamey Gloves, @ 3s. 6d.,	£46. 5. 4.
P'd the Carpenter for the use of the Board, and assisting to lay out ye Corpse,	0. 14. 0.
	£47. 4. 4.

"JOS. HAYTHORNE."

[Labelled]

"My Father's Funeral.

Rebecca Hamilton."

w "On Saturday last, died at his Lodgings in Clifton, Bristol, Robert Dinwiddie, Esq'r., rather submitting to the weight of years (being upwards of eighty) than to the many infirmities with which human nature is most commonly assailed. In early life he was appointed Collector of the Customs in the Island of Bermuda, and at the time when the Situation of the revenues in the Carribee Islands were in great disorder, he

To the campaign of 1758, under Forbes,^x Virginia contributed two thousand men, divided into two regiments, with Washington (still in chief command), as Colonel of the first, and William Byrd, of "Westover,"^y (the third of the name in lineal succession in Virginia), of the second. These troops nobly sustained the reputation which they had so valorously earned in the ill-fated expedition of Braddock, and it was largely due to their bravery, admits Chalmers,^z that the French were driven from Fort Duquesne, which was taken possession of November 25, repaired and re-named Fort Pitt, in compliment to the Prime Minister.

In a preliminary engagement with the French of a reconnoitering party under Major Grant, a detachment of one hundred and sixty-two Virginians, in command of Major Andrew Lewis, gallantly participated. Of their number sixty-two were killed

was sent, charged with the Commission of Inspector there; his uprightness, integrity and abilities in the execution of this trust, procured him the place of Surveyor General of the Customs in the Southern district of North America, and as a further reward of his faithful services, he was, in the year 1750, appointed Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Virginia, over which he presided with great reputation many years, until he obtained leave to retire from the weight of public business; his conduct and behaviour in the several stations of his public and private life, gained him universal reputation and esteem, and as he was ever ready to give assistance to the distressed, so he always gave it with a Sincerity and Chearfulness that became an honest, good heart; in short, he was a good man, and a good Christian."—*London Chronicle*, "from Saturday, July 28, to Thursday, July 31, 1770."

^x John Forbes, born at Petincrief, Fifeshire, Scotland, 1710; exchanging the medical for the military profession he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel of the Scotch Greys in 1745; on the staff of Lord Stair, and Generals Ligonier and Campbell, in the German war; appointed Colonel of the Seventy-first Foot; acted as Quartermaster-General of the army under the Duke of Cumberland; appointed Brigadier-General December 28, 1758, and assigned to the command of the forces in America. After the investment of Fort Pitt he concluded a treaty with the Indian tribes on the Ohio. He died at Philadelphia, March 11, 1759.

^y Among the remaining officers of the regiment were: Lieutenant-Colonel George Mercer, Major William Peachy, and Captains Robert Munford, Thomas Cocke, Hancock Eustace, John Field, John Posey, Thomas Fleming, John Rootes and Samuel Meredith.

^z *Introduction*, ii., p. 355.

and two wounded, and of the eight officers present, five were slain, a sixth wounded and the seventh captured. Captain Thomas Bullitt, the remaining officer (Major Grant, the commanding officer, having fallen into the hands of the enemy), with fifty Virginians, defended the baggage with great valor and were instrumental in saving the remnant of the force. The war was prosecuted at the north with vigor, and in the succeeding summer of 1759, Niagara and Crown Point fell into the possession of the British Crown, and on the 18th of September, Quebec surrendered to the gallant Wolfe. The treaty of Fontainebleau, in November, 1762, put an end to the war (which it is estimated had cost the British empire the loss of the lives of more than twenty thousand adults), and the English were supreme in North America.





DINWIDDIE,
OF
Germiston, Near Glasgow, Scotland,^{aa}
A PARTIAL GENEALOGY,

COMPILED FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE MERCHANTS' HOUSE,
GLASGOW,^{bb} FAMILY RECORDS, ETC.

Robert¹ Dinwiddie, merchant in Glasgow,^{cc} Scotland, and the owner of the contiguous lands of Germiston and Balornoc; *d.* prior to October 6, 1712; *m.* Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew Cumming,^{dd} of an old family of

aa The descendants of John and Susannah (Cresswell) Dunwoody, of Chester county, Pa., in that State, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia, according to Mrs Edwin L. Bomeister, Plainfield, N. J., by tradition in the family, are of the same lineage as Robert Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., of New York city, to whom the editor is indebted for kindly aid, is also of the same race.

bb Extracts from which were very kindly supplied by J. O. Mitchell, Esq., Glasgow.

cc The benefactions of members of the Dinwiddie family to the Merchants' House of Glasgow were repeated. Robert¹ Dinwiddie, in 1681, gave £56, Scots, and his son Robert, Governor of Virginia, "following the laudable example" of his brother Lawrence, of Germiston, who died May 3, 1764, aged sixty-eight years, "bequeathed £50 to the poor of the Merchants' House, which was paid in 1770." (Letter of William H. Hill, Esq., Collector of Merchants' House).

dd Another account states that she was the daughter of Robert Dunlop, of Househill, and fifth in descent from Lady Lillas Graham, sister to the famous Marquis of Montrose.

merchants, of Glasgow, of which he was Baillie in 1691, 1696, and 1699, and owner of the lands of Carderock, in the parish of Cadder, near there.

Issue of Robert¹ and Elizabeth (Cumming) Dinwiddie:

- i. Matthew,² merchant in Glasgow; succeeded to the Germiston and Balornoc lands, but meeting with financial reverses, the estates were adjudicated in 1726, and became the property of the Merchants' House, upon the roll of which he was placed as a hospitaller in 1738.
- ii. Robert,² Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, 1751-1758; *b.* at Germiston 1693; *d.* at Clifton, Bristol, England, July 27, 1770, in the seventy-eighth year of his age; *m.* Rebecca Affleck, and had issue—
 - i. Elizabeth,³ *d.* unmarried October 11, 1773, aged thirty-five years, and was buried in the chancel vault of Clifton Parish Church, near the remains of her father.^{ee}

^{ee}The epitaph, transcribed from a contemporary copy in the autograph of her younger sister, Mrs. Rebecca Hamilton, kindly submitted by Mrs. M. A. Dinwiddie, was as follows:

"EPITAPH IN CLIFTON PARISH CHURCH.

"In the Chancel Vault
 of this Church are deposited the Remains of
 ELIZABETH DINWIDDIE,
 who dyed October 11th, 1773, aged 35 Years.
 She was Daughter of the late
 Robert Dinwiddie, Esq'r,
 Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, by Rebecca, his wife.
 As a Dutiful Daughter,
 A most affectionate Sister,
 A Sincere and Generous Friend,
 She was Esteemed through Life and deeply Lamented
 by all who knew her.
 The Virtues of a Christian adorned her Character,
 and shone most Conspicuous at the hour
 of Death,
 which she met with a Calmness and Fortitude
 worthy of her Piety.
 This Monument, Sacred to her Memory,
 was erected as a Tribute of the most Tender
 and Lasting Affection,
 by her Sister,
 REBECCA HAMILTON."

- ii. Rebecca,³ *m.* August 13, 1771, Archibald Hamilton, Esq'r,^{ff} of the Isle of Man.
- iii. John²^{gg} emigrated to Virginia; a merchant on the Rappahannock river; *m.* Sempha^{hh} Rosa Enfield Mason,ⁱⁱ granddaughter of Colonel George Mason, M. P. *temp.* Charles I, and great-granddaughter of Colonel Gerard Fowke,^{jj} (sixth son of Roger and Mary Fowke, of Gunston Hall, Staffordshire, England,) Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to Charles I, who, with his cousin, Colonel George Mason,^{kk} (the progenitor of George Mason, of "Gunston Hall," Va., and author of the Virginia Bill of Rights,) both Colonels in the royalist army, came to Virginia about 1650, the first becoming a merchant, and acquiring several valuable tracts of land, particularly one of 1,400 acres at Paspatany, on the Potomac river, then

ff It would be a satisfaction to identify this Archibald Hamilton, (whose name seems to warrant the suspicion of affinity) with the ducal house of Hamilton, a representative of which, George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney, was for some forty years the Governor-in-chief of the colony of Virginia, and whose nephew, the celebrated Sir William Hamilton, husband of the famous Lady Emma Hamilton, and son of Lord Archibald Hamilton, was proposed for the same position in 1772.—*Letters of Governor Spotswood*, (Collections of Virginia Historical Society, New Series,) vol. i, note, p. 159.

gg For information of the descendants of John² Dinwiddie, the editor is indebted to Dinwiddie Brazier Phillips, M. D., late surgeon of the United States and the Confederate States navies—Woodville, Rappahannock county, Va.

hh George Fitzhugh, in *De Bow's Review*, New Series, vol. v, No. 1, January, 1861, p. 83, gives* this name as "Amphael."

ii She married, secondly, Jeremiah Bronaugh, of Prince George county, Va., and had issue by him five children—William, John, Mary, Ann, and Elizabeth.

jj His son, Chandler Fowke, settled in King George county, Va., and had issue: Chandler *m.* Miss Harrison—issue: William, John, Thomas; Gerard *m.* Miss Dinwiddie; Richard *m.* Miss Bumbary; Elizabeth *m.* Z. Brazier, (son of Robert Brazier, of Isle of Thanet, Kent county, England)—issue: Sarah Harrison, *m.* John Cannon, (son of L. Cannon, of Ireland,) and had issue: Grandison, Elizabeth, and Edith Harrison Ashmore *m.* William Fowke⁵ Phillips.

kk His son, George Mason, married his cousin Mary, daughter of Colonel Gerard Fowke.

in that portion of Westmoreland which is now Prince George county.

- iv. Lawrence,² *b.* 1697; *d.* May 3, 1764; merchant in Glasgow; Baillie in 1734, 1738, and 1741; Provost 1742-3; one of six commissioners chosen to treat with the rebels in 1745¹¹; bequeathed 200 marks, Scots, to the Merchants' House,^{mm} from whom he repurchased the family lands of Germiston and Balornoc, which are now in the possession of his representative, (but not his descendant,) General David Blair Lockhart, of Germiston; *m.* Elizabeth Kennedy, of Autyfadle.
- v. Janet,³ *m.* Rev. W. McCulloch.
- vi. Mary,² *d.* April 30, 1772, aged sixty-five years; *m.* Andrew Stuart,ⁿⁿ *b.* 1698; *d.* March 31, 1774, and both lie buried in the Paxtang church-yard, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
- vii. Christian, *m.* Rev. — Hamilton.
- viii. Sarah, mentioned in the will of her brother, the Governor.
- ix. A posthumous child, name unknown.
Issue of John² and Sempha Rosa Enfield (Mason) Dinwiddie^{oo}:
 - i. Elizabeth,³ *m.* Colonel Gerard Fowke, son of Chandler and Mary (Tassaker) Fowke, grandson of Gerard and Sarah (Burdett) Fowke, and great-grandson of Colonel Gerard Fowke, the emigrant.
 - ii. Jane,³ *m.* William Waite, Staffordshire, England.
Issue of Colonel Gerard and Elizabeth³ (Dinwiddie) Fowke:
 - i. William,⁴ *m.* Miss Bronaugh.
 - ii. George.⁴

¹¹Maitland Club's *Cochrane Correspondence*, p. 132.

^{mm}*History of Merchants' House*, p. 58.

ⁿⁿAndrew Stuart was, according to the authority of Dr. William H. Egle, the well-known Pennsylvanian historian, and present editor and proprietor of the *Historical Register*, Harrisburg, Pa., (who has kindly supplied the data of his descendants,) the brother of Archibald Stuart, the ancestor of the venerable Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, Staunton, President of the Virginia Historical Society. A partial genealogy of this branch of the family is given in the *History of Augusta County*, Colonel John Lewis Peyton, pp. 308-11.

^{oo}Burke's *Landed Gentry* (1849), i, p. 329, gives: "The Rev. George Wilkins, Rector of St. Michael's, Bristol, *b.* 1743, *m.* 1st Mary, dau. of John Dinwiddie, Esq., by whom (apparently) he had no issue.

- iii. Chandler,⁴ *m.* Miss Frazier, of South Carolina.
- iv. Robert,⁴ *m.* Miss Peachy.
- v. Elizabeth,⁴ *m.* Colonel William Phillips^{pp} (*b.* 1746), of the Revolutionary army, and at the time of his death, in 1797, High Sheriff of Stafford county, Va.
- vi. Sarah,⁴ *m.* Wiley Roy, of Virginia
- vii. Roger.⁴
- viii. Enfield,⁴ *m.* Gabriel Johnston, of Kentucky, and from them is descended Captain James D. Johnston, late of the United States and Confederate States navies, Mobile, Ala.
- ix. Mary,⁴ *m.* — Slaughter.

Issue of Colonel William and Elizabeth⁴ (Fowke) *Phillips* :

- i. Enfield,⁵ *m.* Lewis Ficklen, of Fauquier county, Va.
- ii. Burdett,⁵ *m.* — Jones, and from them is descended Hon. Jefferson Jones, Galveston, Texas.
- iii. Lucy,⁵ *m.* J. L. Fant, of Fauquier county, Va. Issue: Edward,⁶ *m.* Mrs. McQuinn.
- iv. William Fowke,⁵ for thirty or more years clerk of the Court of Chancery of Fauquier county; commissioned Auditor of the United States Treasury for the Post-Office Department by President Pierce; on the secession of Virginia, in April, 1861, he raised two companies of volunteers in the District of Columbia, whose services he proffered to Governor Letcher, of Virginia, by whom he was offered the commission of Colonel, which he declined on the ground of incompetency because of the want of a military education, and insisted upon serving in the ranks; *m.* his cousin, Edith Harrison Ashmore Cannon, a descendant of Chandler and Anne (Harrison) Fowke.

Issue of Lewis and Enfield⁵ (Phillips) *Ficklen* :

- i. William Phillips,⁶ *m.* Miss Martin. Issue: William Lewis,⁷ *m.* Miss Eastham.
- ii. Gustavus.⁶

Issue of Colonel William Fowke⁵ and Edith Harrison Ashmore (Cannon) *Phillips* :

- i. Mary,⁶ *d.* ———.
- ii. William Fowke,⁶ *d.* ———.

pp Son of James Phillips, of Wales; settled in Stafford early in the eighteenth century, and *m.* Miss Griffin.

- iii. Laura,⁶ *m.* William B. Carr, Loudoun county, Va. Issue: William Phillips.⁷
- iv. Dinwiddie Brazier,⁶ M. D., entered the United States navy as Assistant Surgeon in 1847, and the Virginia and Confederate States navies in 1861; Surgeon of the Merrimac during her entire existence, besides acting in the first year of the war as Medical Director of the Wise Legion, and commanding the post at the White Sulphur Springs as Major in that Legion; *m.* Nannie F., daughter of William Walden, of Rappahannock county, Va., and has issue: i, William Ravenel Fowke⁷; ii, Fannie Mason⁷; iii, Nannie Walden.⁷
- v. Virginia Edith,⁶ *m.* Dr. B. J. Hellen, D. C.
- vi. Roberta.⁶
Issue of Wiley and Sarah⁴ (Fowke) Roy:
 - i. Wiley,⁵ *m.* Miss Camm.
 - ii. Richard,⁵ *m.* Miss Beverley.
- iii. Lucy,⁵ *m.* Colonel Enoch Mason, Stafford county, Va., and had issue:
 - i. Jack,⁶ *m.* Eliza Roy.
 - ii. Enoch,⁶ *m.* Eliza Mason, of Maryland.
 - iii. Roy,⁶ *m.* Susan Smith, of Alexandria, Va.
 - iv. Mary,⁶ *m.* William Peyton, Stafford county, Va.
 - v. Alexander,⁶ *m.* Jane Smith, Alexandria, Va.
 - vi. Sarah,⁶ *m.* William Barber, Stafford county, Va.
 - vii. Seddon,⁶ *m.* Virginia B. Hooe.
 - viii. Gerard,⁶ *m.* 1st Isabella Stephenson; 2d, ———, sister of Ex-Governor F. W. M. Holliday, of Virginia.
 - ix. Wellford,⁶ *m.* Miss Sydnor, of Delaware.
 - x. Charles,⁶ *m.* 1st Anna Braxton; 2d, Maria Randolph, granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson.
- Issue of Lawrence² and Elizabeth (Kennedy) Dinwiddie:
 - i. Robert,³ *d.* September 12, 1789.
 - ii. Lawrence,³ *m.* Katherine Campbell, and had issue: i, Robert,⁴ *d.* at Rome, 1819; ii, Elizabeth,⁴ *m.* Dr. Lockhart.
 - iii. Gilbert,³ *d.* May 31, 1764.
 - iv. James.³
 - v. William,³ *m.* Anne, daughter of Dr. Gilbert Hamilton, of Cramond, and Margaret Cragie, of Hall Hill, his wife.

- vi. Jean,³ *d.* prior to 1812.
- vii. Agnes,³ *d.* March 8, 1828.
- viii. Mary,³ *b.* 1746; *d.* 1771.

ix. Rebecca.³

x. Elizabeth.³

Issue of William³ and Anne (Hamilton) Dinwiddie:

- i. Margaret Hamilton⁴ *d.* unmarried.
- ii. Elizabeth⁴ *d.* unmarried.
- iii. Anne⁴ *d.* unmarried.
- iv. Mary⁴ *d.* unmarried.
- v. Gilbert Hamilton,⁴ Commissary-General of the British army, in which he had served in early life under General Pack-ingham at the battle of New Orleans, *m.* Mary Anne King.

vi. Jean⁴ *m.* J. P. Fischer, Esq.

vii. Agnes⁴ *m.* General — Hogg.

Issue of General Gilbert Hamilton⁴ and Mary Anne (King) Dinwiddie:

- i. William⁵ *d.* May 5, 1869, on the west coast of Africa.
- ii. Robert⁵ Captain in the British army.
- iii. Lawrence.⁵
- iv. Gilbert Cragie.⁵
- v. Mary.⁵

vi. Anne Hamilton.⁵

Issue of Andrew and Mary² (Dinwiddie) *Stuart*:

- i. Rev. John³, D. D., *b.* 1740; *m.* Jane O'Kill. He was the last Episcopal missionary to the Mohawks, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; prepared a Mohawk translation of the Church Catechism and a Compendious History of the Bible; a Royalist during the Revolution, he was subjected by the Whigs to much ill-treatment, "his property plundered, and every indignity offered his person." A few years after the peace, he visited Pennsylvania, and was invited by Bishop Griffith to settle in the Diocese of Virginia, but declined. In 1786 he opened an academy at Kingston, Canada, and two years later he went round his "parish," which was then above two hundred miles long. In 1799 the degree of D. D. was conferred on him by his *alma-mater*, the University of Pennsylvania; appointed Chaplain to the garri-

son, and becoming the owner of nearly 4,000 acres of land, his circumstances latterly were prosperous. He died at Kingston in August, 1811. He was of imposing person, being "about six feet four inches in height." His five sons all achieved position.⁹⁹

- ii. James³, *b.* 1742, removed to Virginia.
- iii. Mary³, *b.* 1744.
- iv. Charles³, *b.* 1746, removed to Virginia.
- v. Andrew³, *b.* 1748.
- vi. Elizabeth³, *b.* 1750; *d.* May 1, 1773; buried beside her parents in the old Paxtang church-yard.
- vii. Eleanor³, *b.* May 4, 1753; *d.* February 19, 1830; *m.* Richard *Deyarmond*, *b.* September 1, 1743; *d.* November 17, 1802; both buried in the old Hanover township church-yard.

They had issue:

- i. James⁴, *b.* 1782; *d.* 1812.
- ii. Mary⁴, *b.* 1784; *m.* James McCreight, and left issue.
- iii. Elizabeth⁴, *b.* 1786.
- iv. Eleanor⁴, *b.* 1788.
- v. Andrew Stuart⁴, *b.* 1791; *d.* 1839 at Harrisburg, Pa.; *m.* Eliza R. Chambers, *b.* 1799; *d.* 1880 at Harrisburg, Pa.
- vi. Matilda Dinwiddie⁴, *b.* 1795.

⁹⁹ Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, ed. 1864, ii, pp. 338-340.





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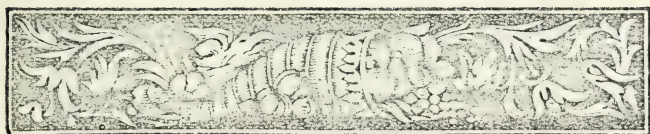
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ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.

In notes 110 and 111, pp. 148 and 151, for *Fort Necessity*, read *Fort Prince George*.

In note 241, p. 443, for *Colonel Alexander Spotswood*, etc., read *Colonel John, son of Alexander Spotswood*, etc.





Dinwiddie Papers.

ADDRESS OF THE CORPORATE AUTHORITIES OF WILLIAMSBURG TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.¹

[20 Nov. 1751.]

SIR :

We, His Majesty's most Dutyfull and Loyal Subjects, The Mayor, Recorder, Alderman and Common Council of the City of Williamsburgh, humbly beg leave to congratulate your Honour upon your safe Arrival into this Collony with your Family, and

¹In a MS. diary kept by John Blair, President of the Council during the years 1751, 1752, in an interleaved almanac for 1751, in the Cabinet of the Virginia Historical Society, the arrival of Governor Dinwiddie is thus recorded: "Nov. 20th—This day ab't Noon we had ye News of Gov'r Dinwiddie's safe arrival at York with his Lady and two Daughters." "21st—Mr. Comiss'y [James Blair, D. D.], Colo. Ludwell and myself went out to meet the Governor and with Colo. Fairfax, Mr. Nelson [William] and the Secretary [Thomas Nelson] (who came up with him from York) attended him to his house. At the entrance of the Town he was complimented by the Mayor and Aldermen, who (w'th the Gent'n) were got together to welcome him, and invited him and the Council to a Dinner they had prepared at Wetherburn's, where we all dined. At the Gov'r's House he produced his Commission with a handsome speech, declaring his purpose of studdying the welfare of the Country, relying on the assistance of the Council, as his Majesty had vouchsafed to appoint him to this care. Colo. Fairfax, Mr. Nelson,

very heartily to welcome you to this City, the Seat of your Government. His Majesty, always good and gracious to his People, could not more agreeably have repaired the Loss We sustained in Our late Governor S'r Will'm Gooch,² than by appointing you, who are so well acquainted with Us, our Laws and Constitutions, to be his Worthy Successor; And We hope that your Administration may be longer, and if possible, more happy than his. Ever since this City has had the Honour of being the Residence of His Majesty's Governors, It has been fortunate in the Enjoyment of their Kind Protection, And We flatter Ourselves that under you Sir, We shall still be preserved in Our Rights and Privileges, and that you will on all Occasions, consistent with the Honour of his Majesty, and the good of this Collony, continue to be Our great Protector and Benefactor. We, on Our Parts

and Myself administered the Oath to the Gov'r; after w^{ch} pursuant to his Instruction, the Council present took the Oaths anew and Mr. Walthoe the Oath of Office. A Proclamation to continue all Officers was order'd, but the Consideration of the Assembly was referr'd to a fuller Board at the Oyer and Ter[miner]."

"22. The Gov'r went back to York yesterday and ret'd this Even'g wth Lady and daughters to ye Attorney's" [Peyton Randolph].

²Sir William Gooch was Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia from 1727 to some time in 1749, the last patent of record in the Virginia Land Office signed by him bearing date June 20th. In the interim between his departure for England and the arrival of Governor Dinwiddie, John Robinson, Thomas Lee and Lewis Burwell, as Presidents of the Council, were successively the acting Governor. William Gooch was born at Yarmouth, England, October 21, 1681, and died December 17th, 1751. He was an officer of superior military talents; served under Marlborough and in the Rebellion of 1715; in 1740 commanded in the unsuccessful attack on Carthagena, where his wounds received, and the climate greatly impaired his health. He was appointed a Brigadier-General in 1746 in the army raised for the invasion of Canada, but declined the office. He was in the same year created a Baronet, made a Major-General in 1747, and returned to England in August, 1749. His administration in Virginia was conciliatory and beneficent. He was greatly beloved by the colonists, and is said to have been the only Colonial Governor in America against whom neither inhabitant nor merchant ever complained. The press in 1878 chronicled the unhappy estrangement of his descendant, Sir Thomas Gooch, the eighth Baronet, from his childless wife, Lady Anne (Sutherland), because of an attempt to deceive him with a spurious heir. Broken in spirit and health, the sorrowful wife, in her death the following year, expiated her offence.

shall study to let no Opportunity escape of demonstrating to the World Our Gratitude and obedience to Our Royal Master, and to you, his Vice-gerent here, and shall contribute as far as it is in Our Power to make the Arduous Task you have undertaken, easy and agreeable.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S REPLY TO THE PRECEDING ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN:

I heartily thank you for your kind congratulatory Address on mine and Families safe Arrival in this Collony and to the City of Williamsburg, the Seat of my Government.

I am much obliged for the good Opinion you conceive of me on my Appointment to be your Governor in the room of S'r Will'm Gooch, Bart. I am very sensible of the many disadvantages I labour under in succeeding a Gentleman of his Merit and Capacity, but as my inclinations are very sincere to do all in my Power for the good and Prosperity of the Collony, I hope by Assiduity and diligence, and the Assistance provided me by the Crown, to make the People happy and myself easy.

You may Gentlemen depend on my real regard for the Supporting the Rights and Privileges of the City of Williamsburg, and therefore on all Occasions you may be assured of every thing in my Power for the continuance and enlargement of them.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT AND MASTERS OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.³

To the Hon'ble Robert Dinwiddie, Esq'r., His Majesty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia:

SIR:

We, His Majesty's most Dutifull and loyal Subjects, the Presi-

³The succession of the Masters or Professors at this early seat of learning, would be a highly interesting addition to the annals of American education. Through the repeated destruction of the college buildings and records by fire, no such complete list is known to be extant.

The President at the period of the text, was Rev. William Stith, the

dent and Masters of the College of William and Mary, humbly beg leave to congratulate your Honour upon your safe Arrival, with your Family in this Dominion.

We most thankfully acknowledge His Majesty's paternal Attention to the Publick Welfare, who, in order to continue and perpetuate the many Blessings we enjoyed under S'r William Gooch's mild and auspicious Government, has been graciously pleased to appoint a Successor of approved Integrity; qualified to repair the great loss we have lately sustained; and to set such a Pattern to future Governors, as may make them prove Blessings to succeeding Generations.

Animated with so delightful a Prospect of Happiness to Us and Our Posterity, We cannot but entertain the pleasing hopes of engaging your Favour and Protection to the College, Church and Clergy; who, in return for such considerable Benefits, obliged by Interest as well as Duty, will to their constant Endeavours, add their fervent Prayers, that Your Administration may be long and Prosperous, that Irreligion and Immorality may be discouraged and Suppressed; and that this Colony may forever flourish under a Succession of able and upright Rulers.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S REPLY TO THE PRECEDING
ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN:

Your kind Congratulations for my safe Arrival with my Family into this Dominion, I receive with sincere thankfulness.

I am very sensible of the great Honour His Majesty has graciously been pleased to confer on me in my Appointment to

historian. The following list of the faculty, to 1752, inclusive, has been preserved: Rev. Francis Fontaine (born 1697, died 1749), Professor of Oriental Languages, 1729; Rev. Bartholomew Yates, Professor of Divinity, 1729; Joshua Fry, 1729, Master of the Grammar Schools, (afterwards advanced to the Chair of Mathematics); Rev. William Stith, 1731; Edward Ford, 1738; John Graeme, 1741; Rev. Thomas Dawson, 1738; William Preston, 1752; Rev. John Camm, 1752,—Professors, whose departments of instruction are not known—Rev. William Robinson, Master of the Grammar School, 1742; Masters of the Indian School, John Fox, 1729; Rev. Robert Barrett, 1737.

be Gov'r of this Province, in the room of S'r William Gooch.

It's true, I must appear with great disadvantages in succeeding that worthy Gentleman, but his Exact principle may have its proper Use, and my Emulation may be animated, and you probably may see during my Administration, that a good man's Influence never dies.

I have always looked on Seminaries of Learning with an awful respect and true Regard. The College of William and Mary is undoubtedly a very great Blessing to Virginia.

The Education of the Young Gentlemen in the different Sciences, The examination into their several Geniuses, The cultivating their Minds with Morality, Virtue, Religion and Honour, So far as to qualify them for the Services of their Country, is a very great and Important Charge which is reposed in you.

I congratulate this Country in having Gentlemen of your Knowledge, Capacity and Exemplary Life, at the head of, and in the sole Management and direction of this great and necessary Trust. Proceed Gentlemen in your Usual Endeavours, and I doubt not of a Blessing and Success to attend your Care in their Education, and I shall watch every Opportunity wherein I can be of Use or Service to the College.

I am with Pleasure engaged and oblig'd to support the Church, as by law established, And the Clergy, may always depend on my Countenance and Protection, as long as their Lives and Conversation is Consistent with the Doctrines they profess and are engaged to maintain.

I shall think my discharge of the Duties of my Appointment more likely to be happy, as I have your Assurances of your Constant endeavours, and fervent Prayers for me, for which I heartily thank you.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CONRAD WEISER.⁴

WILLIAMSBURGH, VIRGINIA, Dec'r 12th, 1751.

SIR:

By the Advice of His Majesty's Council of this Colony (of which I have the Honour to be Governor) who have had repeated Proofs of your Abilities and Integrity, and ready Disposition on all Occasions to serve this Government, I am to inform you that We shall send Commissioners in May next to Loggs Town,⁵ to meet and treat with the Ohio Indians, and deliver to them a Present from His Majesty, and to desire that you will please to join, and assist them.⁶ I hope nothing will impede your Compliance

⁴Conrad Weiser was an early and respectable interpreter, in which capacity he officiated in nearly every treaty effected with the Indians in his day. He, with his father, were among the first settlers of Schoharie, New York; who emigrated thither from Germany in 1712, under a proclamation of Queen Anne of 1709, allowing settlers to take up land free, and to be exempted from taxes. When N. Bayard, the Queen's agent, came afterwards to enroll their metes and bounds, they became alarmed and offered resistance. Strife ensued, when, upon the invitation of Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania, thirty-three families emigrated to that State, and settled at Muilback or Millbrook. Conrad Weiser was commissioned Colonel in 1756. He lived and died at Womelsdorf, a town situated between Reading and Harrisburg. *Watson's Annals of Pennsylvania*, ed. 1857, vol. ii, pp. 207, 258. The Indian name of Weiser was Tarachawagon.

⁵The exact location of Logstown has been involved in doubt. Craig's *History of Pittsburg*, p. 215, assumes it to have been on the north side of the Ohio river, "immediately above the run, below which, it is well known, Legionville stood." Croghan, in his journal, places it on the southside of the river, or left hand in descending. The Indian name of Logstown was Chiningue.

⁶The object of this mission was to induce the Indians to confirm the treaty effected by Commissioners from the colonies of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the Six Nations, at Lancaster, Pa., in July, 1744, by which were ceded to the English the lands west of the Alleghany Mountains to the Ohio, for a consideration of £400. An interesting journal of the Secretary of this Commission, Wm. Black, with notes by the present editor, has been published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. i, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 1877, vol. ii, No. 1, 1878. The meeting at Logstown was at first ineffective, but at length on the 13th, June, 1752, the Indians consented to

with our Request, and you may rely on being gratefully and generously rewarded for your Service and Trouble.

I am, &c.

P. S.—We intreat you'l not refuse going, We depending on you as an Interpreter.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JOSHUA FRY.⁷

SIR :

In Obedience to the Commands of the Governor and Council, I hereby acquaint you that His Majesty's Present to the Ohio

confirm the Lancaster deed in as "full and ample a manner as if the same was here recited." They bound themselves not to molest any settlement on the southwest side of the Ohio, and to be firm allies. The Commissioners were Joshua Fry, Lunsford Lomax and James Patton.

⁷The name Fry is of early record in the annals of Virginia. In the census of 1623, among the dead, appear John Fry at James City, and Henry Fry at Fleur de Hundred, and in 1686, John Fry, of St. John's Parish, New Kent county, possessed extensive lands in old Rappahannock county. These facts have led the Rev. Philip Slaughter, D. D., to question the generally accepted nativity of Joshua Fry. (*Memoir of Col. Joshua Fry*, pp. 15, 16). He was born at Somersetshire, England, educated at Oxford, and is first mentioned in Virginia in 1710 as Parish Vestryman and Magistrate of Essex county. Here he married Mary, the widow of Colonel — Hill (an extensive landed proprietor) and daughter of Paul Micoû, a physician, and Huguenot exile. In 1729 Fry was appointed Master of the Grammar School of William and Mary College, in which institution he was subsequently Professor of Mathematics. In 1737 he proposed to the Virginia Assembly, in conjunction with Major Robert Brooke and Major William Mayo, "to make an exact survey of the Colony, and print and publish a map thereof, in which shall be laid down the bays, navigable rivers, with the soundings, counties, parishes, towns and gentlemen's seats, with whatever is useful or remarkable, if the House should see fit to encourage the same." As the proposition is not alluded to in Hening's Statutes, the presumption is that it was not fostered. Somewhat later, Fry is said to have been a member of the House of Burgesses and of the Council; Presiding Justice of Albemarle county from its formation from Goochland in September, 1744, to 1748, and perhaps longer; appointed County Lieu-

Indians will be delivered to them in May next at Loggs Town, and that two Commissioners will be appointed for that Service, and to treat with the said Indians in order to confirm what was agreed upon at the Treaty at Lancaster, and to secure that Nation to the Interest of His Majesty and this Colony; Their Honours have been pleased to nominate you and Coll. James Patton⁸

tenant March 28, 1745, and in the same year he served with Peter Jefferson as Commissioners of the Crown for marking the line from the head-springs of the Potomac river, defining the western limit of the grant of the Northern Neck, and also with Jefferson completed the map of Virginia known as "Fry & Jefferson's." A fine copy of this map, published by Thomas Jeffereys, London, 1775, is in the Cabinet of the Virginia Historical Society. In 1749, Fry and Jefferson were Commissioners on the part of Virginia to continue the boundary-line between Virginia and North Carolina, which in 1728 had been run from the Atlantic to Peter's Creek by Colonel William Byrd and others. This line was completed to the Tennessee river in 1778, Dr. Thomas Walker and David Smith being the Commissioners on the part of Virginia at the last date. In 1752, as previously stated, Fry was a Commissioner at the Treaty of Logstown. Commissioned as Colonel and entrusted with the command of the Virginia forces in the expedition against the French in 1754, he died May 31st whilst conducting it to the Ohio, and was buried near Wills's Creek, now Cumberland Creek. In a contemporary notice of him, it is said: "He was a man of so clear a head, so mild a temper, and so good a heart, that he never failed to engage the love and esteem of all who knew, or were concerned with him, and he died universally lamented." His estimable and highly-respected descendants in Virginia and other States include many individuals of prominence.

⁸Colonel James Patton, born in the town of Newton, Limaddy, Ireland, in 1692; married a Miss Osborn, of Whitehaven, Cumberland. He was bred to the sea, and in the wars of England with the Low Countries, served as an officer in the Royal Navy. After the Treaty of Utrecht he procured "a passenger ship," and traded to Hobbes's Hole, Virginia, on the Rappahannock river. He is said to have crossed the Atlantic quite twenty-five times, bringing Irish emigrants, ("Redemptioners," who served a given time to pay the cost of their transportation,) and returning with cargoes of peltries and tobacco. Augusta county, in which he received a grant of 120,000 acres of land, was largely settled through his agency. He was in 1745 its first High Sheriff, serving subsequently as County Lieutenant; hence his title of Colonel. He was one of the Colonial Commissioners at Logstown in 1752, and kept a journal (since lost) of the mission, in which the speeches of Ocanostoto, the Mingo Chief, were recorded. He was

as Gentlemen the best qualify'd to conduct and execute a Business of so great Importance. You are desired by the return of the Messenger to signify your Pleasure, whether such an undertaking will be acceptable to you. I am, &c.,

N. WALTHOE.⁹

INSTRUCTIONS TO COLL. JAMES PATTON.

WILLIAMSBURG, Dec'r 13th, 1751.

SIR:

You are to proceed immediately to Fredericksburg, and there receive from Mr. Strother¹⁰ the Goods sent as a Present by His Majesty to the Indians, and provide everything necessary for the Gentlemen appointed Commissioners on behalf of this Government, to meet and treat with the Indians; and to order all to be laid down at Mr. George Parish's, near Frederick Town,¹¹

murdered by the Indians in 1755. His sister Elizabeth married in Ireland John Preston, a ship-carpenter. They settled in Augusta county in 1740, and their descendants, the "famous Preston family," have been among the most prominent in America in the names of Brown, Baldwin, Benton, Breckinridge, Blair, Campbell, Crittenden, Floyd, Gibson, Johnston, Hughes, Hart, Hampton, Lewis, Lee, Marshall, McDowell, Porter, Parker, Packer, Peyton, Payne, Peters, Robinson, Sheffey, Stuart, Woolley, and others.

⁹Nicholas Walthoe, Clerk of the Council, an eccentric bachelor, and a warm personal friend of the second William Byrd of "Westover," to whom he presented a fine portrait of himself, wearing his hat, stipulating that it should be hung amongst others of distinguished personages possessed by Colonel Byrd. His wish was gratified, but an endeavor at compromising the graceless intrusion, was made by placing Walthoe's portrait over the doorway of the apartment in which the several portraits were hung. It is still in the possession of the Harrison family at "Lower Brandon," James river.

¹⁰This is presumed to have been William Strother, whose daughter Jane became the wife of Col. Thomas Lewis, surveyor of Augusta county, etc. There was a Benjamin Strother, "Major of Foot," in Stafford county, Aug. 19, 1752.—*Calendar of State Papers of Va.*, i, p. 274.

¹¹Frederick Town was an early name for Winchester, Va.

where Mr. Cresap¹² is directed to receive them; and you are also to provide a sufficient quantity of Wampum¹³ for the Treaty.

By Order of the Governor,

N. WALTHOE.

¹² Colonel Thomas Cresap emigrated from Yorkshire, England, at the age of fifteen, and married at the age of thirty, near Havre de Grace, Maryland. So poor, that he was driven to fly from imprisonment as the penalty of his inability to pay a debt of £9, he rented a farm in Virginia from a member of the Washington family. Returning for his wife, she, having become a mother, declined to remove from Maryland. He succeeded in satisfying his creditor, and removed to a locality higher up on the Susquehanna river, opposite Columbia, where he obtained a title for 500 acres of land. It was unfortunately in disputed territory and claimed under a Pennsylvania grant. After some strife between the colonists of the two provinces, in which Cresap espoused the rights of Lord Baltimore, he was finally forced to abandon his land and removed to a farm at Antietam of 1,400 acres, which he had also to relinquish to repay a debt of £500, which had been furnished him by Daniel Dulaney and lost in trading ventures with the Indians for peltries. He removed again about 1742 to a farm near Old Town, which he called "Shipton," after the place of his nativity in England. It was on the north fork, a few miles above the north and south branches of the Potomac. Here he acquired a large landed estate. He renewed his intimacy with Washington, who always reposed confidence in him; employed in 1748 by the Ohio Company, he marked, with the aid of an Indian named Nemacolin, the road to their territory, which was the same route pursued by Braddock in his ill-fated expedition. He was a man of vigorous mind and body, and a skilful surveyor; visited England at the age of 70, and whilst in London was commissioned by Lord Baltimore to run the Western line of Maryland, in order to ascertain which of the two branches of the Potomac was in reality the fountain head of the stream. His map and report of this survey was used in the Maryland Legislature recently in the boundary dispute with Virginia. He married a second wife at the age of 80, visited the British possessions near Nova Scotia at 100, and died aged 106 years. He was the father of Captain Michael Cresap, whose memory was most unjustly maligned by Jefferson in his *Notes on Virginia*, in the charge of having instigated or aided in the alleged murder of the family of the Indian Logan in 1774.—*Mayer's Tah-gah-jute, or Logan and Cresap*, ed. 1867.

¹³ Wampum was the current money among the Indians, and served as the material for necklaces, bracelets and other ornaments. It was of two sorts, white and purple; the former was wrought from the inner coating of the conch, and the latter of the mussel shell. They were

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR OGLE OF MARYLAND.¹⁴

SIR:

I take the liberty of signifying to Your Exc'y my Arrival to this Government, and to assure you of my sincerest Respects. Permit me at the same time to express my most hearty Wishes for a frequent and Amicable Correspondence between Us, in Order to promote and forward any Incident that may probably tend to the Advancement of His Majesty's service, or the Well-fare of the Province, which has the Happiness of being governed by your Exc'y, and Virginia, whenever any particular of that kind shall occur, in which I can contribute the least Assistance, be persuaded Sir, you may freely command me, and that I shall esteem a Favour, every Opportunity you shall give me of proving my Sincerity. By the Advice of the Council here, I shall send Commissioners from hence to meet the Six Nations at Loggs Town the 15th of May next, and deliver to them a Present from His Majesty. I give Your Exc'y this Intelligence, that if you have any Business to transact with, or propose, relating to those Nations, you might have Leisure to consider of it, and if you'll be pleas'd to communicate anything to me, You may securely depend on an exact Compliance with your Instructions.

I am, &c.

woven with the sinews of the deer and strips of deerskin into strings, called belts, often as wide as the palm of the hand, and about two feet in length. These were given and received at treaties as seals of friendship, each belt being connected with a message, speech, or part of speech, and delivered by the speaker or messenger. The belts also served as records, being wrought with figures composed of beads of different colors to assist the memory; each bead had a known value, and a belt of a lesser number was made equal to one of a greater by the addition to it of the deficient beads upon a string.

¹⁴Samuel Ogle, who had previously held a command in the Irish Establishment, was Governor of Maryland in 1732, 1735-42, and from 1747 to his death, May 3, 1752. He married Anne, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Tasker, who succeeded him as Governor. His mansion built by him on his estate "Belair" in Prince George county, Maryland, remains, says Colonel Scharf, "a model of liberality, ease and convenience; it has hardly been surpassed in its proportions by any house of more recent structure in this State." *History of Maryland*, ii, p. 76.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR OGLE.

WILLIAMSBURG IN VIRGINIA, 13th Dec'r, 1751.

Sam'l Ogle, Esq'r:

SIR:

I take the liberty of signifying to Your Exc'y that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint me Lieut. Gov'r of this Province, and of my Arrival here the 20th Ult. Permit me at the same time to Express the Sincere Pleasure I have the View of in keeping up a Correspondant with a Gentleman I always retain'd a very great Regard and Respect for, and therefore if any thing should occur here for His Maj'ty's Service and the good of the Colonies, I shall with Pleasure Communicate the same to you, not doubting of the same Information on occasion from you, and If I can contribute the least Assistance, you may freely command me and shall be glad of any Opportunity of shewing my Sincerity.

There has been a present in this Colony for the Six Nations of Indians,¹⁵ which by the advice of the Councell, I shall appoint Comm'rs from this [Colony] to meet them at Loggs Town the 15th of May next to deliver the said Present sent by His Ma'ty. I give your Exc'y this Intelligence that if you have any Business to transact with, or propose to these Nations of Indians, you may have time to consider thereof. You may depend on an exact compliance with your desire. I tender my best Respects

¹⁵The Six Nations were called *Iroquois* by the French, *Maqua* by the Dutch, *Mingoes* by the English, and *Mengwe* by other Indian nations. They were originally *five*, viz.: The Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagoes, the Cayugas, and the Senecas; subsequently, however, the Tuscaroroes upon being driven from North Carolina, united with the Five Nations in 1712, from which time the union was styled the Six Nations. Their home was in New York, but they were a warlike people, and their conquests extended from New York to Carolina and from New England to the Mississippi. They regulated their affairs in common by a Council composed of Sachems of different nations, who met annually, at Onondago.—*Olden Time*, i, p. 4.

to your Lady, Coll. Tasker¹⁶ and family, and believe me to be in great Truth,

Your Excy's

Most Obd't hum: Serv't.

¹⁶The Tasker family of Maryland is an old and honorable one, and by frequent intermarriage is connected with many distinguished families of America and England. Captain Thos. Tasker, the father of Colonel Benjamin Tasker of the text, located a warrant for land in Calvert county, Maryland, in 1682. He was Treasurer of the Province and a man of wealth and influence. There is a family tradition that he married a near relative of Lord Baltimore. He died in 1699, leaving issue three children: i. John, ii. Elizabeth, and iii. Benjamin. i. John, married Eleanor, daughter of the Hon. Col. Thomas Brooke of de la Brooke Manor, grandson of Robert Brooke, and Mary, his wife, daughter of Roger Mainwaring, D. D., Bishop of St. Davids. Had issue, Thomas Tasker, who married Clara, daughter of Major Nicholas Sewall—a grandson of Jane, Lady Baltimore; ii. Elizabeth, married the Hon. Thomas Addison, son of Hon. John Addison, an Admiral in the British Navy—and had issue two daughters: i. Rebecca, who married twice, first, ——— Bowles, brother of General Bowles of the British Army, secondly, Sir Robert Henley of the Grange, Lord Chancellor of England, afterwards Earl of Northington; and ii. Eleanor, who married Lowe of the Lowes of Derby Park in Derbyshire. iii. Benjamin Tasker, was President of the Council of Maryland for thirty-two years, and as such was acting Governor of the Province from the death of Governor Ogle, May 3, 1752, until the arrival of Governor Horatio Sharpe, August 10th, 1753. He and Charles Carroll (signer of the Declaration of Independence) were the delegates from the Province to the famous Albany Convention of 1754, of which Bancroft writes, that "America had never before seen such an Assembly." The Committee appointed to draw up a Constitution for a perpetual Confederacy, consisted of Thomas Hutchinson of Mass., Stephen Hopkins of Rhode Island, William Pitkin of Conn., Benj. Tasker of Md., W. Smith of New York, and Benj. Franklin of Pa. Benjamin Tasker married Anne, daughter of the Hon. Wm. Bladen, Commissary-General of the Province, son of Nathaniel Bladen, Esquire, of Hemesworth, York, and Isabella, daughter of Sir William Fairfax, Kn't, of Streton. They had issue five children, one son and four daughters; the son, Benjamin Tasker, Jr., a young man of much promise, died Oct. 17, 1760, in the 30th year of his age. He was at the time of his death Secretary of the Province and one of the Commissioners appointed to settle the boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania. He was the owner of "Tasker's Selima," by the Godolphin Arabian, the most famous mare of her day

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE VESTRY OF ST. ANNE'S
PARISH, ALBEMARLE COUNTY.

GENTLEMEN:

I have enquired into the Vacancies of Church Livings, Since my Arrival, and being informed that your Parish is Vacant by the Rev'd Mr. Robertson's Removal to St. John's

and said to have been an own sister to Brabham. Selima was purchased from the Marquis of Granby, and won the first great race recorded in Virginia, in Gloucester, in 1751, beating Colonel William Byrd's (the third of the name) Tryall, and Colonel John Tayloe's imported Jenny Cameron, four miles for 500 pistoles.

Of the daughters of Governor Benjamin Tasker, Rebecca married Daniel Dulaney, Counsellor of Maryland in 1776. His portrait was a few years since placed in the hall of the Superior Court of Baltimore city by a descendant, Matthew Dulaney Ball, Esq. The portrait of Mrs. Dulaney was carried off from the family seat in Virginia by the Federal soldiery during the late unhappy war between the States. Their son, Daniel Dulaney, Esq., was living in Downing street, London, in 1818. Anne Tasker married Governor Samuel Ogle of Maryland, Elizabeth Tasker married Christopher Lowndes, Esq., of Bladensburg, and Frances Tasker, the remaining daughter, married Robert Carter, the "Counsellor," son of Robert Carter of "Nomini," and grandson of Robert Carter of "Corotoman," known as "King Carter," who married Priscilla Bladen. The tomb of Governor Benjamin Tasker is at Annapolis, Md. It bears the Tasker and Bladen arms impaled. The families of Tayloe, Forrest, Hill, Ridont, Marbury, Gault, Stoddert, Pinckney, Lloyd, Ewell (Lieutenant-General R. S. Ewell and Benjamin S. Ewell, President of William and Mary College, Virginia), Buchanan (Admiral Buchanan, United States Navy), are all connected with the Tasker family by marriage. From the Dulaney intermarriage are sprung Lady Hunter of Brighton, the Dulaney of Welbourne Hall, Fauquier, Fairfax, and Prince William counties, Va., the Herberts, Clagetts, Diggses, Forrests of Claremont and Baltimore, Weemses, Carters of Glen Welby, etc. The descendants of Mrs. Daniel Dulaney have intermarried with the Carters of "Shirley" and "Sabine Hall," Va.; with the Armisteads, DeButtses, Forrests, Carrolls, Ellises, Dangerfields, Roziers, Frenches, Chichesters, Balls, Gaults, Tingeyes, Scotts, Gregorys, Turners, Powells, Simmses, and Wrights. The late Admiral French Forrest of the Virginia Navy was a descendant of Benjamin Tasker through Daniel Dulaney, whose son, Colonel Benjamin Tasker Dulaney, of "Shuter's Hall," Fairfax county, Va., married Elizabeth French of "Claremont," a great heiress, of whom Washington wrote:

Parish in King William,¹⁷ I have the Pleasure and Satisfaction of recommend'g the Bearer, the Rev. Mr. John Ramsay,¹⁸ to succeed Mr. Robertson, a Gentleman who has brought from England so full Testimonials of his Capacity and Worth, that I the more sincerely recommend him to you, not doubting but he will answer and give you full Satisfaction, and that he will do everything in his Power for the Peace and Happiness of the Parish, I therefore desire you will receive and Entertain him as your Pastor, which will be very agreeable to

Gent.

Your most humble Serv't.

Williamsburg,

13th Dec'r, 1751.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

To the Hon'ble Jam's Hamilton,¹⁹ Gov'r of Pennsylvania:

SIR:

His Majesty having appointed me Gov'r of this Province,

"Our celebrated fortune, Miss French, whom half the world was in pursuit of," etc. A large family of children was the issue of this marriage, one of whom, Elizabeth French Dulaney, married Joseph Forrest. They were the parents of Admiral Forrest, to the kind courtesy of whose grandson, Rev. Douglas French Forrest, D. D., Washington, D. C., not less accomplished as a genealogist than distinguished as a theologian, is the editor chiefly indebted for the interesting facts embodied in this note.

¹⁷ The Rev. John Robertson in 1752 signed a petition to the House of Burgesses for the suppression of the labors of the Presbyterian "Apostle" Samuel Davies and others of his sect. He was present at the Episcopal Convention held at William and Mary College, Oct. 30, 1754, and subscribed £1 1s. 6d. towards the fund for the relief of "poor Clergymen's Widows and Orphans." Feb. 25, 1756, he signed an address to the Bishop of London on the passage of the act by the Assembly making it optional with parishes to pay their ministers either in tobacco or a commutation of value at two-pence per pound.—*Perry's Virginia Church Papers*, pp. 383, 414, 427, 446.

¹⁸ He was still the incumbent June 10, 1755.—*Ibid*, p. 429.

¹⁹ James Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania, 1748—Oct. 1754, 1759—

this is to acquaint you of my Arrival here the 20th ult., and to assure you of my sincere respects.

Permit me to express my real Wishes for a frequent Correspondence between Us, to promote and forward any incident that probably may tend to the Advancement of His Majesty's Interest, or the welfare of these Provinces. Whenever anything may occur wherein I can be of service, be persuaded Sir, you may freely command me.

By the advice of the Councill, I shall send Comm'rs to Loggs Town in May next, to deliver the Six Nations a Present from His Majesty. I give you this Intelligence, that if you have any Business to transact, or propose to these Nations you might have time to Consider of it, and be assured, I am at all times,

Hon'rd Sir,

Your most obed't humble serv't.

Pray tender my sincere respects to Mr. Allen²⁰ and his Family.

Williamsburg, 18th Dec'r, 1751.

1768; President of the Council, 1771, and acting Governor, holding besides other offices of distinction: President of the American Philosophical Society and a liberal patron of the arts and sciences. A loyalist, he removed to New York, where he died August 14, 1783. He was the son of Andrew Hamilton, an eminent lawyer, a native of Scotland, born 1676, immigrated first to Eastern shore of Virginia and lived afterwards in Kent County, Md.; married Mrs. Annie (Brown) widow of Joseph Preeson, a lady of fortune and family; Deputy Governor of Pa., 1701-3; member of Provincial Council; Attorney-General 1717; acquired distinction at Zenger's Trial in New York in 1736; died at Bush Hill, which formed a part of Philadelphia, Aug. 4, 1741. His only daughter married William Allen, Provincial Chief Justice. His son Andrew married a daughter of William Fell. Their son William was one of the earliest collectors of pictures in America, and cultivated the art of ornamental gardening.

²⁰William Allen, of the preceding note, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, 1750-74, and a distinguished friend of literature and the arts. A loyalist, he withdrew in 1774 to England, where he died September, 1780; a patron of Benjamin West, the painter, and co-operated with Franklin in establishing the College of Philadelphia; published in London, 1774, "The American Crisis," suggesting a plan for restoring the dependence of America.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COL. THOMAS CRESAP.

SIR:

You herewith will receive the Opinion of the Council in Answer to your Letters. As to making Reprisals for the Robberies done by the French on the Ohio, it is inconsistent with the Laws of Nations, while We are in Peace with France, and your Letter is too general: if you can give a particular Account of the different Robberies, we must apply to the Governor of Canada²¹ for Redress; Upon his Refusal, we may proceed in another manner.

I shall be glad [if] Mr. Montour²² will determine to live in Virginia that we may hereafter have an Interpreter in our own Province on any Occasion we may have to do with the Indians; and therefore I desire you will prevail with him to be at your House when the Commissioners come to go with the Goods to Loggs Town.

I have the Success and Prosperity of the Ohio Company²³

²¹The Marquis de la Jonquière, who succeeded the Marquis de la Gallisonière as Governor in August, 1749. He was born in Languedoc, France, in 1686, and died in May, 1752. He was an experienced soldier, but deficient in judgment. Upon his death, the Baron de Longveil acted as Governor until the arrival of the Marquis Duquesne de Menneville, who had been recommended to the government by De Gallisonière.

²²Andrew Montour, who served as a Captain of a company of Indians—a man of intelligence and education, and, as Gov. Hamilton testifies, “a good man”; was a half-blood, the oldest son of Madame Montour, a French-Canadian woman, and Robert Hunter (so named after the Governor of New York and the Jerseys), an Oneida chief, whose Indian name was Sattelihu. John Montour, a son of Andrew by his first wife, a granddaughter of Allummapees, chief of the Delawares, commanded a company of Delaware Indians in the service of the Americans in 1782.

²³The Ohio Company was formed in 1748 by Thomas Lee and twelve others, including Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of Geo. Washington in Virginia, and John Hanbury, a Quaker merchant of London; with a grant of 500,000 acres of land on the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers; chiefly on the north, but with the privilege of lands on the south side of the river. Two hundred thousand acres of land were to be settled immediately, to be free from quit-rent or other

much at Heart, tho' I have not a Line from any concern'd since my Arrival, but this from you. There is a Cargo for the concern'd come in the Ship with me, it now lies at Colo. Hunter's,²⁴ the Severity of the Weather prevented his sending the Goods to Colo. Mason.²⁵ I am surpriz'd at what you write, that Patton, or any other Person should obstruct that Company's making a settlement on the Ohio, but shall take Care that it shall be strongly urged to the Indians, and doubt not of Success. I shall be glad if you could furnish me with an Account of the several Nations of Indians, their names and numbers of each separate, viz: their fighting Men, Women, and Children, and your Advice how to

tax to the King, on condition that the Company should at their own expense seat 100 families on the lands within seven years, build a fort and maintain a garrison sufficient to protect the settlement. The troubles with the French and Indians suspended the operations of the Company until the close of the war. Lee dying, Lawrence Washington succeeded to the chief management of the Company, and by purchase Governor Dinwiddie and George Mason became owners of shares in it.

In 1760, John Mercer (compiler of the edition of the Laws of Virginia known as Mercer's Abridgment) drew up a memorial to the King for such further orders and instructions to the government in Virginia as might enable the Company to carry their grant into execution, and Colonel George Mercer (son of John) was sent to England as its agent. Owing to counteracting interests of private individuals in Virginia, the claims of officers and soldiers under Dinwiddie's proclamation, and the schemes and application of the proprietors of a grant to Thomas Walpole, a London banker, and others, known as Walpole's Grant, Mercer's efforts, though he remained in London six years, were futile. He at last agreed to merge the interests of the Ohio Company in those of Walpole's, or the Grand Company, as it was called, on condition of securing to the former two shares in the latter, or one thirty-sixth of the whole. This action of Mercer without authority was not approved by the Ohio Company, and while the subject was still in agitation, the Revolutionary War came on and put an end to the existence of both companies.

²⁴At Hampton. John Hunter was Colonel of the militia of Elizabeth City county.

²⁵George Mason, County-Lieutenant of Stafford county, son of Geo. Mason of Stafford, the progenitor of the distinguished Virginia family of the name (whose will bears date 29th June, 1715); and father of the author of the Virginia Bill of Rights, who was the third of the name and family in Virginia.

engage them to the British Interest.²⁶ The Assembly sits down the 27th of next Month, the General Court immediately after, which makes it impossible for me to come at this Time to a Treaty with the Indians, at the same Time, I, confessing Ignorance in these Affairs; but if hereafter, I shall find it for his Majesty's service, I shall not think much of the Trouble to give them a Meeting, if not at too great a Distance, but am in Hopes the Meeting now proposed will end with the desired Success, And as you are a Member of the Ohio Company, I think your good offices will be very necessary, and will be acknowledged by the Company. I shall be very glad to hear frequently from You, and am

Sir,

Your humble Servant.

W^msb'g, Jan'y

23d, 1752.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD FAIRFAX.²⁷

MY LORD:

I intended myself the Honour of paying my due respects to your Lordship before this, but have been prevented by the hurry of Business on my first Arrival, but I now desire

²⁶ The number of warriors of the Iroquois was estimated in 1660 by the French as 2,200; Bancroft assumed their "just numbers," including their allies and Southern kindred, as about 17,000. *Olden Time*, i, p. 386-396.

²⁷ Thomas Fairfax, 6th Lord, and Baron of Cameron, the friend and patron of Washington in early life; born 1691; died at his seat, "Greenway Court," Frederick County, Va., Dec. 12, 1781. He was the son of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, and Catharine, daughter of Lord Culpeper. He was educated at Oxford, and afterwards held a commission in the Blues; was a man of literary tastes, and contributed to the *Spectator* of Addison. Succeeding to the title and estates in Virginia, (inherited from his mother,) between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers, and a great portion of the Shenandoah Valley, known as the Northern Neck, and comprising 5,282,000 acres, he settled in Virginia in 1745,

to assure you of the Sincerity of my Heart and Endeavour on all Occasions to testify the Veneration I have for you.

Enclos'd you have a Letter from our Commissary in regard to the Surveyors of Land. The Coledge of William and Mary have a Patent of an old Date, for the appointing these Officers, and they Conceive from that Date they have a Right to appoint those in your Lordship's Proprietary.²⁸ The Perquisites from these Officers to the Coledge is $\frac{1}{6}$ of their receipts. We know your kind and friendly Disposition. I doubt not you will countenance them in this their Right, which is to be appli'd towards the support of the only Seminary of Learning amongst us, and more as many of their Other Funds proves deficient, or at least much reduced. And when y'r Lordship shall think proper to apoint a private Survey'r that you will please lay your Commands on them to Acc't with the Coledge for one sixth of their receipts, which [I] shall be glad if this proves agreeable to y'r own Opinion. The Commissary²⁹ says he will always have a due regard to any person recommended to the Coledge for their Comission.

Collo. Fairfax³⁰ was talking with me in regard to the Fines

fixing his residence a few miles from Winchester. Here he lived in a style of liberal hospitality, with the indulgence of the diversions of the chase. In 1748, impressed with the ability and energy of the youth George Washington, he employed him as a surveyor of his lands west of the Blue Ridge mountains. He avowed himself a loyalist during the Revolution, but was never molested by the colonists on account of his sentiments. His estates, however, were confiscated at the close of the struggle. He was succeeded by his brother Robert, 7th Baron, who died at Leeds Castle, England, in 1791.

²⁸ The right was conferred by the original charter of Feb. 19, 1693, upon the trustees of the College, of appointment of a "Surveyor General" of the colony, with the fees and profits of the office, towards the endowment of the College.

²⁹ The Commissary at this time was Rev. William Stith, the historian of Virginia.

³⁰ William Fairfax, son of Henry Fairfax, of Yorkshire, England, and grandson of Thomas, the fourth Lord Fairfax, was educated under the care of his uncle, Lord Lonsdale; entered the army at the age of 21, serving successively in Spain, the East Indies, and in the expedition against Providence Island, of which he was appointed Governor after

laid on different Affaires that may come before the Courts. This is too nice a Point for me to give my Thoughts on, as your Lordship is so nearly concern'd in it. Give me leave to give my Opinion as an indifferent Person (but not as Governor) what Fines may be laid in the County Courts in your Proprietary, I cannot determine on, but those at the General Court are receiv'd by the Sherifs and by them paid to the Receiver General and applicable towards the Support and paying the Emergencies of Government, and are included in his Acc'ts, sworn to, and transmitted home, on which Circumstances, I think y'r Lordship has no right, unless you obtain an Order from home to him to be accountable for the same to you, I mean those Fines that are raised from Appeals from the County Courts in your Proprietary. I hope you will excuse my writing so freely on this Subject, which I should not do, but from the Opinion I have of y'r Friendship for me.

I shall be glad of the Hon'r of a Line from you, and proud of the Opportunity, when in Person I cou'd have the Pleasure of assuring you that I am in great Truth,

Your Lordship's

most Obed't and Humble Serv't.

Williamsburg,

6th May, 1752.

its reduction; married, in 1724, the daughter of Thomas Walker, a Major in the Army. The climate not agreeing with Mr. Fairfax, he removed to New England, and subsequently to Virginia, as the agent of his kinsman, Lord Fairfax, for managing his large landed interests. He first resided in Westmoreland county, but receiving through his kinsman, Bryan Fairfax, Commissioner of British Customs (1723-1728), the appointment of collector of customs for the South Potomac, he removed to his seat "Belvoir," on that river. He was County-Lieutenant of Fairfax, a Member of the King's Council for many years, and for some time its President. He died September 3d, 1757. From him have descended the various branches of the Fairfax family in America.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAINS CRESAP AND TRENT.³¹

Feb'y 10, 1753.

Messrs. Cresap and Trent:

GENT:

I rec'd y'r Letter of the 22d ult'o for which I thank You, and am very sorry that part of the Twightwee³² are gone to the French. You know it was not much in our Power to supply them with Powder and Lead this season the year, and at [the] same Time, I am of Opinion, that if Burney had proceeded directly to them as I expected, it might have prevented their going over to the French, when they co'd have been assur'd of a Supply from us in May next at Winchester.

I observe that 15 or 16 French are come to Loggs Town, and are building Houses, &c., and that it is to be fear'd they will take Possession of the River Ohio, oppress our Trade and take our Traders Prisoners, &c. We would fain hope these People are only French Traders, and they have no other View but Trade. I hope there is no great Army of French among the Lakes. Where they get Bread and Corn I cannot imagine, for from many Acc'ts they are in the greatest Want at Canada. Till the Line between Pennsylvania is run,³³ and our Limits ascer-

³¹ The journal of Captain William Trent, from Logstown to Pickawillany, 1752, from a copy in the archives of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, has been published by Robert Clarke & Co. Trent was a friend and business partner of Benjamin Franklin.

³² The Twightwee Indians, "said by Sparks to be Ottawas, but who were really Miamies, were probably the same whom Captain [Robert] Stobo calls Picts." A map in Kalm's *Travels in America*, gives in relation to a village on the Great Miami, this note: "The English Tawichtwi, or Pique, taken 1752," from which it may be inferred that Pique, was one of the names of the Miamies. At the Treaty at Lancaster, in July, 1748, with the Six Nations: Delawares, Shawanese, Nanticokes, and Twightwees, the last with their allies were estimated to have twenty towns and about 1,000 fighting men. *Olden Time*, i, pp. 309, 310.

³³ The boundary controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia, first manifested itself upon these preparations of Governor Dinwiddie. Governor Hamilton being instructed by the proprietors to render

tain'd, I cannot restrain the many Abuses done in the Backwoods, As by the last Treaty at the Ohio. The Ind's having given us full Power and Property to settle all the Lands this side of the Ohio, I conceive that the Treaty fully establishes the British Right to those Lands, therefore some Method must be found out to dispossess the French, if they presume to oppose our Settlements. I am glad two hundred Cherokees are going to take possession of the Lower Shawness Town. I shall be Oblig'd to you for any further Information You may procure between [now] and Aprill next, When the Affair will be seriously Consider'd, and when the Powder, Lead, &c., is sent to the Six Nations, &c., at Winchester. We may then form some Method to support His Majesty's Title and right to the Lands on the Ohio. I did not know that the Warriors of the Six Nations were gone to the So.[uth]w[ar]d. I wish you c'd have inform'd me of their Design, for I sh'd be very glad to have them and the So.w'd Ind's in a confirm'd State of Peace, which will be of great Service to the British Colonies on the Cont't. I have heard nothing from Mr. Montour since he left this, I suppose he is gone to Onondagoa to get some of their Chiefs to meet and receive the Pres'ts in May next at Winchester. I wish You Health, and when any-

assistance to Governor Dinwiddie in his measures, but to require an acknowledgment that the projected settlements should not be continued to the prejudice of the rights of Pennsylvania. When, in 1754, Governor Dinwiddie commenced the building of the fort in the forks of the Ohio, where Pittsburg now stands, and issued a proclamation, promising to lay out 200,000 acres of land adjacent to be divided among the soldiers who enlisted for service against the French, Governor Hamilton demurred, and Dinwiddie agreed that the quit-rents of these lands might be collected by Pennsylvania until the dispute was settled, and in the meantime applied to England to have the boundary line run. The controversy was settled by a Commission, which met at Baltimore, August 3d, 1779, in which Pennsylvania was represented by George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse, and Virginia by Bishop James Madison and Prof. Robert Andrews of William and Mary College. The line agreed upon was the extension of that of Mason and Dixon, "due West 5 degrees of longitude completed from the river Delaware for the Southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian drawn from the Western boundary thereof to the Northern limit of said State, be the Western boundary of said State forever." *Olden Time*, i, pp. 433-524.

thing occurs of Consequence in regard to the Ind's, y'r advis'g me thereof will much Oblige.

Gent.,

Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY.

*Gentlemen of the Council,³⁴ Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the
House of Burgesses :*

His Majesty having been Graciously Pleas'd to Hon'r me with His Commiss'n to be Lieut. Gov'r and Commander in Chief of this His Dom'n of Virginia, I thought it my Duty to call you together, that we may jointly consider w[ha]t we are empower'd to do, for promoting His Majesty's Interest, and the Prosperity of this Colony.

I have so just a Sense of the Importance of the Trust devolv'd upon me and Sollicitude to discharge the same with Hon'r, as wholly prevents my Attent'n to these Arts by which Persons conscious of Great Abilities, or familiar to com'd by long Habit, are enabled to grace a publick Character. This Sollicitude is increased by the Virtues of my Predecessor. But tho' my Ambition be Disappointed by the Example I follow, yet Emulation will be animated, if less Eminent, I may be more useful by a steady Attention for the good of this Dom'n.

During the Time I have the Hon'r to Preside, I very sincerely resolve and determine that my constant Care shall be to support the Church of England as by Law Establish'd, to encourage Virtue, Piety and Loyalty to His Sacred Majesty, and with the utmost of my Power, to discourage Vice and Imorality. It shall further be my Inclination to endeavour to cultivate those Virtues

³⁴The members of the Council were: Lewis Burwell, President; John Blair, William Fairfax, William Nelson, William Dawson, D. D., John Lewis, Thomas Nelson, Philip Grymes, Peter Randolph, William Byrd, Richard Corbin, and William Beverley.

of a Social Nature, by keeping up a good and Harmonious Correspondence with you, in a private as well as a publick Capacity. And I shall always be ready, to the utmost of my Understanding, to assist You with my Advice in any Matter that may occur.

Gentlemen, I can, without Regret, resign all Pretensions to Eminence or Distinction, as other Acquisitions are in my Power, which, if less Envied, are yet allow'd to be more Valueable, nor shall I be inactive, tho' the desire of Fame may be suppress'd. I am conscious of another Passion, which is at once, the Motive and Reward of Virtue.

My Affection for you, Gentlemen, will be now gratified by frequent Opp'tys of expressing my Zeal for the good of this Colony (now my Country), which will be a Spring of Pleasure in my Breast.

It was with great Joy I landed here, Invested with Power of doing good to a People, among whom I had formerly mingled in Scenes of Domestick Felicity, and experienc'd the endearing Reciprocations of Friendship.

But I am very Sencible, the most ardent Benevolence, and most inviolable Fidelity, are frequently insufficient to effect their own Purposes. But Error has perhaps produc'd as many publick Calamities as Indolence, Avarice, or Ambition. I shall therefore, Gentlemen of the Council, always receive Your Advice with Pleasure, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, I shall rely with Confidence on Your Assistance.

Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, That I might indulge the Impatience of my Wishes, I have call'd you together so soon after my arrival, that we may concur in the Gracious Design of His Majesty, and Express my Duty and Gratitude to Him, in the most Acceptable Manner, by becoming an Instrument of Happiness to my fellow Subjects.

The Legislature shou'd always be busy; there are Grievences to redress, Irregularities to reform, Defects to supply, and Exuberances to cut off. I presume that there are some Laws that want Renewal, and probably others that want Amendment.

I therefore mos[t] earnestly recomend to you the Prosecution of this Great Work with Diligence and Expedition. Consider what Bills may be proper and necessary for promoting the publick Quiet and Comon Interest, by more effectually Securing Property, Encouraging and Extending Commerce, Establishing

the Peace, Safety and Regularity of an equitable and well order'd Government.

I will assist you, Gentlemen, to the Outmost of my Power, in the Attainm't of these desirable Purposes, and you may expect from me, every Concession in your fav'r, of which my Instructions will admit.

I shall be glad if You can find out some Method to prevent Delays in the Courts of Justice, so very Inconvenient to the People, and so much complain'd of in Britain, as well as heré.

Gentlemen of the Council and House of Burgesses:

There is on[e] Thing I recomend to your particular Regard, And that is the Cultivating a good Correspondence with the neighbouring Nations of Indians. It is better they shou'd Love us, than that they shou'd Fear us, and one of the two is absolutely necessary. Fear is a Slavish Passion, and the Mind is always struggling to throw it off. On the Contrary, Love and Amity are propogated by Acts of Kindness, the very Exercise of which is Delight.

The Mind is happy under their Influence, and their Influence for that Reason is continually gaining new Strength, So that our European Neighbours that are settled to the Southw'd and Northw'd of us, wou'd never be able to influence the Indians against Us If the advantage of mutual Bounty, Gratitude and Publick Faith oppose their Attempts.

They have been long Endeavouring to spirit up the Ind's that are in Amity with us to the Breach of their Faith, with a View to posses and settle the interior parts of America, the back of our frontier Settlem'ts to the Westward. Your own good Sense will soon discover what bad Consequences such Settlem'ts wou'd be to us and our Posterity.

But I have two high an Opinion of Your Sagacity and Virtue, to think any further Arguments is necessary to convince You this Measure is expedient, or to persuade you it is Equitable. The Means how it is to be effected, I w'd recomend as the Subject of your Deliberations.

I further sincerely recomend to you Gentlemen—That both in publick and private Capacity's you will diffuse a Spirit of Benevolence and Unanimity, which are the vital Principles of publick and private Happiness. By such conduct you will ap-

prove y'rselfs good Christians and good Subjects. You will then render my administrations Honourable and Easy. You will enjoy the Prayers and Blessings of the whole Colony. You will deserve the Paternal Affection of His Majesty. And, you will be entitled to the Favour of Almighty God, Who, that we might consider each other as Brethren, has not disdain'd to be call'd the Father of us all.

ADDRESS OF THE COUNCIL TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

To the Hon'ble Robert Dinwiddie, Esq'r, His Majesty's Lieut. Gov'r and Comand'r in Chief of the Colony and Dom'n of Virginia :

SIR:

We, His Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects the Council of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, beg leave to congratulate Y'r Honour's safe Arrival to the Governm't of this Colony, and to give you our hearty and unfeigned Thanks for Your affectionate Speech at the Opening of this Session.

There are many and great advantages deriv'd to Us from His Majesty's Reign in comon with the rest of His Subjects, but the Appointm't of You, Sir, to preside over us (who formerly liv'd amongst Us, and are well acquainted with the Laws and Constitution of our Country) is a Circumstance, that in a more particular Manner, demands our Acknowledgments.

To preserve the Order of Society, to protect the Innocent, and administer Justice impartially; to be circumspect, and watchful, that all the Subordinate Officers of Governm't act in their Several Stations with a comendable Fidelity, are the Charactericks, the genuine Marks of a good Ruler; to be animated by these Motives, ever studious in Pursuit of these Principles, careful and diligent in the Discharge of every Duty, are Blessings which will be continued to Us. By Y'r Prudence and Conduct, the present Generation will more immediately feel the Effects of the Wisdom of Your Administration; but the beneficial Consequences of it will be transmitted to Generations that are yet unborn.

We are truly sensible of the Benefits that must arise to the

British Interest by Cultivating a Friendship with the Indian Nations; the Importance of it is well known and cannot fail to Claim our Attention and to Merit our Regard.

Influenc'd therefore by every Motive, which Duty to our Country can suggest, or Gratitude inforce, We shall constantly endeavour to contribute every Thing on our Part; the whole Tenor of our Conduct shall evidence the Sincerity of our Zeal to promote the Glory of God, the Hon'r of the Crown, and the Welfare of the people, thereby to render Your Administration easy to Your Person, and honourable to Your Character.

ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES TO GOVERNOR
DINWIDDIE.

SIR:

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, beg leave to return Your Hon'r our cordial Thanks for Your affectionate Speech at the Opening of this Session.

Being truly sensible of His Majesty's paternal Care, for this his most antient Colony, in appointing a Person of such approv'd Abilities and Integrity to preside over us; With Hearts full of Sincerity, We Congratulate Your Hon'r upon Your safe Arrival with Your Family Amongst Us.

Your Zeal for the established Religion, and tender Regard for the Prosperity of this Dominion, do justly claim our unfeigned Acknowledgments. We do therefore in the strongest terms assure Your Honour that We will embrace every Opp'ty of giving lively Testimonies of our strict Attachment to the Purity of that Religion, and every suitable Return of Duty and Gratitude.

When we reflect on those social virtues with w'ch Your Hon'r hath formerly distinguished Yourself amongst Us, We cannot but promise ourselves every Pleasing Prospect of an Equitable and well ordered Governm't. And we further assure Your Hon'r that We shall on our Parts, endeavour with an active Diligence to redress such Grievances, reform such Irregularities, and supply such Defects as shall appear to obstruct the Publick Tranquility,

or retard the comon Interest of this Country. In the doing of w^{ch}, We think ourselves happy in the Offer that Your Hon^r hath made of Your kind Assistance. By such a Conduct, We doubt not, We shall derive to ourselves every temp^oral Felicity, and hope to obtain in the Countenance of the Grace and Fav^r of that Omnipotent Being, who hath not disdan'd to be call'd the Father of us all.

ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES TO GOVERNOR
DINWIDDIE.

*To the Hon^{ble} Robert Dinwiddie, Esq^r, His Majesty's Lieut.
Gov^r and Command^r in Chief of the Colony and Dominion
of Virginia:*

SIR:

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia now met in General Assembly, beg leave, upon the Confidence that We place in the repeated Assurances that Your Hon^r has been pleas'd to give of Your kind Assistance in any Matter that shall be Connducive to the Good and Wellfare of this Dom'n, to recomend to Your Care and Direction, the Representation made by this House in conjunction with the Council, to His Majesty, in which the unhappy Circumstances of this Colony under the late Proclamation for the Repeal of sundry useful and salutary Acts of Assembly, As also the Inconveniences that may arise from His giving His Assent to such Laws, that in their Nature must require frequent Alterations and Amendm'ts are humbly and dutifully set forth. And we doubt not but by Your Hon^r's Countenance and Application His Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to extend His Royal Indulgence so far as to direct a Redress suitable to the Inconveniences complain'd of.

MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR TO THE COUNCIL AND
BURGESSES.

*Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the
House of Burgesses :*

I return You Thanks for Your Care and Dispatch of the Public Business, for Your Favours, and the Confidence You have repos'd in me to forward Your Addresses to His Majesty. You may be assur'd of my Care to have them properly presented, and my utmost Endeavours to procure the Relief desir'd.

The Season of the year, and your own private Affairs calling you to your respective Counties, I desire to recomend to you, as farr as your Influence reaches, to see the Laws in regard to the Militia put in Execution, by having the People duely muster'd and train'd up in Military Discipline. We have an open and extensive Country, without Fortifications, so that the Protection of our Lives and Estates depend Chiefly (under God) on our Militia, and it's the Maxim of all wise Nations, in Time of Peace to prepare and provide against the Exigencies of War. I further recomend to you, as far as possible to discourage Gaming, Swearing, and imoderate Drinking, particularly at County Courts. The first of these Crimes, I am inform'd, has been pretty general in this Country, and is now much practis'd among the lowest Class of our People.³⁴ I mean Tradesmen and inferior Planters, who in all Countries are very apt to follow the Examples of their Superiors. This great Vice is very often attended with many other Sins, and frequently with the Ruin of Families. The Wisdom of most Nations, observing the many dreadful Consequences attending it, have thought proper to make strong Laws against Gaming. And there are several salutary Laws subsisting in this

³⁴ There were repeated enactments for the suppression of gaming, the first having been passed in February, 1727, by which all money so lost was recoverable, and all obligation or mortgages so given were void. The penalty of cheating was the forfeiture of five times the amount so won. Common gamblers were required to give security for their good behavior. *Hening's Statutes at Large*, iv, pp. 214, 218. Weld, in his "*Travels Through the States of North America*," etc., in 1795, 1796, and 1797, London, 1799, gives an overdrawn picture of the prevalence of this vice at that time.

Colony against it. It is the Duty of every Magistrate to put these Laws in Execution, but more in particular you, Gentlemen, who are Elected to represent the Body of the People in a Legislative Capacity.

Gentlemen, I confide in You, that by your Example You will encourage Religion and Virtue, and to the Utmost of your Power, discourage Vice and Impiety in all its ugly Shapes, Which will be an essential Means to Increase the Peace and Prosperity of this Dom'n, and in Consequence of such Example and Practice, I promise myself great Satisfaction and Pleasure.

And, if it shall please God, we meet again, I hope You will come fully determin'd to do every thing in Your Power to establish the Happiness of this Colony on the strongest Foundation.

And now nothing remains but to wish You Health and Prosperity in Your Recess, and to acquaint You that I think fit to Prorogue You to the last Thursday in Oct'r next. And this Assembly is accordingly Prorogued to that Time.

CHARGE OF THE GOVERNOR TO THE GRAND JURY,
APRIL, 1752.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:

It is the Blessing and Happiness of the Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain to be Govern'd by Laws that are founded on natural Justice and Equity, upon the mutual Duties that arise among the Members of the same Society, from their relation to each other. A great many of these Laws consists of Precepts by which Right and Wrong are pointed out and distinguish'd. But the power of Enforcing these Precepts is not, as in other Countries intrusted to a single Person, whose Judgment may be pervert'd by Caprice, or by Prejudice, and whose Conduct may be influenc'd by the Threats of Power, the Allurements of Wealth, or the Importunity of Persuasion.

Nor is the Suspicion of Guilt founded on the strongest Circumstances sufficient to subject a Britain to Tortures that are less tolerable than Death, under Pretence of compelling him to confess his Crime and accuse himself. No, Gentlemen, our

Laws extend further. It's the Law and not the Judge that regulates the Manner in w^{ch} every Offender shall be Convicted, and what degree of Punishment he shall suffer.

The Facts themselves are tried twice by Juries, by the Grand Jury the Offence is presented, and by the Petty Jury the Enquiry is Completed, and the Truth or Falsehood of the Charge, finally determin'd.

I know it is Customary, on these Occasions, to Enumerate the various offences which are to be the Object of Your Enquiry, but the Difference between Right and Wrong is so obvious, that it is easily to be distinguish'd by every Capacity.

You are therefore to enquire into every Action, by w^{ch} God is Dishonour'd, and Man Injur'd; but as human Laws are not sufficiently Extensive to include all the possible Deviations from Right, there may be many Actions of w^{ch} You will without Difficulty discover the Turpitude, and yet may doubt whether they can be Legally Punish'd. It is to be hoped that these Cases will not frequently occur. But when they do, His Majesty's Attorney General (who's Probity and Knowledge are too well known to need my Enconium) will afford You all necessary Information and Assistance.

I wou'd observe to you, Gentlemen, That the Punishment inflict'd by Law, does not terminate in Revenge, or Retaliation, nor respect the past so much as the Future, for there can but be two good Purposes that can be answer'd by Punishm't. The first is, the Amendm't of the Offender, and the Second, the deterring others from the like Enormities. To Punish wth any other View is not Justice, And to Omitt to punish, when Punishm't wou'd answer Either of these Purposes, is not Mercy. For what can be more Cruel than the withholding a Motive to Virtue, or suffering a Crime to go unpunish'd, when the Impiety of the Criminal may propagate his Guilt, and Criminate in the Ruin of many, whom it may become necessary to cut off, as obnoxious to Society.

Gentlemen, I am confident that Integrity and Publick Spirit will effectually secure you from deviating either to the Right or to the Left, in the Discharge of your important Trust; For he that Walketh uprightly, walketh surely, and it's the Wicked only that falleth into Mischief.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S SECOND CHARGE TO THE
GRAND JURY, OCTOBER, 1752.*Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:*

It has been established by long Custom, that something shou'd be said to you from this Place, before you enter on the Discharge of the Duty of your Office, as a Grand Inquest for the Body of this Dominion.

As the principal End of civil Governm't and Human Laws is to secure Property, to oblige Men, out of Fear of Punishm't, to live Honestly and Justly, and that each Member of the Community may be protected and defended from Injury and Wrong, So where the Laws and Constitutions of any Governm't have been wisely adapted to these Ends, such Countries have increased in Power, Wealth and Happiness. For preserving the Publick Peace, and Restraining the Lusts, unruly Passions, Frauds and Violences of Men, our Laws have provided many salutary Remedies, and the Person offending against the Laws, are by our happy Constitution to be tried by two Juries. The Presentment lies with the Grand Body. Gentlemen, It is from the exercise of this great and valuable Blessing that you are now Sumoned here and chosen; And you are to present to this Court, all Offenders against the Rules, either of Moral or Civil Justice. Under the former, is included all Vice, Immorality and Prophaneness, And under the latter, all Offences comitted against your King and Country.

I will recomend one Rule to you, Gentlemen; That is, to consult, without Fav'r or Prejudice, the native Dictates of Your own impartial Hearts. There is a just Judge within the Breast of every honest Man. Be only properly inform'd, and the Dictates of Your Conscience may be boldly pronounc'd to the World. If matters of Form, or Points of Law sh'd Embarras Your Proceedings, the Court will be ready to instruct You. As You are to Enquire of and present all Offences against the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Land, I doubt not, You will acquit Y'rselves with all Honesty, Dilligence, and Impartiality, by hav'g a due Regard for the Honour and Glory of God, a Love to Your Country, and most Sincere and affectionate Loyalty to His Sacred Majesty, King George the Second, upon Whom, and

His Royal Progeny (next under God) our Safety and Protection in the many valuable Blessings of our Constitution chiefly depends.

And now, Gentlemen, without detaining You any longer, I dismiss You to Your Enquiries.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S THIRD CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY.

Gentleman of the Grand Jury:

Civil Governm't, was Instituted for the Preservation of Men's civil Interests, and for the better Security of the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People. Every Nation and State differ from Each other in their Policy, [and] in the Governm't of their People. It w'd be tedious to repeat the different Forms of Governm't. It will be sufficient that I Acquaint You [that] The Constit'n of Great Britain under w'ch we are happily plac'd Is a mixt Limited Monarchy. When the Prerogative of the Crown and the Liberties of the People are so interwoven, that the Rights reserved to the Subject tend to render the King Hon'ble and Great, And the Prerogatives of the Crown are in Order to the Protection and Safety of the People; Every Subject of Great Britain have a fundamental Right born with him, as to the Freedom in his Person, and Property in his Estate, w'ch he cannot be deprived of, but by his own Consent, or for some Crime, for w'ch the Law hath impos'd such a Penalty or Forfeiture. And it is further our great Happiness that no Person can be Convicted or attainted of any Crime before two Juries pass upon him. It's the Duty of the Grand Jury to present the Offence, the Petty Jury to try the Truth of the Presentm't; And the Court is instructed by our Law, what Punishm't is due to every Crime and Offence.

Gent, These are the Principals of our happy Constitution w'ch is the Glory of our Nation, and the Envy of our Neighbours. It is in Support thereof, we are met together. The Oath You have now taken is to present to the Court, all such Matters as

from Your own Knowledge, or Informations, may be against our Laws. I am very Glad that this great Trust is invested in Gentlemen of Y'r Probity and Understanding. I must observe to You, that without Informations, Prosecutions and Punishments the most Salutary Laws will prove ineffectual. To repeat to You the long Catalogue of Crimes, presentable by You, w'd take up too much Time; let it suffice, That I now give You in Charge to present all such Crimes that are against Y'r Almighty God and His Religion, Establish'd among us. Secondly, All Offences against His Sacred Majesty, King George the Second, His Crown or Dignity, under who's mild Administration we are duly Protected in our Religion and Civil Rights.

Lastly, all Crimes against our Country, and the Laws thereof. Gent, Under these three Heads, I think all Offences are Includ'd that are to be presented by You. And I have no Doubt, but You will in Consequence of y'r Oaths and the Confidence I have of y'r Probity and Good Sense, Impartially Enquire into and Justly Present to the Court, all such as Dare to offend ag'st our God, our King, or our Country.

My 3d Charge,

Ap'l 10th, 1753.

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GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S FOURTH CHARGE TO THE
GRAND JURY.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:

You are here assembled and sworn to the Execution of the most Important Trust that can be repos'd in Men. To enact Laws, is indeed the Work of the Supream Legislature, but upon the Execution of those Laws, not only the Happiness, but the very Being of Society more immediately depends. It is therefore from You, Gentlemen, that the Public is to derive whatsoever distinguishes a free and well govern'd Comunity from a Band of migrating Savages, who have no Principal of Action but Appetite, and no rule of Right, but Power. Temptations to Violence, and to Fraud are so various and frequent, that it is no Wonder they are not always resisted. Mankind are perpetually deviating into Disorder and Escaping from the Bond of Society. It is

therefore necessary for the Magistrate to watch the Earliest Efforts of Oppression, and the first Sallies of Intemperance with the greatest Circumspection, and immediately to restore the general Order as often as it is interrupted. The Crimes by which religion is Prophan'd, Allegiance to the King broken, Property invaded, and reputation sullied, are so multiplied that the List is a Satyre on our Species, and [I] wish I cou'd be excus'd from enumerating the many Ways by w'ch human Nature has been degraded, but I am compell'd to display the Cataloge before you, and some of the Articles I hope you will be able effectually to wipe out. You are, Gent., to punish all who dare Blasphem Almighty God, a Crime which seems to include a Capacity for all others, for what may not be dreaded from the Wretch who reviles infinite Goodness, ridicules consummate Wisdom, and defies unbounded Power, as a lower Species of this Offence. You are to take Notice of the contemptuous Violation of the Sabbath, w'ch is an Outrage on every Christian; and of the horrid Oaths and Imprecations, w'ch wou'd make a Mahomitan tremble.

Perjury in Judicial Concerns is a dreadful Complicat'n of Guilt, it's a daring Insult on the Deity, and the most scandalous, as well as dangerous Invasion of the Property of Others.

Drunkenness, also, however Venial and trifling in comon Estimation, is to be class[ed] Among the Offences w'ch are more immediately comitted against the Majesty of Heaven, as it debases His Image, and abuses His Bounty. You are next to present all the Species of Treason and misprison [*sic*] of Treason, w'ch are Offences comitted against His most Sacred Majesty, under w'ch is included:—Counterfeiting the Coin, or bringing false Coin into the Colony, or counterfeiting foreing Coin³⁵ that are current here, and uttering seditious Words against His Majesty's Person and Gov't. The Crimes that relate to our Fellow Subjects are—Murder, Burglary, robbing on the High-Way, Stealing, or receiving stolen Goods, riots, routs, or unlawful Assemblies, Assaults, or in general, all Gaming, Bribery, Extortion, keeping disorderly Houses, Cheats, Nuisances and Neglect to repair the High-Ways and Bridges. Such, Gent, is a List of Crimes you are to present, w'ch, yet, is far from including all possible Methods, by w'ch

³⁵ The Statute adjudging counterfeiting, treason, was first enacted in October, 1710.—*Hening*, iii, pp. 504, 505.

ingenious Wickedness may deviate from the rules of Society. For that there is a constant Succession of new Vices, or at least new Modes of Vice, for the Evasion of Legal Punishment, is the constant Experience of every Legislature, as appears from the perpetual enactment of new Laws. When therefore on Y'r Enquiries, you shall perceive any of these malignant Plants spring up, Y'r Duty to Y'r God, Your King, Y'r Country and Y'r Selves, requires that you exert all Your Power for their imediate Destruction.

Great indeed is this Task, Gent., but the Order of our happy Constitution directs the Performance thereof, and I Congratulate the Publick and myself, that it is in so able Hands, and I doubt not but that you will acquit Y'r Selves so as to not only to have Praise of Men, but also the Blessing of God.

My fourth Charge,

Oct'r 16th, 1753.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE COUNCIL
AND HOUSE OF BURGESSES.

*Gent'n of the Council, Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House
of Burgesses:*

It is with great Pleasure I meet You again in a Legislative Capacity, and as the last Session ended with great Harmony, I doubt not this present Session will begin, continue and end in the same Manner, and I hope You meet with Unanimity for the Service of Your Country. Your Address to His Majesty was transmitted and properly presented. I shall lay before you a Copy of sundry Paragraphs of Mr. Abercrombie,³⁶ y'r Agent's

³⁶The Colony of Virginia appears to have been represented at the English Court by an agent from the year 1680. At first a single agent sufficed, but later, because of the jealousy between the two legislative branches, the Governor and Council, and the House of Burgesses, each employed an agent. Thus, James Abercromby was the sole agent from January, 1753, to January, 1758, (when the Burgesses appointed one Montague to represent them,) and of the Governor and Council only, to March, 1773, and perhaps later. The Manuscripts—Dissertations, and Letter and Account Books—of Abercromby have been preserved, and several of them are listed in the Catalogues of Alfred Russell Smith,

Letters to me, in regard thereto and to the Acts pass'd last Sessions, And I shall also lay before You, a Letter from the Rt-Hon'ble the Lords of Trade, recommending a Strict Friendship and Affection to the Ind's and shewing the Usefulness of giving a proper Encourag'm't to foreign Protestants to settle in the interior Parts of this Dom'n;³⁷ a Copy of the Lords of Trade, their remonstrance and reasons to His M'y on Your revis'd Laws; a report of the Com'rs of the Customs to the L'ds of the Treasury in regard to your Tob'o Laws; as also a Copy of an Instruction from His M'y granting me Power to give my Assent to two Laws formerly repealed, to all which, I refer you.

I am heartily sorry for the bad Acc'ts we have of the Price of Tob'o at Home, and of its bad Quality, which I conceive must be greatly owing to the Neglect and Dishonesty of the Inspectors, I therefore recomend to Your Consideration whether the reduction of the vast Number of Warehouses³⁸ and the

London, 1871 and 1874. In the last, No. 3583, "An Examination of the Laws of this Kingdom relative to the Government, Trade, Customs and other branches of Revenue arising to the Crown from the American Colonies, 1751," it is stated in a note, that the MS. "was placed by the author in the hands of Lord Halifax, with whose friendship he had been favoured, and that he could not help taking notice how remarkably the seditious proceedings in America confirmed the rectitude of his ideas." One of the Letters and Account Books alluded to is in the possession of the present editor. From this, it appears that James Abercromby was of the family of Abercromby of County Banff; that he was bred to the law; served as Judge Advocate of the Command of Lieutenant-General Sir James St. Clair in the Expedition to America, by commission dated August 3, 1746; Agent of the Colony of North Carolina from 1748 to 1758; of Virginia as above, and for some time the private agent of Governor Glen of South Carolina. His total emoluments from salaries, incidentals and commissions, were probably £2,000 yearly.

³⁷ An act was passed by the Assembly in December, 1700, for the benefit of the French Protestant refugees who had settled at Manakin Town, in Henrico county, above the falls of James river, by which they were erected into a separate parish by the name of King William parish, and exempted for seven years from the payment of all public or county levies. The descendants of these settlers are quite numerous, and are among the most estimable of the people of Virginia. *Hening*, iii, p. 201.

³⁸ Through duties to the government and the multiplicity of charges

appointing an Inspector Gen'l in each river properly impower'd to inspect the different Warehouses, and to Examine the Books of the Inspection w'd not be of service to remove the Complaints now subsisting.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE HOUSE OF
BURGESSES.

Gent. of the House of Burgesses :

Since Your last Adjournm't I have been alarm'd by several Informations from our back Settlem'ts from the Ind's and from our neighbouring Gov'ts of a large Body of French regulars and Ind's in their Int't having march'd from Canada to the river Ohio in a hostile Manner, to invade His Majesty's Territories, and having actually built a Fort on His Maj'ty's Land. On which, by the Advice of the Council, I have sent sever'l considerable Presents to the Ind's that are our Allies, and in Friendship with Us. These People seem much surpriz'd at the Conduct of the French and appear full of resentm't and have assur'd the Comiss'rs sent from me of their sincere Attachm't to the British Int't and to the Eng. Colonies on this Cont't. And as I intend to meet the Chiefs of the different Tribes of Ind's next May at Winchester, to deliver a very considerable Present from His M'y, I am in Hopes then to make a firm, strong and lasting Alliance with them. This Attempt of the French has been represented to the Ministry at Home, by several of the Gov'rs on this Cont't and by myself, and by them it was laid before the King. His Majesty, out of His paternal Love, Affection, and great regard he bears to his Subjects on this Cont't immediately order'd one of His Ships of War to come to this Dom'n with His Royal Instruct'ns to me, how to conduct myself in the present Situation of Affairs. I also rec'd Letters to all

by the merchant, the planter was often actually brought in debt upon his consignments. Many curious examples of this exist in print and in MS. Warehouses—or rolling-houses as they were originally termed from the method of transporting the hogsheads of tobacco—were first appointed in October 1712.—*Hening*, iv, pp. 32-38.

His Majesty's Gov'rs on this Cont't with Orders to dispatch the same to them immediately. As this Affair has been so strongly notic'd and attended to at Home and there judg'd to be of great Conseq'ce to His M'y's Dom'ns and to His Subjects here, I doubt not You will think it a Matter that requires Y'r immediate Consid'n. And I am comanded by His Majesty immediately to call the Assembly within my Governm't and to lay before them the Necessity of a mutual Assistance, and to engage them to grant such Supplies as the Exigency of the present Affairs requires. Which I now do, and I doubt not but You will answ'r his Royal Expectations by grant'g such Sums of Money for the defeating the Designs of our Enemies as the present Emergency calls for. And as His M'y's Ship is directed to wait for my Dispatches, I shall detain her 'til You come to some resolution thereon. His M'y has, out of his great Goodness and regard for our Preservation, order'd Thirty Pieces of Cannon, Powder &c. for the Protection of our Frontiers to the Westw'd and I very soon expect them, when they do arrive, I shall advise with the Council how they shall be disposed of for the Use intended. Gent., I think from the remarkable Tokens of His M'y's Paternal Care, and particular regard for our Safety and Protection, I need use no other Argum'ts to You, to take into Y'r Considerat'n the Necessity of a present and imediate Supply, not doubting but You will enable me to comply with His Majesty's Orders and to return an agreeable Answer on the Subject and that You will act herein consistently with the just and distinguish'd Character the Legislature of Virg'a bears with the King and his Ministry at Home. And, as the Supply now demanded is for the Protection of our Lives and Properties, the Extention and Settlement of His M'y's Territories, and for the Benefit and Advantage of Us and our Posterity, I shall leave this Affair entirely to Y'r mature Considera'n.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES.

Gent. of the House of Burgesses :

My Attention, ever since I had the hon'r of presiding over this Dom'n, has been to have the Militia properly train'd up in the use of their Arms, and to have them made more perfect and regular in the Exercise thereof. For that Purpose, I have, with the Advice of the Council, divided this Dom'n into four Districts, and have appointed an Adjutant to each District, with my Orders to exercise the Officers first, to qualify them to exercise each separate Comp'y so as to be properly prepar'd for Gen'l Musters in Sept'r. As I am of Opinion that the Militia Law is deficient in some points I shall lay before you some remarks thereon for y'r Consideration As Our Militia, under God, is our chief Dependance, for the Protection of our Lives and Fortunes; (our Country being very extensive and without Fortifications,) I doubt not you will think it a proper step to look into that Law, and make such Alterations and Amend't as to you may be thought necessary.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE COUNCIL AND HOUSE OF BURGESSES.

Gent. of the Council and House of Burgesses :

The Affairs before mention'd, being all I have at present to lay before You, and as they are of great Consequence to this Colony, I desire You will enter on y'r Duty with Calmness and due Considerat'n in the Discharge of the Trust repos'd in You by y'r Constituents. And now I desire to assure You, that I am ready to assist You, in doing Every Thing in my Power for the Service of His Majesty and of this Dom'n.

Nov. 1st, 1753.

ADDRESS OF THE COUNCIL IN REPLY TO GOVERNOR
DINWIDDIE.*To the Hon'ble Robert Dinwiddie Esq'r :*

Nov. 3, [1753.]

We, His Majesty's most faithful and loyal Subjects the Council of Virg'a now met in General Assembly, beg leave to return Y'r Hon'r our sincere and hearty Thanks for y'r affectionate Speech at the Opening of this Session. We are truly sensible, Sir, of the many Instances of your assiduous Attention to His Majesty's Service, and the Int't of this Colony, during the Time you have presided over Us and we assure Y'r Hon'r that the fresh Proofs His Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to give us of his paternal Affect'n and regard, will not fail to have a proper Influence on our Minds. Our own knowledge of maintaining a strict F'dship with the Ind's, especially in this Conjunction, and of a mutual Assistance to defeat the Designs of our Enemies, strengthened by the recommendation of such a Conduct to Us by His Majesty, indispensably obliges us, zealously to concur in all such Measures as shall be judg'd most conducive to these salutary Ends, and the Support of His Majesty's Rights, and the Interests and Security of His Subjects in America. And we intreat You, Sir, to be persuaded we shall pay a most chearful and exact regard to every Article You have submitted to Our Consideration, and contribute all in our Power towards conductin and Conclud'g the Business of This Session to the general Good of the Country and of Consequence to Y'r Hon'r's Satisfaction.

REJOINDER OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE COUNCIL.

Gent. of the Council :

I thank You for Y'r kind and affectionate Address. It gives me great Pleasure and Satisfaction that the Discharge of my Duty Since I had the Hon'r of presiding over this Dom'n meets with Y'r Approbation. And that You so chearfully observe his Majesty's tender Care and paternal Affection for us,

with Y'r resolution to attend to the Methods prescrib'd for obtaining and continuing the F'dship of the Ind's in the British Int't and thereby with our Assist'ce defeating the Designs of our Enemies. As also Y'r just Opinion of the Necessity at this Time, of having a mutual Supply. I am very sensible of Y'r strict Attachment in assisting me to obey the Orders and Comands of His M'y. And at the same Time, I now acknowledge myself very happy in having Gent'n of y'r Probity and good Sense, appointed by His M'ty to assist and advise me in the Discharge of the Requisites of my Gov't.

ADDRESS OF THE BURGESSES TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

SIR :

We, His M'ty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virg'a now met in Gen'l Assembly, return Y'r Hon'r our thanks for y'r speech at the Opening of this Session. With Hearts full of Duty and Gratitude for the paternal Care His M'y is graciously pleas'd to extend to Us, his distant Subjects, we beg leave to assure Y'r Hon'r of our inviolable Fidelity and Affection to His M'y's sacred Person and Gov't and our Zeal for the Continuance of the British Crown, in his Royal and Illustrious House. We will take the Import't Matters recomended to us by Y'r Hon'r under our serious Consideration, with that Calmness and Unanimity, as will demonstrate our steady and firm Attachm't to the true Int't of our Country. The Laws on which our Support and Preservation depend, require our strictest Attention, and we shall pay all due regard to such Remarks as Y'r Honour shall think fit to lay before us, and pursue such Measures as shall seem most likely to procure the salutary Ends propos'd by them.

Nov. 3d [1753].

REPLY OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE BURGESSES.

Mr. Speaker and Gent. of the House of Burgesses :

I return you my sincere Thanks for y'r kind Address. I am thorowly convinc'd of Y'r Duty and Attachm't to His Majesty's Person and Gov't and am in great Hopes, that during the Proceedings of Y'r House, on the Affairs recommended to You in my Speech, You will distinguish Y'rselves in every Point, so that You may prove an Example to our neighbouring Gov'ts of Y'r Zeal and Compliance in such Things, as the present Situation of our Affairs requires. I shall very soon lay before You, such Remarks as occur to me, in regard to the Militia and doubt not of Y'r pursuing Every Measure that may prove of Service to this Dom'n.

ADDRESS OF THE BURGESSES TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

Nov. 27th, 1753.

SIR:

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virg'a, being now met in Gen'l Assembly, being well assur'd from y'r Honour's repeated Declarations that You are desirous to make the Laws and Customs of Virg'a the Rule of Your Administrat'n, yet finding from the Representat'n of several Inhabit's of this Colony that an Extraordinary Fee of a Pistole for Signing every Patent of Land, and the Use of the Seal,³⁹ is demanded by the Clerks in the Secretary's Office, to countenance which Y'r Honour's Name is made Use of, We conceive ourselves bound in Duty, as well to y'r Hon'r in discharge of the Trust repos'd in us by our Country, humbly to lay the same before Your Honour, and to desire that You will inform us whether this dem'd is made by y'r direction, and if it is, that then Y'r Hon'r will be pleas'd to acquaint us with the Authority that impowers You to demand the same.

³⁹ An obsolete fee revived. The value of a pistole was \$3.60.

REPLY OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE BURGESSES.

Mr. Speaker and Gent. of the House of Burgesses :

The Welfare and Happiness of Virg'a I have very much at Heart, and this great Point has been the chief Object of my Attention ever since I had the Hon'r to preside over this Dom'n, and have been influenc'd by no Other Motive, and my Conduct upon all and extraordinary Occasions has been regulated by the Advice of the Council. I shall always shew a just regard for the sentim'ts of the Ho. of B. in every Thing that properly lies before them, and they may remain assur'd that I shall not dem'd or take any Fee without proper authority. The Pistole Fee for Patents of Land, taken at the Secretary's Office, w'ch is the Subject of y'r Address, is by my Direct'n, Agreeable to my Instruct's. I advis'd with the Council on this Point, who unanimously agreed and advis'd me to take the above Fee, which together with the Powers I have rec'd from Home, will sufficiently justify my Proceedings herein. I therefore hope you will think with me, that I have not acted in an arbitrary Manner, but that I am properly invested with regular Power and Authority, in demand'g the small Fee, so much complain'd of.

Nov. 28th, [1753.]

ADDRESS OF THE BURGESSES TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

SIR:

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virg'a now met in Gen'l Assembly, are under the deepest Concern to find by Y'r Hon'r's Answer to our Address that the dem'd of a Pistole as a Fee for the Use of the Publick Seal, is made by Y'r direction and that we are under a Necessity of making Applicat'n again to Y'r Hon'r on that Occasion.

We do humbly, but in the strongest Terms, represent to Y'r H'r that it is the undoubted right of the Burgesses to enquire into the Grievances of the People. They have constantly exercis'd this right, and we presume to affirm that the drawing it into quest'n in any Manner, cannot but be of dangerous Consequence

to the Liberties of His M^y's faithful Subjects and to the Constit'n of this Gov't. The rights of the Subject are so secur'd by Law, that they cannot be depriv'd of the least Part of their Property, but by their own consent. Upon this Excellent Principle is our Constit'n found'd, and ever since this Colony has had the Happiness of being under the imediate Protection of the Crown, the Royal Declarations have been "That no Man's Life, Member, Freehold, or Goods, be taken away or harm'd, but by established and known Laws." But the dem'd of a Pistole as a Fee for the Use of the Publick Seal, being not warranted by any known and Establish'd Law, is, we humbly conceive, an Infringem't of the Rights of the People and a Grievance highly to be complain'd of, And that we may vindicate the legality and dutiful Manner of our Proceedings, we beg Leave to acquaint Y'r Hon'r that upon the first Plant'n of this Colony, under the Governm't of the Treasurer and Comp'a of Adventurers, it was by them ordain'd that Fifty acres of Land sh'd be granted unto every Person imported into this Colony, without any other Fee or consideration than the annual rent of 1s. And after the dissolut'n of the Co. His M^y, King Chas. the 2d was pleas'd by his royal Charter, under the Great Seal of England, to Ordain that Lands sh'd be granted to the Subjects here, upon the same Terms as had been establish'd to the Company, and to authenticate the Patents for such Lands, the Public Seal was constantly affixed thereto, without Fee or reward, untill the Year 1685, when Lord Howard of Effingham the Gov'r dem'd a Fee for the use of the Seal, w^{ch} upon the represent'n of the Burgesses of Virg'a, was by His M^y King Wm. of glorious Memory, in his Privy Council, the Ninth day of Sept'r, 1689, declar'd to be uneasy and burthensome to the Colony, and order'd to be discontinued, since which, no Fee has been dem'd from the Subjects for affixing the Seal to Patents for Land, but those given to the Secretary by the Establish'd Laws of the Colony. These being the Terms and Conditions upon w^{ch} His M^y, and his royal Predecessors have been graciously pleas'd to grant their Lands to the Inhabitants of this Colony, we humbly conceive they cannot be alter'd by the Advice of the Council, and as your Honour's insist'g on the same, will, in our humble Opinion, be an Infringement of the rights of the People, a great discouragement

to the settling the Frontiers of the Colony and a Prejudice to his M'y's revenue of Quit rents, we think it our indispensable Duty to desire that Y'r Honour will recede from your demands.

Nov. 28th, [1753.]

REPLY OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE BURGESSES.

Mr. Speaker and Gent. of the House of Burgesses :

I am not unacquainted with the just Privileges of the House of Burgesses; in the Enjoyment of them, they shall always have my Protection. My duty to the King, my regard for Liberty, has and will on every Occasion, influence my Conduct. As I will never Injure the one, I cannot suffer any Encroachments on the rights of the other.

The Complaints of the People sh'd be heard, and every just Grievance redressed, but their Complaints sh'd be well grounded, and the Grievances really felt. The Establishment of the Fee complain'd of, relates solely to the disposal of the King's Lands, and which, it is conceiv'd may be deem'd a Matter of Fav'r from the Crown, and not a Matter relative to the administration of Gov't, and the fixing thereof was with so much Circumspection that it is my Care and Concern for the Improvement of His Majesty's revenue of Quit rents that prompts me to be the more Earnest in adhearing to my former Opinion and insisting on that Fee, w'ch is confirm'd to me by unquestionable Authority.

Dec'r 4th, [1753.]

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY PROROGUEING THEM.

Gent. of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gent. of the Ho. of B. :

The Season of the Year being far advanc'd, and the Business of the Assembly concluded, it is necessary to put an end to this Session. That Zeal for His M'y's Service, that disinterested Love of Your Country, for w'ch You have been distin-

guish'd upon former Occasions, has now in some Particulars, not been sufficiently attended to. The Friendship of the Ind's is a national Concern. The Interest of G. Britain, the Welfare of all His Majesty's Colonies on this Continent, and Your own Peace and Safety are engag'd upon the Event of the present Measures.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE HOUSE OF
BURGESSES.

Gent. of the House of Burgesses:

His M'y's royal com'd for a mutual Supply, recomended to you at the Beginning of this Session, to preserve the Friendship of the Ind's, to consult the real Prosperity of your Country, and at the same Time to maintain the just rights of the Crown, sh'd have been the fix'd Object of y'r Attention; but to disregard the designs of the French, to despise the Friendship of the Ind's and to dispute the rights of the Crown in the disposal of their own Lands, may be of bad Consequence.

Next to the Service of my royal Master, my greatest Ambition will be to make this dom'n flourish and the People happy; such will be my Endeavours, and such is the whole Tenor fo[r] my Conduct. Let me therefore, Gentlemen, recomend to You, during Your recess, in the different Counties, to cultivate Piety and Morality, by which you will promote the true Happiness of the People, encourage Industry, to preserve good Order and regularity among them, that they may be truely sensible of the inestimable Blessings of His M'y's reign. I have thought fit to prorogue this Assembly to the last Thursday in April next, and you are accordingly prorogu'd.

Dec. 19th, [1753.]

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD
FAIRFAX.

[Jan'y, 1754.]

As the French Forces on the Ohio intend down as far as Logstown early in the Spring, I think it is for His M'y's Service

and the Protection of the Settlem'ts of this Dom'n to do all in our Power to prevent their building any Forts or making any Settlem'ts on that river, and more particularly so nigh us as that of the Logstown. I therefore, with Advice of the Council, think proper to send immediately out 200 Men to protect those already sent by the Ohio Comp'a to build a Fort, and to resist any Attempts on them.⁴⁰ I have Commission'd Major George Washington,⁴¹ the Bearer hereof, to command 100 Men to be rais'd in Frederick County and Augusta, therefore I trouble Y'r L'ds to direct the Militia of Frederick to be drawn out and fifty Men to be enlisted for that Service. that Number probably may voluntarily enlist themselves on this Expedit'n on the Pay settled by Act of Assembly,⁴² but if they do not voluntarily enter on this Service, I think they must ballot, that the Number may be ascertained so as to prevent as far as we can, of being Surpriz'd. When the Men are properly order'd and their Names taken, they may proceed to Alexandria to Maj'r Carlisle,⁴³ who I have appointed

⁴⁰ In accordance with instructions from the British Ministry, Washington had been sent by Governor Dinwiddie in the month of December, preceding, to the Commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, with a protest against the encroachments of the French, demanding by what authority an armed force had crossed the Lakes, and urging a speedy and peaceable departure. The Commandant, M. de St. Pierre, declined to discuss the matter, claiming that the complaint should be made to the Marquis DuQuesne, Governor of Canada. The mission was therefore unsuccessful, but not altogether fruitless, as Washington had made careful observations of the forces and defences of the French. His instructions and a journal of the mission will be found in Sparks' Washington, ii, Appendix, pp. 428-447. Upon his return to Williamsburg, on the 16th of January, the protective measures of the text were instituted.

⁴¹ Virginia was in 1751 divided into four military districts, to each of which was assigned an Adjutant-General, with the rank of Major. One of these appointments was conferred on Washington, then only nineteen years of age. The duties consisted in exercising the officers, and inspecting the militia at stated times, in the manner prescribed by law.

⁴² The pay is prescribed by Act of October, 1748 (Hening, vi, p. 116), and was in tobacco, and varied, for the "Horse" from 20 pounds per day to the private soldier, to 60 pounds to the Colonel, and for the "Foot," from 15 pounds to the private, to 50 pounds to the Colonel.

⁴³ Major John Carlyle, a merchant of Alexandria. He married Sarah, the daughter of Colonel William Fairfax.

Commissary of Stores and Provisions, who will take proper Care of them.

My Lord, I hope you will excuse my giving you this Trouble, as you was pleas'd to take the Care of that Co'ty upon you, I c'd not properly write to any other; and as I am assur'd you have the Interest of this Dom'n as much at Heart, I doubt not you will please to exert Y'r Authority so that they may be at Alexandria by the 20th of next Mo. The Assembly is to meet the 14th of next Mo. when I hope if they come in good Temper, and see the absolute Necessity of making a Push at this Time, that they will lay a Fund to qualify me to send 4 or 500 Men more to the Ohio, which with the Assistance of our neighbouring Colonies and our Friendly Ind's may make some Figure and defeat the Designs of the French. I shall be glad of an Answer to this, and beg leave to assure You I am with great respect and due regard,

Y'r L'd's most Obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL JAMES PATTON.

Jan'y 1754.

SIR:

I am to acquaint You that I sent a Messenger to the Comand't of the French Forces on the Ohio. He is return'd here and informs me that they certainly intend down to Logstown early in the Spring. With advice of the Council I think it absolutely necessary to send out immediately 200 Men from the Militia to Monongahela to support those that are already there in build'g a Fort. As You are Lieut. of the Co'ty of Augusta I desire you to draw out the Militia of Y'r Co'ty and from them make a Draft of 50 Men to be at Alexandria, the head of Potomack River by the 20th of next Mo. and if possible with their Arms &c. who will receive pay agreeable to the Act of Assembly, as the Number now order'd is so few for Y'r large Co'ty and the pay so very good, I doubt not but You may prevail w'th that Number to enlist in a voluntary Manner, but if any Difficulties, You must in that Case ballot for them,

they are to be comanded by Major Geo. Washington. His Lieut. Mr. Vanbraam " waits on You and will take Charge of the People to Alexandria to Maj'r Carlisle, who I have appointed Comisary of the Stores and Provisions, and he will do the Necessary on their Arrival there.

The Ho. of Burgesses are to meet the 14th of next Mo. I hope they will enable me to send a much larger Number of Forces to the Ohio next Spring, [with] which, with the Assistance of our neighbouring Colonies and our friendly Ind's I hope we shall be able to defeat the Designs of the French. In the meantime You are to be particularly diligent to raise the Number mention'd above and deliver them to Mr. Va[n]braam to be by him convey'd with all possible Dispatch to Alex'a that no delay or disappointm't may be attributed to You. I rem'n with respect

S'r Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

[P. S.] I shall send some Arms to Alex'a to supply those that are not provided therewith.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLO. WILLIAM FAIRFAX.

SIR :

Y'r fav's by Maj'r Washington gave me much Pleasure, as I was in some Pain for him. His report has convinc'd some People of the certainty of the French building Forts and their

"Jacob Van Braam, a native of Holland and formerly in the army, was soon promoted to the Captaincy of a company. He and Captain Robert Stobo were held as hostages by the French at the Capitulation of Fort Necessity, July 3rd, 1754. For a miswording of the verbiage of the articles of surrender offered by the French (particularly in the stigmatizing charge of the assassination of Jumonville, who fell in the skirmish at Great Meadows on the 28th of May), he has been much censured, and his fidelity to the British cause, even questioned. He was retained in captivity until the surrender of Montreal in Sept. 1760, when he returned to Virginia. His services were recognized by the allotment by George Washington as Commissioner of Virginia, of 9,000 acres of land in 1771: and July 14, 1777, he was made Major of the 30th Battalion of the 60th Foot or Royal Americans then stationed in the West Indies.

further Intention to come down the Ohio to build more Fortresses and to take Possess'n of these valuable Lands. A Regim't of Volunteers w'd have been very agreeable to me, but looking into the Militia Laws there is no pro.[vision?] for paying them under that denominat'n, therefore [I] have Commission'd Maj'r Washington to enlist 100 Men from the Militia of Augusta and Frederick and Capt. Wm. Trent has my Com'o to enlist 100 more among the Traders &c.; these two Compa's to march directly after rais'd, to protect and assist them in building the Fort. And as I have call'd the Assembly to meet the 14th of next Mo. I hope they will enable me to raise 400 Men more to go out early in the Spring and I shall write to the neighbouring Gov'ts to assist us, which if they do with a Spirit, these Forces with the Conjunct'n of our friendly Ind's I hope will make a good Appearance on the Ohio and be able to defeat the Designs of the French. We shall be in want of Y'r good Advice when the House meets, but as You are not well, and to come in Apr., I think Y'r Comp'a from so great a Distance must be dispens'd with. Y'r Letter shall be forwarded with my own in the Man of War. Agreeable to Y'r Recommendation I have with Pleasure appointed Maj'r Carlisle Commissary of Stores and Provisions, but as the Hurry of the Affairs of the Publick prevents my giving him so dist't Instruct's as are requisite, I therefore recomend him to consult You in every Thing for the Service of the Publick under his Care. I therefore desire You will be aiding with Y'r Advice, that there may be nothing wanting for the imediate Dispatch of Mr. Washington. I have the affairs of the Ohio much at Heart, [and] if the Burgesses come in good Temper to do what is their Duty to the Crown and in Protect'n of their Co'ty, I hope we shall be able to convince the French we are not always slow in our Motions. A Letter from You to Lord Fairfax will facilitate the raising of the Men in Frederick County. I am heartily fatigu'd. My Wife and two Girls join me in Sincere respects to You and Y'rs and I am sincerely,

S'r Y'r Affect. h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE.

Jan'y 27th 1854.

SIR:

By the Recomendat'n of Colo. Fairfax, I here enclose you a Com'o to be Comissary of Stores and Provis's for the Supply of Forces design'd for the river Ohio, under the com'd of Maj'r Geo. Washington and Capt. Wm. Trent, and any other Forces that are hereafter order'd. In Consequence of this Com'o You are to procure a sufficient Qu'ty of Flower, Bread, Beef and Pork for 500 Men for six or eight Mos. I am told that Provis's are very plenty in the back Co'ty. Advise with Colo. Fairfax the Qu'ty You may think proper, and if You can conveniently and quickly compleat the Qu'ty that may be judg'd necessary, Send me Acc't of the Prices, and if You sh'd be of Opinion that the Qu'ty can not be purchas'd with You, what may be deficient must be sent from this [place]. The Money You may advance will be p'd you in the April Court, but You must take Care to have a Sufficiency for Maj'r W. and Ct. T. that there may be no Delay to their prosecuting the Orders they have from me. I shall send You Ten P's Cannon with Stores &c. suitable and 200 Small Arms to Supply the above two Companies if wanted, take receipts for what You deliver. The Cannon are large and heavy, therefore I think You must Order the Sloop with them as near to the Falls as possible, to make the Land Carriage short, and from the Falls to be carried by Water to Wills's Creek, from thence to the Ohio. Read the Act of Assembly in regard to the Militia and on Invasions⁴⁵ You will then observe You have Authority to press Boats, Waggons, Carts, Horses &c. and upon this Occasion I think it absolutely necessary unless You can hire at reasonable rates. Consult with Colo. Fairfax in every Thing, as I am so much hurried I cannot write You so fully as I intended. I wish You Health

And am S'r Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

⁴⁵ *Henning*, vi, pp. 112-118.

COMMISSION OF MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE.

*Robt. Dinwiddie Esq'r Lieut. Gov'r and Com'd'r in Chief of
the Colony and Dom'n of Virginia—*

TO MAJ'R JOHN CARLISLE:

By Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given as Com'd'r in Chief of this Colony, I hereby constitute and appoint you, the s'd John Carlisle, Comissary of Provisions and Stores for an Expedit'n intended to the River Ohio in this Dom'n and appertaining to the Crown of G. B.

You are therefore carefully and diligently to provide Provis's of all kinds for s'd Expedition (viz) Bread, Flower, Corn, Pork and Beef, and the same to have carried to Wills's Creek, from thence to be carried to the Fort now building on the Waters of the Ohio. And as the Act of Assembly in regard to Invasions provides that in necessity, Boats, Sloops, Waggon's, Carts, Horses, &c. may be impressed for expediting the Services required, I therefore, agreeable to s'd Act, give you full Power on Occasion to impress Boats, Sloops, Waggon's, Carts, Horses or any Thing else that is necessary for the safe Conveyance of Provisions or Stores, for the due execution of the Expedition afores'd.

And I further give you Power and Authority to appoint one or more Deputies to be aiding and Assisting to you in the discharge of the Trust repos'd in you. For such Deputies You must be accountable. And I further hereby require and com'd all Magistrates, Civil and Military, and all others to be aiding and assisting to you in the due discharge of the Duties requisite by this Commission.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony at W'msb'rg the 26th Day of Jan'y In the 27th Year of His Majesty's reign Annoque Dom. 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO WM. TRENT, ESQR.

SIR:

Y'r Letter of the 6th Curr't I rec'd from Maj'r Washington, from his report, Informat'n and Observat's I find the French intend down the Ohio to build Forts and take Possession of the Lands on that River, w'ch I w'd very earnestly prevent. And as You think You c'd⁴⁶ this Winter, if properly empower'd to do so, I therefore inclose You a Capt's Com'o to raise 100 Men in Augusta and in the exterior Settlem'ts of this Dom'n and a blank Com'o for You to choose a suitable Lieut. to Co-operate with You. Y'r Comp'a will be in the Pay of this Gov't agreeable to the Assembly. Maj'r Washington has a Com'o to raise 100 Men, with them he is to join You and I desire You may march Y'r Men out to the Ohio where a Fort is propos'd to be built. When You are there You are to protect and assist them in finishing the Fort and to be on Y'r Guard ag'st any Attempts of the French. I doubt not the Woodsmen You may enlist will be provided with Guns &c., I have appointed Maj'r Carlisle of Alexandria a Commiss'y of Stores and Provisions, he will supply You accordingly with what Necessaries You may want and in case of want of Guns I have sent some to his Care to be delivered to the Com'd'rs of either of these Compa's giving receipt accordingly for them. As You have a good Interest with the Ind's I doubt not You will prevail with many of them to join You in order to defeat the Designs of the French in taking their Lands from them by force of Arms. The Ho. of Burgesses are to meet the 14th of next Mo. w'n I hope they will enable me to send out 400 more Men early in the Spring to Y'r Assistance. I wrote to the neighbouring Gov'rs for their Aid and Assistance on the present Emergency and I am in hopes they will supply a good Number of men &c. I have some Cannon come in—ten I send up to the Commissary at Alexandria—they carry four Pound shot—I fear there will be a difficulty in carrying them out—as You are acquainted with the Roads, I shall be glad of Y'r Advice therein, and communicate the same to Maj'r Carlisle. You see the Confidence and good Opinion I have of Y'r Capacity and Diligence w'ch I hope You will Exert on this Occasion by

⁴⁶ Omission in the Records.

keeping a good Comand and strongly engaging our friendly Ind's to be on the Active. Provisions will be difficult to send regular Supplies. Mr. Washington says one Mr. Frazier can provide large Qu'ty of Venison, Bear, &c. I desire You may write him to get what he can. When You have compleated Y'r Comp'a send me a List thereof and the time of their enlisting and the Places of their Aboad. I wish You Health and Success in the present Expedition and am Sincerely

S'r Y'r h'ble Serv't

COMMISSION OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM TRENT.

*Rob't Dinwiddie Esq'r His Majesty's L't Gov'r Com'd'r in Chief
and Vice Admiral of his Colony and Dom'n of Virg'a—*

TO WM. TRENT, ESQ'R:

Whereas certain Persons pretending to be Subjects of his most X'n Majesty the King of France, and that they act by his Como. have in a hostile Manner invaded the Territories of our Sovereign His M'y King George the 2d King of Great B. &c. and have comitted divers Outrages and Violences on the Persons and Goods of His M'y's Subjects, in direct violation and infract'n of the Treaties at present subsisting between the two Crowns, and Whereas these Acts of hostility and depredations have been perpetrated in that Part of His Majesty's Dom's w'ch are under my Gov't; In order therefore to the Preservation of the Peace and Good understanding between the two Crowns and the Preservation of our Sovereign's undoubted rights, and the Protection of his Subjects as much as in me lies, I have thought fit to appoint and by Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given as Com'd'r in Chief of this Colony, I do hereby constitute and appoint You Wm. Trent Esq'r to be Com'd'r of such and so many of His My's Subjects not exceeding 100 Men as You can immediately raise and enlist, and with the s'd Comp'a and the Assistance of our good and faithful Friends and Allies the Ind's of the Six Nat's and such others as are in Amity with them and Us, to keep Possession of His M'y's Lands on the Ohio and the Waters

thereof and to dislodge and drive away, and in case of refusal and resistance to kill and destroy or take Prisoners all and every Person and Persons not Subjects of the King of G. B. who now are or shall hereafter come to settle and take Possess'n of any Lands on said River Ohio, or on any of the Branches or Waters thereof. And I do hereby require the s'd Men who shall so enlist themselves and every — of them to obey You as their Com'd'r and Capt'n &c. and You are to constitute such and so many Officers under You as the Service shall require, not exceeding 1 Capt. and 1 Lieut't.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony at W'msburg the — Day of Jan'y in the 27 Year of His M'y's Reign, annoq Dom. 1754.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE INDIAN
CHIEF MONACATOOTHA.

*Good and faithful Friend Monacatoocha*⁴⁷:

I am well pleas'd with the good report which my Messenger Maj'r Geo. Washington made me of the Fidelity that You expressed both in Y'r Words and Actions towards me and Y'r Brethren. I send this as Y'r best Friend, to warn You to beware of the cunning Devices of those who under the Pretence of embracing You do but mean to squeeze You to Death; Such Treachery deserves to be chastised, and I therefore advise You to loose no Time, but directly to stretch out the rod that Onontia put in Y'r Hand to Chastise him with w'n he sh'd grow Foolish, as now he has done. I have given proper Com'o to Maj'r W. and Capt. T. to bring You sufficient Assistance to enable You to deliver Y'r Selves from Y'r Enemies, and so wishing You to make a good Use of Time's Opp'ty and that God may give us Success, I bid You farewell.

⁴⁷ Monacatoocha or Monacatootha, also known as Scarroyaddy, and earlier, to 1748, as Skwoniatta, was an Oneida chief, one of the mixed band of the various tribes of the Six Nations, who in 1754, lived near the Ohio. He served in the expedition of Braddock, (at whose defeat his son was killed,) and was through life a staunch ally of the English.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE SIX NATIONS.

Brethren of the Six Nat's:

Since the Designs of Y'r Enemies can be no longer doubted of, and it is manifest that they intend to deprive You of Y'r hunting Grounds on the Ohio, and Liberties, and to break the Peace that they have pretended to maintain with us, I have therefore thought proper as Y'r good Friend and Brother to let You know that I have given Com'o and Orders to my Officers to join You with some Forces if You will take the Hatchet into Y'r Hands. And as there is no Quest'n but that Y'r Enemy may be now easily driven away if not suffer'd to become more numerous, I do therefore advise You not to loose any Time, but immediately to send out Y'r Warriors; to whose Assistance I propose in a short Time to send a considerable Number of our Soldiers. Wishing You Health and Success I bid You Farewell.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO ANDREW MONTOUR.

S'R:

The Mess'r I sent to the French Com'd't on the Ohio assures me of their fix'd resolution of coming down that river to Logstown fully determin'd to build Fortresses without having any regard to the Ind's, w'ch I am determin'd all in my Power, with the Assistance of the neighbouring Gov'ts and our friendly Ind's to prevent. I therefore desire You will acquaint the Six Nat's that in the Spring of this Year I hope to have a good Number of our Forces out at Logstown and I shall be very glad [if] they will come there to our Aid, Knowing their Appearance will give Spirits to all the other Nat's of Ind's in Amity with Us and them—take the most proper Manner of giving them Intelligence thereof And at same Time let them know I keep my resolution of meeting them and the Other Chiefs or the Ind'n Nat's at Winchester in May next. Y'r Son⁴³ is in good Health, as I hope this will find You and I am

S'r Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

⁴³ John Montour. See Note 22, p. 17.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR
WASHINGTON.

Instruct's to be observ'd by Maj'r Geo. Washington, on the Expedition to the Ohio.

MAJ'R GEO. WASHINGTON:

You are forthwith to repair to the Co'ty of Frederick and there to take under Y'r Com'd 50 Men of the Militia who will be deliver'd to You by the Comd'r of the s'd Co'ty pursuant to my Orders. You are to send Y'r Lieut. at the same Time to the Co'ty of Augusta, to receive 50 Men from the Comd'r of that Co'ty as I have order'd, and with them he is to join You at Alexandria, to which Place You are to proceed as soon as You have rec'd the Men in Frederick. Having rec'd the Detachm't, You are to train and discipline them in the best Manner You can, and for all Necessaries You are to apply Y'rself to Mr. Jno. Carlisle at Alex'a who has my Orders to supply You. Having all Things in readiness You are to use all Expedition in proceeding to the Fork of Ohio with the Men under Com'd and there you are to finish and compleat in the best Manner and as soon as You possibly can, the Fort w'ch I expect is there already begun by the Ohio Comp'a. You are to act on the Defensive, but in Case any Attempts are made to obstruct the Works or interrupt our Settlem'ts by any Persons whatsoever You are to restrain all such Offenders, and in Case of resistance to make Prisoners of or kill and destroy them. For the rest You are to conduct Y'rself as the Circumst's of the Service shall require and to act as You shall find best for the Furtherance of His M'y's Service and the Good of His Dom'n. Wishing You Health and Success I bid You Farewell.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S MESSAGE TO THE CATAWBA
INDIANS.

*To the King and Head Men and Warriors of the Catawbas;
Robt. Dinwiddie Esq'r Gov'r of Virg'a wishes You Health
and Prosperity:*

I am sorry I have reason to acquaint You that the French with some Ind's in Fr'dship with them intend early this Spring to come down the River Ohio to take Possess'n of Y'r hunting Grounds on that River and to build Forts. The Consequence thereof will be to bring all the Nat's of Ind's to the So'ward into Slavery to them. The great Love and Esteem I have for You and the other Nat's of Ind's in Fr'dship with Y'r Father, the King of G. B. and these Colonies has engaged me to order out to Monongehela near the Logstown, a considerable Number of Forces from this [place] to defeat the designs of the French and protect Y'r hunting Grounds from their unjust Invasion. These Forces I expect will be on the Spot some Time in the Mo. of Mar. next. This therefore is sent You by Abra. Smith⁴⁹ to desire You to send out as many of Y'r Warriors [as] you possibly can to Monongahela to be there in the Mo. of Mar. next, that with Y'r Assistance, the Cherokees, Chickesaws, the Ind's on the Ohio and the Forces from this Dom'n, we may be in a Capacity to defeat the unjust Designs of the French and their Ind's. These Tribes of Ind's, called Chippeways, Ottaways and Arundacks, have by the perswasion and Influence of the French taken up the Hatchet ag'st us, but what are they but Children when compared to the brave Catawbas? The 20th of May, at Winchester in Fred'k Co'ty I am to meet with some of the Chiefs of the five Nations, Twightwees and other Chiefs of the Ind's on the Ohio. I therefore desire two of Y'r Chiefs to be there to receive Part of a Pres't sent by Y'r Father the K. of G. B. Let me know on return of this Messenger if you want any Supplies for Y'r Warriors that go to the Ohio. Tho' our Magazine will be much exhausted in furnishing the Forces I have directed from this [place], yet, [I] shall en-

⁴⁹ Abraham Smith, of Augusta county, interpreter and captain of militia, and somewhat later a magistrate.

deavour to give You w't Supplies I possibly can. Pray God preserve Us and all our Friendly Ind's from the unjust Attempts of our Enemies to disturb our Peace. And I sincerely wish You Farewell. Dated at W'msburg this 29th day of Jan'y 1754.

Pray send Word how many of Y'r Warriors will march to the Ohio.

(The same Letter sent to the Cherokees.)

P. S.—I desire You will in my Name desire the Assistance of the Chickesaws, and that they may send some Warriors to join Y'r Nation to march to the Ohio.

Deliv'd the Mess'r, Feb'y 4th.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO J. GLEN⁵⁰ ESQ'R GOV'R OF
SO. CAROLINA.

S'R:

That I might be truly inform'd w't Steps the French had taken on the Ohio prejudicial to His M'y's Int't I thought proper to send a Gent'n to the French Com'd't on whose return I have the Hon'r to give Y'r Excell'y part in the following Intelligence. On his arrival at the Ohio, Maj'r Washington, (the Gent. whom I sent out) found that the French had taken post on that River and built a Fort wherein they had mounted 8 P's Cannon Six Pound'rs and that they had in readiness Materials for other Forts, w'ch they declar'd their Intentions to Erect on the River and particularly at Logstown, the place destin'd for their chief residence, so soon as the Season w'd permit them to embark, and for w'ch Purpose he saw 220 Canoes ready finish'd, besides a great Number more block'd out. Having delivered his Credentials and my Letter he complain'd to the Com'd'r of the Violence that had been offer'd to His M'y's Subjects in seizing their Effects and making Prisoners of their Persons to w'ch he was answer'd "That the Co'ty had belonged to them, that no English Man had

⁵⁰ James Glen, Governor of South Carolina from January, 1744 to 1756. Near the close of his administration he concluded a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, by which a large territory was ceded to Great Britain. He published "A Description of South Carolina"; 8vo, London, 1761.

a right to trade upon those Waters and that he, (the Com'd'r) had Orders to make every Person Prisoners that attempted it on the Ohio or the Waters of it." Y'r Excell'y will perceive these to be their Sentim'ts by the enclos'd and that they are determin'd to carry their Designs into Execut'n. And it were superfluous to advance many Argum'ts to so discerning and sagacious a Serv't of our Master, to prove the Urgency that Presses every one of His M'y's Colonies to exert themselves on this Occasion to vindicate the Hon'r and Dignity of his Crown and justify his undoubted rights against these Invaders of the British Property. The Power of our Enemies is far from being contemptable and it is as certain they will exert its utmost Efforts to procure all possible Advantages ag'st Us. They have already engaged 3 Ind'n Nat's the Chippeways, Ottaways, and Arundacks, to take up Arms ag'st the English and from the best Informat'n, Maj'r Washington learn'd that the French had four Forts on the Mississippi, besides their strong Settlem't at New Orleans where they have above 1400 Men in Garrison, that by the means of the River Ouabask they have a Communicat'n between Canada and the Mississippi and some Forts on the Obash⁵¹ to cover and protect this Communicat'n. Before they sent their Troops into Winter Quarters last Fall they call'd the several Tribes of Ind's near their Fort together and told them that altho' the approaching Season and the State at that Time of the Waters made it necessary to send the chief of their Forces into Winter Quarters, yet they might be assur'd to see them early in the Spring with a much more considerable Arman't and y't then they w'd take Possess'n of the Ohio and threaten'd them if they were not entirely Passive. These Circumstances induc'd me to order out for the Present a Detachm't of the Militia and call together the Assembly w'ch I have order'd to meet the 14th of next Mo. and hope they will enable me to take more vigorous Measures in the Comon Cause.

I duely observe w't Mr. Presid't⁵² says on Y'r being the proper Channell of my Correspondence with the Catawbas and Cherokees, and if the Urgency of the pres't Juncture did not perswade me to take the more dispatchfull Method of sending directly to them the necessary Advices, I sh'd think no way more eligible

⁵¹ Wabash.

⁵² Of the Council of South Carolina, William Bull.

to apply to them than thro' so good Hands, who's concurrent Influence might effecuate my Desire, and I promise myself that Y'r Excell'y will do me the Justice to believe that this is the only Motive and not the least Intent'n of Interfering with Y'r Gov't in any Degree, As I have no other Inducem't but Dispatch in an Affair that I consider as urgent and of equal Concern to all his Majesty's Dom's on that Cont't. I assure You Sir I set a just Value on the might of Y'r good Offices w'ch I am desirous to be favour'd with and that You w'd extend their Influence to the Creeks and Chickesaws that we may not leave any Assistance unemploy'd that we can obtain ag'st his M'y's Enemies. As I do not consider the Meeting at Winchester as a New Treaty between the several Ind'n Tribes, but rather a F'dly Meeting with them and the English to concert the comon Welfare, I do not apprehend solemn Invitat's from them to each other to be requisite, and therefore hope by Y'r Persuasions they will be prevail'd with to come thro' His M'y's Dom's, nor any other Security than being under his Protect'n whilst in his Territories. I am entirely assur'd that we cannot be too vigilant, as the French leave no Artifice untry'd to seduce the Ind's from our Int't and I need not observe to Y'r Excell'y how much depends on the Preservat'n of their Friendship and Fidelity. Y'r Friendly Advice on the return of this Express will be very agreeable, wishing you H.[ealth] and Happiness, I am Sincerely
Y'r most Ob'dt h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA.⁵³

Jan'y 29th [1754].

S'R:

The return of a Gent. whom I sent Express to the French Com'd't to know what Steps the French were taking on the Ohio enables me to acqu't Y'r Hon'r that on his Arrival there he found &c., to (more Vigorous Measures)⁵⁴ w'ch I shall then

⁵³ James Hamilton.

⁵⁴ Refer to the preceding letter to the Governor of South Carolina, the language of which, it is evident, was chiefly repeated in this.

do with all Expedit'n and propose to have w't Men I can raise, at Wills Creek on the Head of Potomack River early in Mar., w'h I have chosen for the Place of Rendezvous as being more generally convenient to us all and nearest to the Scene of Action. It may perhaps interfere with the Service to divide the Com'd and therefore I sh'd be glad to find that it were agreeable to You to entrust my Gen'l Officer with the Com'd of the Forces You can prevail with Y'r Assembly to raise for this Occasion.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA.⁵⁵

S'R:

Being justly alarm'd at the Rumours of the French Proceedings on the Ohio, my Sollicitude for the Preservat'n of His M'y's rights and the Wellfare of all his Colonies in general induc'd me to send a Gent. to the Place, by whom I might know the Truth. His return inform'd me of the following Particulars w'ch I thought necessary to impart to you by this Express. On his Arrival at the Ohio, Maj'r Washington (the Gent. I sent) found⁵⁶ that the French had taken Post on &c. (to common cause) The Success of w'ch. I apprehend on the Dispatch with w'ch our Forces are drawn together and the Promptitude of every Colony to exert itself on this pressing Occasion. I have for the pres't order'd a Detachm't of the Militia to cover our People from further Insult, and I hope the Assembly w'ch I have call'd together to meet the 14th of next Mo. will enable me to have a good Party at Wills Creek on the head of Pot'o ready to join the Forces from his Majesty's Other Dom's. I propose this Place for the Rendezvous as being the most generally convenient for us all and nearest the Scene of Act'n, and there I sh'd be extreamly pleas'd if Y'r Hon'r w'd be so good as to order the Men that You can furnish and to be there by the first of Mar. if

⁵⁵ The acting Governor of the province at this time was Matthew Rowan, President of the Council. Rowan County, formed in 1753 from Anson County, was named in his honor.

⁵⁶ Refer again to the letter to the Governor of South Carolina.

possible. As it might be detrimental to divide the Com'd, I hope You will have no Object'n to placing the Com'd of Y'r Men in the Hands of the same Gen'l Officer whom I shall entrust with the Conduct of the whole. Y'r Answer on the return of the Express with the Prospect You may have of raising Forces and the Time you think they may march will be very agreeable to

Hon'd S'r

Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

P. S. I have wrote to the Colonies to the No'ward of this, for their Aid and Assistance on the pres't Emergency.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.⁵⁷

S'r:

The Advances made by the French to dispute his M'y of the interior Part of Am'a makes it necessary for me to give Y'r Hon'r part in the Intelligence I have just rec'd of their Proceedings by the return of a Gent, whom I sent to the French Com'd't for that Purpose. On his Arrival, &c. to (comon Cause.)⁵⁸ The success of w'ch I apprehend greatly depends on the Dispatch with w'ch our Forces are drawn together and the Promptitude of every Colony to exert itself on this pressing Occasion. I hope to have the Forces of this Dom'n at Wills Creek on the head of Poto. early in March, w'ch as the most convenient Place, I have chosen for the general Rendezvous, and thither I should be extreamly pleas'd if Y'r Hon'r w'd be so good as to order the Men that You think proper to send, agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds for mutual Assistance w'ch I sent You by the last

⁵⁷ Governor James Le Lancey, son of a Huguenot emigrant from Caen, Normandy, was born in New York in 1703; died there August 2, 1760; graduated from the University of Cambridge, England, and soon after his return to New York, in 1729, was made a justice of the Supreme Court; Chief Justice in 1733; Lieutenant-Governor October, 1753-1755, and as successor to Hardy from 1757 to 1760. He headed the Association which founded King's College.

⁵⁸ See letter to the Governor of South Carolina, p. 61.

Express; And as early in Mar. as possible. As it may be very hurtful to the Service to divide the Com'd I wish to find Y'r Hon'r in my Sentim'ts, that you are willing to entrust with my Gen'l Officer the Com'd of the Men from Y'r Gov't. If I am so happy as to have Y'r Concurrence in this I shall hope the Consequences will be to shew our Enemies how far they were mistaken in the Sarcasm they threw out, that they own'd we c'd bring two Men for their One, that we were too slow and disconcerted to hinder any Progress of their Undertakings. May God, Sir, facilitate Y'r Gov't with every happy Event and enable Us to ascert our Sovereign's just right with Success.

Since writing the above I rec'd Y'r Letter of 4th Dec'r covering that from the L'd's Commiss'rs for T[rade] and P[lantations]. I observe Y'r Intent'n of an Interview with the Ind's at Albany in June next, w'ch am very sorry interferes with the Meeting I have propos'd with the Six Nat'ns and the So'thern Ind's on the 20th of May next, add thereto the Broils we are like to have with the French, w'ch will enhance all my Time, and I am convinc'd the Assembly of this Province will be very backward in sending Com'rs to Albany, as the Charge of the intended meeting at Winchester, and the raising of Men to defeat the Designs of the French will be very considerable, and I flatter myself with the Hope of Y'r Assistance. The Favo. of an Answer by the return of this Express will Oblige,

Hon'd S'r, Y'r Ob'd't h'ble Serv't.

[P. S.] I have no doubt but You will be qualified upon the pres't Situat'n of our Affairs to raise a considerable Force for defeating the Designs of the French, and as you have many Persons among You that underst'd the Lands on the Ohio, they will be able to give You proper Intelligence, but it appears to me absolutely necessary to be very early on the Ohio, with such Forces as we possibly can collect together, and as I have no doubt of Y'r earnest Inclinat'n to promote the dignity of the Crown and the Safety of these Colonies I pray an Answer on the return of this Express, and am with great respect

S'r, Yr most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE GOVERNOR OF
MARYLAND.⁵⁹

SIR:

Y'r Kind Assurance of co-operating with me in the com'n cause for His M'y's Service gave me much Pleasure, in a Zeal like that w'ch inspir'd them ought to give, and I now address Y'r Excell'y the more cheerfully, as I am perswaded of Y'r Promptitude to contribute effectually to it. The progress of the French and their avow'd Designs make it necessary for me to apply for Y'r Assistance and that the Men You can furnish may join our People as early as possible in Mar. at a Place call'd Wills's Creek on the head of Poto. w'ch I have chosen for the Rendezvous, believing it to be the most Convenient to all the Colonies of any y't is near the Scene of Action. The French have fortified themselves on Lake Erie and on a Branch of the Ohio and have 220 Canoes ready made and a great many more block'd out and every Thing in readiness to execute their Designs of falling down the River w'n the Waters serve in the Spring, and building Forts at every Place of Consequence. The Fort my Messenger was at, mounted 8 P'ss Cannon, 6 Pounders, and was garrisoned with 150 Men, and they have already engaged the Chippeways, Ottaways and Arundacks to take up the Hatchet ag'st the English, and themselves have seiz'd the Effects of His Majesty's Subj'ts who were settled here, and made Prisoners of their Persons. How they justify this Conduct, Y'r Excell'y will see by the enclos'd Letter from their Com'd't to me. I think it w'd very much conduce to the Success of the Service that the Com'd sh'd be undivided and therefore I sh'd be very glad of Y'r Concurrence with my Sentim't and y't the Men You furnish might be put under the Com'd of my General Officer. I expect to meet our Assembly the 14th of next Mo. when I hope to be enabled to enter on more vigorous Measures, at Present I have order'd out a Detachm't of the Militia to cover the Works [we] are carrying on at our Fort on the Ohio, and shall with all Dispatch furnish them with the Stores and other Necessaries for its Completion. But as the French intend to be upon the Ohio early in the Spring with a greater

⁵⁹ The acting governor at this time was Benjamin Tasker, President of the Council.

Force than they had in the Fall, w^{ch} then consisted of 1500 Men, it will be of the last Consequence to have a sufficient Strength there early to oppose them, and the pres^t Temper of the Ind's increases the Necessity, as they seem to defer coming to Action till they see us at their Backs to support them, and I am perswaded y^t then they will act honestly and effectually. Otherwise it is apparent to me that they will be lost to the B. interest, as their Situatⁿ and the Genius of that People will lead them to join with the strongest Side.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE GOVERNOR OF NEW
JERSEY.⁶⁰

S^R:

The unwarrantable Proceedings of the French in seizing the Persons and Effects of His M^y's Subj's who were settled on the Ohio and claiming a right to the Possessⁿ of that Co^ty, as Y^r Excell^y will perceive by the Copy w^{ch} I have enclos'd of the French Com^d't's Letter to me by Maj^r Washington, a Gent. I sent out to the French on this Occasion, renders it of such imediate Consequence to the Hon^r and Dignity of his M^y's Crown and the Preservatⁿ of all his Dom's on this Cont^t, that I find myself oblig'd to apply to Y^r Excell^y for all the Assist-

⁶⁰ Governor Jonathan Belcher, (son of Andrew, one of the Council of Massachusetts, who died in 1717, and grandson of Andrew, who died in 1646,) was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, January, 1682, and died at Elizabethtown, N. J., August 31, 1757. Visiting Europe, where he remained six years, he made the acquaintance of the Princess Sophia and her son, afterwards George I, which laid the foundation of his future honors. Returning to Massachusetts, he was a merchant at Boston, a member of the Provincial Assembly, and in 1729 was sent as an Agent of the Province to England. In 1730 he was appointed Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire; superseded in 1741 because of a violent clamor against him, but succeeded in vindicating himself with the British Government, and was appointed Governor of New Jersey, where he arrived in 1747. He extended the charter of the New Jersey College, was its chief patron and benefactor, and rendered eminent services to the State.

ance You can give; and as I hope to be soon enabled by the approaching Assembly to raise what Forces I can here, I propose to have a Body collected at Wills Creek, the head of Pot'o, very early in Mar., and then sh'd be glad if they might be join'd by the Men that You will cause to be rais'd for this Service, along with those I Expect from Pennsylvania. I have chosen this Place as more generally convenient to all the Colonies and nearest to the Scene of Action. The French have fortify'd themselves on Lake Erie and on a Branch of the Ohio, and have 220 Canoes ready made and many more block'd out, and every Thing in readiness to execute their Design of falling down the River w'n the Waters serve in the Spring, and building Forts at every Place of Consequence. They have 8 Pss. of Cannon, 6 Pounders, mount'd at the Fort on Ohio, and have actually caus'd the Chippeways, Ottaways and Arundacks to take up the Hatchet ag'st the English. I think it so necessary to the Success of the Service that the Com'ò sh'd be undivided, that it w'd be a Pleasure to me to find Y'r Excellency in my Sentiments, and y't you were willing to entrust with my Gen'l Officer the Forces You send. It certainly is of the last Consequence to be as expeditious as possible, especially, as the French design to be at Ohio early in the Spring with a more considerable Number than they had there in the Fall, w'ch then Amounted to 1500.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE GOVERNOR OF
MASSACHUSETTS.⁶¹

SIR:

I have had the Pleasure to receive Y'r Fav's dated at Boston on the 26th of last Nov'r, in Answer to w'ch, I present Y'r Excell'y with the following Intelligence w'ch I just now rec'd by the return of a Gent. whom I sent out Express to the French

⁶¹ William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts 1741-1756, born at Preston, Sussex, England, 1693; died at Roxbury, Mass., March 24, 1771; bred to the law; came to Boston in 1734 and practiced his profession. When appointed Governor in 1741, he was commissioner for settling the boundary between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. He

Com't to that Purpose. In the last Fall the French from Canada march'd about 1500 Men to the Side of Lake Erie next Us, and having made a Lodgm't there, they proceeded to a Branch of the Ohio at ab't 15 Miles distant, and there erected another Fort, but the Season and State of the Waters oblig'd them to send part of their Troops back into Winter Quarters, leaving a Garrison of 1500 Men in their Fort on the Lake and a like Number at the French Creek Fort, where Maj'r Washington my Messénger, found them in the beginning of X'tmas last in a palisaded Fort mounted with 8 Pss. Cannon, 6 Pounders, and 1 Pss. carrying a 4 P'd shot. They had in readiness Materials for other Forts w'ch they declar'd their Intent's to erect on the river Ohio and particularly at Logstown (w'ch they purpos'd to make the chief Place of their residence) so soon as the Season w'd permit them to embark and for w'ch he saw 220 Canoes ready finish'd, besides a great Number more block'd out. Having deliver'd his Credentials and my Let'r, he complained to the Com'r of the Violence offer'd to his M'y's Subjects in Seizing their Effects and making Prisoners of their Persons, to w'ch he was answered, that "The Co'try belonged to them, that no Englishman had a right to trade on these Waters and that he had Orders to make every Person Prisoner that attempted it on the Ohio or the Waters of it," and Y'r Ex'y will perceive these to be their Sentim'ts by the enclos'd

planned the successful expedition against Cape Breton in 1745; was in England 1745-1753, and was sent as one of the Commissioners to Paris in 1750 to settle the limi s of Nova Scotia and other controverted rights in America; treated with the Eastern Indians in 1754, and explored the Kennebec, erecting two or thrée forts; Commander in Chief of the British forces in America in 1755; planned the Expedition against Niagara, and proceeded in person as far as Oswego. Afterwards Governor of one of the Bahama Islands, but returned to Massachusetts in 1770; built a spacious mansion at Roxbury, which was subsequently the residence of Governor Eustis. He published "Electra," a tragedy; "Birth of Hercules," a mask; a Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, with a Journal of the Siege of Louisburg, 1745, and the Conduct of General William Shirley briefly stated, London, 8vo., 1758. His son William, an officer in the Army, and the Secretary of General Braddock, was killed with the latter in 1755; and Thomas, another son, (born at Boston, died March, 1800, a Major-General in the army,) was created a Baronet in 1789, and made Governor of the Leeward Islands. Another son, John, also served as a Captain in the French and Indian war.

answer of the Com't to my Letter, Copy thereof I have enclos'd. They have engag'd 3 Ind'n Nat's to take up the Hatchet ag'st the English, the Chippeways, Ottaways and Arundacks. Before they went into Winter Quarters they conven'd the several Tribes of Ind's in their neighbourhood and told them that they sh'd return with more numerous Forces in the Spring and then w'd drive all the English away, and threatened the Ind's with Destruct'n if they presum'd to interfere. These Circumstances induc'd me to order out a Detachment from the Militia for the Present, and to call an Assembly, w'ch I expect to meet the 14th of next Mo. and then, if they will enable me, I shall pursue the most vigorous Measures for the asserting and preserving his M'y's rights, in w'ch Y'r Assistance will be particularly agreeable to me. I shall with great readiness do such an agreeable a Duty, as it is on all Occasions, to keep up a strict and Cordial Correspondence.

I am with Esteem,

S'r, Y'r Ex'y &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBIE, ESQ'R.

DEAR SIR:

Feb'y 9th, 1754.

I wrote You by his M'y's Sloop Speedwell, Capt. Webb, to w'ch please be refer'd. Last Night I rec'd a Copy from a private Friend, of the Reasons our House of Burgesses gave the Att'o Gen'l⁶² to support their Address to the King.

⁶² Peyton, son of Sir John, and grandson of William Randolph of "Turkey Island," (born in England; died in Virginia April 11, 1711), was born in 1723. After graduating at William and Mary College, he went to England and studied law at the Temple; returning to Virginia, he commenced the practice of law; in 1748 received the appointment of King's Attorney General for the Colony; a member of the House of Burgesses, he was sent to England by that body as stated in the text; served as chairman of the committee to revise the laws of the Colony; in 1764 he drew up an Address from the House of Burgesses to the

The Ship this comes by is fallen down the River, that I have not Time to be explicit in my Observat's on these reasons, but for Y'r Conduct I thought it necessary to send them [to] you with my short remarks on them, as their reasons are actually inconsistent with Truth. It surpriz'd me that a Legislative Body c'd have the assurance to let them go under their Name. They keep their two Address[es] very secret from me, tho' I have had the perusal of them privately. A third Address is praying His M'y that their Agent, the Att'o Gen'l, may keep his Office, w'ch surely from his Conduct he does not deserve that Indulgence, or do I think it possible he can have any Friends to support him after the irregular Steps he took. However, tho' the Co'try is poor as they say in their Address and reasons,⁶³ yet they give him £2500, and in case he loose his [present office,] £300 for Life, or 3000, and [£]200 Per Ann. to an Agent that he may appoint; these are no Marks of Poverty. Tho' w'n I want a Supply to defeat the Invasion of the French, &c., then Poverty is pleaded; but I hope to bring them into a proper way of thinking next Week, w'n the Ho. of Burgesses are to meet on the intended Insults of the French. The Reasons and my Answers keep to Y'r Self, as I have not Time to be correct in my Observat's on them, being straiten'd in Time. I hope this will be the last Let'r I shall write on the Pistole Fee, being really fatigu'd by a close Applicat'n above a Mo. My next to You will be in regard to my Portorico Affair;⁶⁴ they have p'd some Money, but

King against the passage of the Stamp Act; Speaker in 1766, when he resigned the office of Attorney General. He was prominent in all measures leading to Independence; Chairman of the Committee on Correspondence in 1773, which by its recommendations brought about the meeting of the first General Congress at Philadelphia, to which he was sent as a delegate, and was elected its first President, September 5, 1774. On March 20th, 1775, he presided over the Patriot Convention which assembled in St. John's Church, at Richmond, and was again elected a delegate to Congress. He resumed his position as Speaker of the House of Burgesses for a short time in May. Upon the adjournment of that body he returned to Congress, and died suddenly of a stroke of apoplexy, in Philadelphia, October 22, 1775.

⁶³ The nominal salary of the Attorney General was £70 from the revenues of the Colony and £70 from the Crown.

⁶⁴ A private mercantile interest, it may be presumed.

much short of my just Dem'd. Send me a List of the Ho. of Comons in this new Elect'n. My Wife and Girls join in Complim'ts to you, and I really am

S'r, Y'r affect. Friend and h'ble Serv't.

Ⓟ Capt. Hood.⁶⁵

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE COUNCIL
AND BURGESSES.

Feb'y 14th, 1754.

Gent. of the Council, Mr. Speaker,⁶⁶ and Gent. of the House of Burgesses :

Nothing less than a very important Concern c'd have induc'd me to call You together again, after so short a Recess, but the dignity of the Crown of G't Britain, the Welfare of all the Colonies on this Continent, and more especially of this Dom'n Engage me to have Y'r Advice and Assistance in an Affair of the greatest Consequence. Maj'r Washington who was sent by me to the Com'd't of the French Forces on the River Ohio, being return'd, he informs me, he found that Officer at a Fort they had erected on a Creek running into the Ohio, and that they were then preparing all Necessaries for building another Fort on that River; that they had 220 Canoes made, and many more rough hew'd to be made, in order to transport early this Spring, a great Number of regular Forces, not less than 1500 Men, with their Ind's in F'dship with them, down the River Ohio, in order to build many more Fortresses on it, and that they propos'd Logstown to be the chief Place of their rendezvouz. Maj'r Washington further reports that he ask'd why they had seized the Goods of our Traders, and sent their

⁶⁵ Of the "Jamaica sloop of war."

⁶⁶ The Speaker of the House of Burgesses at this time was John Robinson, who also held the position of Treasurer of the Colony. He died in 1766, and these offices were then divided, Peyton Randolph succeeding him as Speaker, and Robert Carter Nicholas as Treasurer.

Persons Prisoners to Canada, to w^{ch} the Com^dt answer'd; "That his Orders from their Gen^l, the Governor of Canada, were, Not to permit any English Subjects to trade on the Waters of the Ohio, but to seize their Goods and send them Prisoners to Quebeck." He also ask'd the reason of taking Mr. Frazier's⁶⁷ House from him, w^{ch} he had built and lived in upwards of twelve years. He s'd that Man was lucky that he made his Escape, or he w'd have sent him Prisoner to Canada. These Transact's are entirely inconsistent with the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, and contrary to my Instruct's from His M'y, whereby I am directed to prevent any foreign Power settling or building any Fortresses on His M'y's Lands; And to the aforementioned unjustifiable Insults of the French, the cruel and barbarous Murder in cool Blood of a whole Family in this Dom'n, Man, Wife, and five children, no longer ago than last Month; and very lately a poor Man on the So. Branch of Potomack [was] robbed of his son. These Depredations were said to be done by the French Ind's, but if I be rightly informed, some of the French Subjects always go with the Ind's on these Incursions, and are both privy to and Instigators of their Robberies and Murders. How compassionate then must be the distressful Situation of that poor, unhappy Family, surrounded by a Crowd of Miscreants, dreadfully rushing on to perpetrate the most savage Barbarity, insensible to the Cries of the Tender Infant, inexorable to the Parent's Intreaties, basely determin'd to destroy without Provocation those who c'd not resist their Violence. Think, You see the Infant torn from the unavailing Struggles of the distracted Mother, the Daughters ravish'd before the Eyes of their wretched Parents, and then, with Cruelty and Insult, butcher'd and scalp'd. Suppose the horrid Scene compleated and the whole Family, Man, Wife and Children (as they were,) murder'd and Scalp'd by these relentless Savages, and then torn in Pieces, and in Part devour'd by wild Beasts, for whom they were left a Prey by their more brutal Enemies. But how must Your Indignation rise when you extend your View to

⁶⁷ John Frazier had lived for some time in the Ohio country as an Indian trader. He had a house at the mouth of the Creek, ten miles up the Monongahela from the fork of the Ohio river, and near the spot afterwards rendered memorable by Braddock's defeat.

the Abettors of these Villanies. Such are the People whose Neighbourhood You must now prevent, or with the most probable Expectation, think to see in the Bosom of Your Country these Evils that You as yet have only the melancholy Tidings of from Your Frontiers. Consider the bloody Villains thievishly lurking about a Man's Plantation, and where they dare not attack like Men, basely like Virmin, stealing and carrying away the helpless Infant, that happen'd to wander, tho' but a little distance from his Father's Threshold. I assure You, Gent, these Insults on our Sovereign's Protection and Barbarities on our Fellow Subjects, make deep Impressions on my Heart, and I doubt not, as You must hear them with Horror and resentment, but You will enable me by a full and sufficient Supply to exert the most vigorous Efforts to secure the rights and assert the Honour and Dignity of our Sovereign; to drive away these cruel and treacherous Invadors of your Properties, and Destroyers of your Families, and thereby to gratify my warmest Wishes in establishing the Security and Prosperity of Virg'a on the most solid and permanent Foundations.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE HOUSE
OF BURGESSES.

Gent. of the Ho. of Burgesses :

I must Earnestly recommend to You, his M'y's Commands for a proper Supply, the imediate Necessity whereof at this Time, I desire You will seriously consider, and by a ready and Effectual Compliance recomend Yourselves and the Country to his Royal Fav'r. This is Y'r Part, Gent. What I c'd, before Your Meeting, I have done for the Public, and by the Advice of the Council I have array'd some Part of the Militia, w'ch I have order'd up to the Ohio, with all possible Expedition, to build a Fort there at the Forks of Monongehala, and as His M'y's gracious Present of 30 Pieces of Cannon, 80 lbs. Powder and other Ordnance Stores suitable, are arriv'd, I have sent Ten of the Cannon and a Proportion of Amunition to Alexandria, to be

from thence transport'd as soon as possible to the Ohio. I have wrote to the neighbouring colonies for their Aid and Assistance, which I have good reason to Expect, but I must observe to You that their Eyes are fix'd on Y'r Proceedings and I hope You will Engage them by a laudable Example to contribute sufficiently to the common cause. The late Occasion having suggested to me some defect in the Act for making Provision ag'st Invasions and Insurrections, I think proper to observe to You, that the Pay is very unequally proportion'd, being too high for the Soldier and too low for the Officer, and there is no Provision made for a Doctor, a Commissary of Stores, and Several other requisites. I think it w'd be better to pay the Militia in Money, than Tob'o, by which there may be a saving to the Country and the Men better satisfied.

MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR TO THE COUNCIL AND
BURGESSES.

Gent. of the Council, and Gent. of the Ho. of Burgesses :

I look upon the Safety and Welfare of Virg'a to depend on Y'r Councils and determinations at this critical Juncture, w'ch therefore ought to be uninterrupted by any Avocations from Prejudice or unseasonable Divisions, at all times the Bane of Publick Consultations, but w'ch at present w'd be particularly fatal, and I doubt not w'n You seriously consider the Importance of w't is laid before You, You will find duty, Hon'r and Your own Preservation, all united, to Engage You to Exert Your Efforts equal to the Occasion. The Season for entering upon Action being so near at Hand, Your Session can but be short, and I desire to conclude with an earnest Exhortation to Concord and Expedition, but if we be divided, or slow in deliberation, our Enemies may seize the Time we loose, and render any future Effort ineffectual, and in all Measures for his M'y's Service and the Good of this Colony, You will have my ready and Zealous Concurrence.

ADDRESS OF THE COUNCIL TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

The humble Address of the Council, Feb'y 16th [1754].

SIR:

We, His Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects, the Council of Virg'a now met in general Assembly beg Leave to return Y'r Hon'r our hearty Thanks for Y'r kind Speech at the Opening of this Session. We cannot forbear to Express our just Indignation at the unwarrantable Encroachm'ts and hostile Proceedings of the French, and at the same Time to testify our Approbat'n of the prudent steps already taken by Y'r Hon'r for the defence and Security of this Colony. Our ardent Zeal for the support of His Majesty's Crown and Dignity, and our tender regard for the Welfare and Prosperity of our Country, will incline Us by a chearful Concurrence with the Ho. of B. to Exert our most vigorous Efforts to support and Effect Y'r Hon'r's Proceedings in w't we agree to be the comon Cause of of all the B. Colonies upon this Cont't, and more especially of this Dom'n, and we assure Your Hon'r y't in all our Consultat's we will proceed with y't Harmony and Dispatch y't the Importance of the Subject and advanc'd Season require. We cannot conclude without our Earnest Prayers y't Y'r Hon'r's constant Labours may be crown'd with their desir'd success and our warmest Wishes y't our Country may long continue to flourish under Y'r Hon'r's administrat'n; from whence we may with reason hope to see her Security and Prosperity Establish'd on the most solid and permanent Foundat'n.

 REPLY OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE PRECEDING ADDRESS.

To w'ch His Hon'r was pleased to return the follow'g Answer:

Gent'n of the Council:

I return You my sincere Thanks for your kind Address, and do assure You it gives me great Pleasure y't the Steps I have taken in the present situat'n of our Affairs meet with Your

Approbat'n. Your Ardent Zeal for His M'y's Crown and Dignity and y'r regard for the Prosperity and Welfare of our Country, with y'r Intent's of Concurring with the Ho. of B. to exert their most vigorous Efforts for supporting me in my Proceedings ag'st the Enemy, call for my most unfeign'd Thanks, And I have not the least Doubt of y'r proceeding with Harmony, Dispatch and resolution on the present Emergency. I am much obliged for y'r Prayers for Success to my Endeavours, w'ch I assure you shall always be with a View for the Welfare and Prosperity of this Dom'n, and I hope by our Conduct y't our Enemies will see we are not disunited, but closely connected in defence of our rights and Liberties.

ADDRESS OF THE BURGESSES TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

Feb'ry 15th, 1754.

S'R:

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of y's His most ancient Colony and Dom'n of Virg'a, now met in General Assembly, humbly beg leave to return Y'r Hon'r our Thanks for Y'r Speech to the Council and this House. With Hearts full of Zeal for His Majesty's Service and the Interest of y's Col'y, and fir'd with resentm't and Indignat'n at the unjustifiable Proceedings and Encroachm'ts of the French and French Ind's, we do in the strongest Terms express our utmost Abhorrence of their late barbarous Cruelties and depredat's comitted on the Frontiers and His Majesty's Subjects inhabiting there. We are truly sensible of the Importance of the several Matters recomended to Us by Y'r Hon'r, and we do assure You y't we will take the same into our serious Considerat'n and act therein agreeable to the Duty we owe to our King and Country.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE PROROGUING THE
ASSEMBLY.

*Gent. of the Council, Mr. Speaker and Gent. of the Ho. of
Burgesses:*

The Business of the Session being concluded, I shall detain You no longer, Y'n to thank You for the Supply You have granted, w'ch I will endeavour to make effective of the good Purposes for w'ch it is given. I have tho't fit to prorogue this Assembly to the third Thursday in Apr. next, and You are accordingly prorogu'd to y't Time.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DELANCEY OF
NEW YORK.

SIR:

As I wrote You lately by an Express, I desire to be refer'd thereto. I prorogu'd our Assembly this day; they have voted 10,000[£] for Supporting the British Int't against the Invasions of the French, &c. In consequence thereof I shall immediately endeavour to raise 6 Compa's of Men to march directly to Wills's Creek, the head of the Patowmack River, where I hope You will be made able by Y'r Ho. of Assembly to give us a handsome Aid and Assistance. I wrote to the Cherokees and Catawbas to send some of their Warriors to defend their hunting Grounds on the river Ohio; as they have formerly promised their Assistance, I am in hopes they will now comply, that we may be able to make a Defence ag'st the French and their Ind's. Next May, I propose meeting some Chiefs of the different Nations of Ind's at Winchester, where, if I can be of any Service to You or Your Colony, freely Com'd.

S'r, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

Feb'y 23rd, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE⁶⁸
OF MARYLAND.

SIR:

I have rec'd the Fav'o of Y'r Letter of the 10th Curr't, and observe Y'r Ass'y were to meet the 25th, and hope they will chearfully aid the intended Expedition ag'st the Enemies of our Country. I prorogu'd our Assembly this Day. They have given 10,000^l, this Money, for the support of His M'y's right to the Lands on the Ohio; in consequence thereof I design to raise five or six Compa's of Men to march to Wills's Creek with all prudent Expedition, but I dread their being there so soon as I formerly wrote You, but I hope they will be early in April, and [I] shall be glad Your Forces c'd be there at the same Time. I have wrote to the Cherokees and Catawbass Nations of Ind's to the So'w'd of this, who some Mo's ago offer'd a Body of 1000 of their Warriors to go to the Ohio. I have by Express order'd their marching to the Ohio to defend their hunting Grounds, and that they sh'd be supported by Forces from this [Colony], w'ch, if they comply with, I am in hopes we shall make some Figure there. I have 30 Cannon from the Crown; Ten thereof I have order'd to be mounted on the Fort to be erected on the Ohio. In May next I shall proceed to Winchester to meet the Chiefs of several Nations of Ind's, and to deliver them a Present from His M'y. If I can be of any Service to You, or the Colony happy under Y'r Com'd, I shall chearfully receive Y'r Directions. I am with great Sincerity

Y'r Ex. most ob'd't h'ble serv't.

Feb'y 23d. [1754]

⁶⁸ Horatio Sharpe arrived in the province as Governor, August 10, 1753, serving until 1769. He had been appointed to the local grade of Lieutenant Colonel of the British Army in the West Indies, which position he held until 1778. He had seen no active service. His character for integrity was unimpeachable, but his ability as a Governor was mediocre, and he possessed but little military capacity.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR JAMES HAMILTON
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

S'R:

I lately wrote You by an Express, w^{ch} please to be refer'd to. Since that our Assembly have met and voted 10,000[£] for suppressing the B. Interest and these Colonies from the Insults and Invasions of the French, &c. In Consequence thereof I shall raise 6 Companies of Men to march to the Ohio, where I propose building a Fort, and have sent 10 Cannon to be mounted there. As I am engag'd to meet the Chiefs of the several Tribes of Ind's at Winchester next May, w^{ch} the Cha's attending this Expedition to the Ohio makes our Assembly backward in loading the Country with more Expenses, therefore do not appoint any Com'rs for Albany.⁶⁹ I hope that will be allowed an Excuse for not complying with the directions of the B'd of Trade. I expect Aid from Y'r Colony to defeat the intended Invasion of the French on the Ohio, w^{ch} shall be glad to have confirm'd by a Line from You. Our Forces, I expect, will be at the Head of the Potowmack [the] latter end of Mar. or [the] beginning of Apr. I rem'n with very great respect

Y'r H'r's most ob'd't h'ble serv't.

23rd Feb'y, [1754.]

⁶⁹ The Convention assembled at Albany, June 19, 1754, and was composed of delegates, for ability and fortune, the most prominent in America. The Colonies of New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were represented. The proceedings were important. Not only was "the chain of friendship brightened" with the Six Nations, and their alliance secured, but a significant step was taken in the march of political rights. A plan for the union of the Colonies, presented by Benjamin Franklin, on the 10th of July, was adopted. By its terms the General Government was to be conducted by a President appointed and supported by the Crown, and a Council of 48 members chosen by the representatives of the several Colonies, which was to choose its own speaker and was authorized to raise and pay soldiers, build forts, equip vessels and nominate military officers. They were to meet at Philadelphia upon the call of the President.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JONATHAN BELCHER
GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

S'R:

I wrote You lately by an Express to which I refer You. Since that, our Assembly has met and voted 10,000[£] toward the Expedit'n to the Ohio. I am in great Hopes of Aid from You, w'ch if Y'r Assembly have qualified You to raise Men to assist the comon Cause, I sh'd be glad if Y'r Forces c'd join them of Pensylv'a so as to be at the Place of rendezvous as soon as possible. I am with very great E. and R.,

Y'r Ex. most Obed't h'ble Serv't.

23d Feb'ry, [1754.]

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD FAIRFAX.

R'T H'BLE:

I have the Hon'r of Y'r Let'r [of] the 11th Curr't ^p Maj'r Washington and am sorry the first Orders I gave in respect to the Militia sh'd meet with such disrespect in a Co'ty under Y'r L'ds. Com'd. I wish You had made a Draft of 50 Men and taken their Names and deliver'd them over to Maj'r W. and if they had not march'd agreeable to his Orders, then, the Act of Assembly w'd have taken Place ag'st them, but as I conceive they were spirited Up and encourag'd in this Breach of their Duty by some of their Officers, w'ch I sh'd have been glad Y'r L'ds. c'd have pointed them out, that I might have prosecuted them according to Law. As the Case now stands, I can only say they are unworthy of their Comiss's. I therefore desire You will please to take the Comiss's from those you suspect, and enclos'd I send You six Blank Comiss's to be fill'd up as You see proper, and [I] hope to such Persons as will be obedient to Com'ds, and at [the] same Time, let the Delinquents know I am much offended at the disrespect shewn to my Orders, especially at this critical Time. I have the Hon'r to subscribe myself

Y'r L'ds. most obed't h'ble Serv't.

Feb'ry 23rd, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE.

Feb'y 25th, [1754.]

SIR :

I hope the Cannon and other Stores came safely to Y'r hands from Colo. Hunter, and that You have agreeable to my former Orders, forwarded the Cannon to Wills's Creek. The sooner they are there, the better, as I w'd gladly hope the Forces will be ready to march from Y'r Town the middle of next Mo. As Colo. Fairfax is to be Comander in Chief of the Forces,⁷⁰ I must refer You to him for the Qu'ty of Provisions You are to provide and I desire You may, as soon as [they are] purchas'd, forward them to Wills's Creek, that there may be no disappoin't to the Forces when they get there, and observe, there must be pretty many Waggons engag'd to carry the Stores and Provisions out to the Ohio. Have proper vouchers for Y'r different Purchases and other Cha's attending Y'r Duty. I hope no Delay will be attributed to You.

I am with kind respects,

S'r, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES DELANCEY, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

S'R:

I wrote You by Express three Weeks Since, but he is not yet ret'd. As our Assembly voted 10,000[£] for the present Expedit'n to the Ohio, I have Commiss'd Officers and order'd six Companies to be rais'd imediately. I am in hopes they will soon meet at Alexandria on the Head of Pot'o River and that they will be on their March to the Ohio the latter End of this Mo. or early in April. The orders the comand'g Officer has from me, are, to erect a Fort imediately on the Forks of Monongahela, w'ch com'ds that River and Part of the River Ohio. I have sent 10 Pss. Ordnance and other Stores proper for the executing

⁷⁰Of the Militia from the vicinity of Alexandria.

the above Design, but we shall make but an indifferent appearance without the Help of our Neighbouring Colonies, w^{ch} I expect they will at this Time exert Themselves for the Good of the comon Cause, and I depend much on the Assistance of the Colony You preside over. Yesterday the enclos'd Letter from the E[arl] of Holdernessee⁷¹ came to my Hands by w^{ch} You will please to observe You are directed to send two of Your Independent Compa's to this Dom'n imediately and as our Affairs to defeat the Designs of the French will admit of no Delay, occasions my sending this by Express that You may send those Companies with all prudent Dispatch, that they may be at the Ohio in Apr. I am of Opinion if You hire a Sloop to bring them by Sea to Alexandria at the Head of Pot'o River, will be the quickest and easiest Method of transporting them here. If this meets with Your Approbat'n I w^d further recomend the send'g in that Vessell six Mo's Provis'n of each Specie. I am told from Alex'a their March will be about 150 Miles, the roads will be pretty well open'd by the March of our Forces, Waggon's &c. On return of this Express if You advise me of the Time

⁷¹Robert D'Arcy, the fourth and last Earl of Holdernessee, succeeded to his father's title January 20, 1721, and was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire in November, 1740; appointed April, 1741, one of the Lords of his Majesty's bed-chamber, and in 1743 was present with George I at the battle of Dittengen; Ambassador Extraordinary to the Republic of Venice in 1744, residing there two years. He was sent Minister Plenipotentiary to the States General in 1749, and remained in Holland until May, 1751. Being a favorite of the King, upon the breaking up of the Ministry in June, he succeeded the Duke of Bedford as Secretary of State. In October he was sent to the Hague with letters of condolence on the decease of the Stadtholder, and in March, 1752, was appointed one of the Lords Justices to administer the government in the King's absence. Resigned as Minister in 1757, but was reinstated in less than a fortnight. In March, 1761, he was given a pension of £4,000 a year, with the reversion of the Cinque ports for life, and was succeeded as Secretary by the Earl of Bute. He married in 1743 at the Hague, Mary Doublet, the daughter of a Dutch Nobleman, by whom he had two sons and one daughter, Lady Amelia D'Arcy, who married in 1773 Francis Godolphin, Marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, from whom she eloped with Captain John Byron, father of Lord Byron, the poet. The Earl of Holdernessee died in 1778, when the title became extinct.

the two Compa's may be expected at Alex'a, I shall take the necessary Care of providing Carriages for their Provisions, &c. Flower will be easier Carriage than Bread. I am fully convinc'd when You consider our present Situation and the Threats of the French, You will agree with me that no Time is to be lost. I wish their c'd be a Faint made towards Canada by Y'r Colony and N. Engl'd to prevent their send'g the Number of Forces from Quebeck they propose to be at Logstown this Spring, w'ch [I] am of Opinion they cannot well spare and keep themselves under proper Protect'n, but you are a better Judge of their Strength &c. there, than I am. I am inform'd the French Forces from Canada march in sight of Your Fort Oswego, if so, the Officer there may be able to tell their Numbers, w'ch will be of Service in Keeping our People on their Guard, an Express therefore on such Information will be of Service, with the Time they pass, w'ch I am told cannot be untill the Middle of Aprill. I need say no more to You on this Head, being convinc'd of Y'r Strong Attachm't to His My's 'Int't and the Good of these Colonies. Enclos'd I send You Maj'r Washington's Journal to the French Comd't. I rem'n with very great respect

Y'r Hon'rs most obed't h'ble Serv't.

Mar. 1st, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO HORATIO SHARPE GOVERNOR
OF MARYLAND.

S'R:

The Express I sent to the No'thern Colonies is not Yet ret'd. I am therefore in Pain till I know w't Aid we may expect from them, and w't Y'r Assembly have voted on the present Emergency, not doubting of Y'r Endeavours in soliciting the same. I rec'd Letters Yesterday from the E. of Holdernessee with a Packet to the Gov'r of N. York, ordering him to send two of the Independ't Compa's there, to this Dom'n to march to the Ohio, to continue at the Forts I propose to erect at the Forks of Monongahela, but as new rais'd Forces do not incline to mix with the regulars, I keep this as a Secret till our

Forces are march'd, and hope You will do the Same. We are now raising six Compa's w'ch I expect will be at Alex'a the 20th of this Mo. and from thence to Wills's Creek and so to the Ohio. I have sent 10 Pss. Cannon &c. to be carried out and order'd Provis'n for six Mo's with Waggon's to attend our Small regiment. The Com'd of the Whole I have given to Colo. J. Fry, a man of good Sense and an able Mathemat'n and I hope every Thing will be conducted with Spirit and good Order. I shall be glad to know Y'r Forces will be ready to March for I think there is no Time to be lost, as the French will be very active w'n they hear of our Motions. Enclos'd I send You Maj'r W.'s Journal to the French Com'd't. We are in much Distress for proper Officers, but have taken all possible Care of choosing the best we have, but not so well acquaint'd with the Arts of War as I c'd wish, but as our Cause is just, I hope for the Protect'n of Heaven. I rem'n with very great respect,
Y'r Ex's most obed't h'ble Serv't.

Mar. 1st, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

S'R:

Having Occasion of Sending an Express to N. York I trouble You with this to acq't You we are raising Forces to proceed to the Ohio, to prevent the Intent's of the French in settling those Lands. I am in Hopes our small regim't will be at Alex'a the Head of Poto'k River by the 20th of this Mo. from thence they march to Wills's Creek and so to the Ohio. But without the Aid of our neighbouring Colonies we shall make but a small Figure. I have great Dependence on a considerable Number from Y'r Palatines and Germans.⁷² I shall be

⁷² The German settlement of Pennsylvania was instituted in 1683 under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius, a scholar, upon a purchase by him from Penn of 5,700 acres. The settlers were called Palatinates because they came from the Palatinate of Cresheim and Crefelt. The Frankfort Land Company afterwards settled an additional purchase of 25,000 acres.

glad to know the Supply granted by Y'r Assembly, the No. of Forces and men You think will be at Wills's Creek. I have ordered six Mo's Provis's for those rais'd in this Colony, with Waggons to attend them on their March. I send You enclos'd Maj'r W's Journal to the Com'd't of the French Forces on the Ohio. Y'r Answer on return of this Express will oblige,

S'r, Y'r most obed't h'ble Serv't.

Mar. 1st, [1754.]

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR BELCHER OF NEW JERSEY.

S'R:

Having occasion to send an Express to N. York, I trouble You with to acqu't You we are raising Forces for the Expedition to the Ohio, and I expect our small regim't will be compleated and at Alex'a by the 20th of this Mo. from thence to Wills's Creek and so to the Ohio. As the Affairs greatly depends on the Aid of our neighbouring Colonies, I hope that under Y'r Com'd have shown their Duty by Y'r Assembly's qualify'g You to raise some Forces, if so, the sooner they are on the March the better, as the French will be very active on hearing of our Motions and Intent's. As You have been so long distinguish'd in the Service of the Crown, I c'd use no Argum'ts to influence Y'r Zeal on the present Emergency for the Good of the comon Cause. I send You Enclos'd Maj'r W's Journal to the French Com'd't.

Wishing You Health and Prosperity I remain

S'r, Y'r most obed't h'ble Serv't.

Mar. 1st, [1754.]

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO WILLIAM SHIRLEY, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

S'R:

I wrote You some Time ago with a detail of Maj'r W's Message of the Com'd't of the French Forces on the Ohio &c.

Since that Let'r, our Assembly has voted 10,000 [£], to support the Expedit'n propos'd to the Ohio, in consequence thereof, I have Commiss'd Officers and [am] now raising six Companies to proceed directly to the Ohio; and with them I send 10 Pss. of Ordnance and other Stores to execute the Design of building a Fort and supporting his M'y's just right to those Lands, but without the Aid of our neighbouring Colonies we shall make but a small figure, As the Chief of the French Forces are expected from Canada, where I am told they cannot spare many. Is it practicable to make a Faint of disquieting them at Quebeck by way of diverting them from sending their Forces to Ohio? An Affair of this kind w'd be of essential Service, in abridging the Number they intended on this Expedition, but as I am a Stranger to Y'r Situat'n with them, I only mention this for Y'r Consideration, for they have given out they will invade us with 3,000 regulars, besides their Ind's, w'ch will be a great many compar'd with w't we can raise; however, as our Cause is just, I trust on the Protect'n of God. Enclos'd You have Maj'r W's Journal to the Com'd't of the French Forces. I shall be glad to be fav'd with a Line from You, with Y'r Advice and Opinion of the above Proposal. I rem'n with very great Esteem and regard, Y'r Ex's most Obed't h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—I expect our Forces will be at the Ohio by the middle of April.

Mar. 1st, [1754.]

Instruc's to Joshua Fry, Esqr., Colo. and Com'd'r in Chief of the Virg'a Regiment.

Mar. 1754.

SIR:

The Forces under Y'r Com'd are rais'd to protect our frontier Settlements from the incursions of the French and the Ind's in F'dship with them. I therefore desire You will with all possible Expedition repair to Alexandria⁷³ on the Head of the Poto.

⁷³The site of Alexandria was included in a grant of 6,000 acres of land fronting the Potomac River, and extending from Hunting Creek to the

River, and there take upon You the com'd of the Forces accordingly; w'ch I Expect will be at that Town the Middle of next Mo. You are to march them to Wills's Creek, above the Falls of Poto. from thence with the Great Guns, Amunit'n and Provisions You are to proceed to Monongahela, when arriv'd there, You are to make Choice of the best Place to erect a Fort for mounting y'r Cannon and ascertain'g His M'y the King of G. B's undoubt'd right to those Lands. My Orders to You is to be on the Defensive and if any foreign Force sh'd come to annoy You or interrupt Y'r quiet Settle'm't, and building the Fort as afores'd, You are in that Case to represent to them the Powers and Orders You have from me, and I desire they w'd imediately retire and not to prevent You in the discharge of your Duty. If they sh'd continue to be obstinate after your desire to retire, You are then to repell Force by Force. I expect a Number of the Southern Indians will join You on this Expedit'n, w'ch with the Indians on the Ohio, I desire You will cultivate a good Understanding and Correspondence with, supplying them with what Provisions and other Necessaries You can spare; and write to Maj'r Carlyle w'n You want Provisions, who has my Orders to purchase and Keep a proper Magazine for Your dem'ds. Keep up a good Com'd and regular Discipline, inculcate morality and Courage in Y'r Soldiers that they may answer the Views on w'ch they are rais'd. You are to constitute a Court Martial of the Chief of Your Officers, with whom You are to advise and consult on all Affairs of Consequence; and as the Fate of this Expedition greatly depends on You, from the Opinion I have of Your good

Little Falls, from Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, to Robert Howson, in October 1669. In the same year, Howson, for a consideration of six hogsheads of tobacco, conveyed these lands to John Alexander, who, with his brothers, Robert and Gerard, had emigrated from Scotland. A tobacco rolling-house, as originally termed, from the mode of transporting the hogsheads through the country, each on its own periphery, was probably soon after this established on the site of Alexandria. It was known in time as Hunting Creek Warehouse, then as Belle-haven, and a little later as Alexandria, by both of which last names it is designated in the present text. In 1749 it was governed by a board of trustees, of which George Washington became a member in 1763. It was incorporated as a town in October, 1779. In 1801 it was ceded to the general government as a portion of the District of Columbia.

Sense and Conduct, I refer the Management of the whole to You with the Advice of the Court Martial. Sincerely recommending You to the Protect'n of God, wishing Success to our just Designs, I heartily wish You farewell.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE.

SIR:

By this Shallop You will receive 4 Chests of Arms, 2 Boxes [of] Shott, a Chest with 6 Tents, and some Shott, w'ch take the necessary Care of, being for the Expedit'n to the Ohio. If any of the Officers send recruits to Y'r Town, let them be taken care of 'til the Officers come to You. If you cannot supply Provisions sufficient, [I] wish You [to] give timely Notice, that w't may be deficient may be sent from this. Consult with Colo. Fairfax in w't may be doubtful with You.

I am,

S'r, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR JAMES GLEN, OF
SOUTH CAROLINA.

Mar. 5th, 1754.

S'R :

I have just now rec'd a Letter from my L'd Holdernessee, acquainting me with His M'y's Orders to take under my Com'd two Ind't Companies from N. York, and, as the Letter says, one from No. Carolina. This I look upon to be a Mistake of the Clerks of the Office, as there are no Compa's there, and that one of Y'r Independ't Compa's must be intended. However, I have sent the Letter directed to Mr. Dobbs to the President of No. Carolina, and desir'd him to send it to Y'r Exc'y, that I might by all means prevent any ill Effects from the Mistake, which I hope will appear so to You at first Sight, and y't therefore, You will notwithstanding, send me one Compleat Compa. Time enough to join the other two, which I expect here in the Beginning of April; and as this is an Affair of great Urgency and Importance

to His M'y's Service, I think one of the King's Ships on Y'r Station sh'd be directed to transport the Men hither. As I think this Proceedure so necessary to the Service, I very much wish to find Y'r Exc'y in the same Sentim'ts with me as to this Letter; and I am entirely perswaded that Y'r sending one of the Compa's on this Occasion will be very much approv'd of at Home, as the Affair will not admit of any Delay. I have wrote to my Lord Holdernesse the Steps I have taken to rectify this Mistake, and as I do not doubt of his Approbat'n, I shall earnestly expect Y'r Fav'o in complying with this request from

S'r, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MATTHEW ROWAN, ESQ'R,
PRESIDENT OF NORTH CAROLINA.

S'R:

This is to present You with a Letter directed to the Gov'r of No. Car'o, but w'ch by the Purport, I believe You will agree with me, was design'd for the Gov'r of So. Car'o, altho' by some Mistake of the Clerk in the Office, it is not properly addressed.

I have wrote to Mr. Glen by this Express in regard to the Mistake, and told him of my request to You to forw'd the Original to him, w'ch I desire You will be so good as to comply with, as it is an Affair of Immediate Consequence to His M'y's Service. I have directed the Express to wait for Y'r Dispatches to Mr. Glen and I hope You will Expedite him as much as possible.

I am very desirous to know what Forces we may Expect from Y'r Province, [as] our Regim't of Volunteers will be ready to march for the Ohio by the 20th of this Mo. and I shall with great Pleasure hear of their being join'd by the Auxillaries from Y'r Province.

I am, Hon'd S'r,

Y'r most Obedient Servant.

P. S. Enclos'd You have Maj'r W.'s Journal to the French Com'd't on the Ohio.

COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR
DINWIDDIE.

HON'BLE SIR:

In my last by Mr. Stuart I slightly mentioned the objection many had against Enlisting, (to wit), not knowing who was to be Pay Master, or the times for Payment. It is now grown a pretty general Clamour, and some of those who were amongst the first Enlisters, being needy, and knowing it to be usual for His Majesty's Soldiers to be paid once a Week, or at most every Fortnight, are very importunate to receive their Due. I have sooth'd and quieted them as much as possible under pretence of receiving your Honour's Instructions in this particular at the Arrival of the Colonel.

I have increas'd my number of Men to ab't 25, and dare venture to say I should have had several more if the excessive bad weather did not prevent their meeting agreeable to their Officer's Commands.

We daily Experience the great necessity for cloathing the Men as we find the generallity of those who are to be enlisted, are of those loose, Idle Persons that are quite destitute of House and Home; and I may truly say, many of them of Cloaths; which last, renders them very incapable of the necessary Service, as they must unavoidably be expos'd to inclement weather in their Marches &c.; and can expect no other than to encounter almost every difficulty that's incident to a Soldier's Life. There is many of them without Shoes, other's want Stockings, some are without Shirts, and not a few that have Scarce a Coat, or Waistcoat, to their Backs; in short, they are as illy provided as can well be conceiv'd, but I really believe every Man of them for their own Credits sake, is willing to be Cloath'd at their own Expençe; they are perpetually teasing me to have it done, but I am not able to advance the money, provided there was no risque in it, which there certainly is, and too great for me to run; tho' it would be nothing to the Country, as a certain part of their Pay might be deducted and appropriated to that use; Mr. Carlyle, or any of the Merchant's here would furnish them with proper necessarys if there was a certainty of any part of their pay stopt to re-imburse the Expençe. But I must here in

time put a kirk to my requests, and remember that I ought not to be too importunate; otherwise, I shall be as troublesome to your Honour as the Soldiers are to me: there is nothing but the necessity of the thing could urge me to be thus free, but I shall no more exaggerate this affair to your Honour, as I am well assur'd whatever you think for the Benefit, or good of the Expedition you will cause to have done.

I am, Hon'ble Sir,

Y'r most Ob't H'ble Serv't,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

Alexandria, 9th of March, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD HOLDERNESSE.

Mar. 12th, 1754.

R'T HON'BLE:

My last to You of the 29th Jan'y by His Maj's Sloop Speedwell, Capt. Webb. I then transmitted Y'r L'd's Maj's W's Journal to the French Com'd't's forces on the Ohio and the other Papers relative thereto, to w'ch I beg to be referr'd. I also acquainted You y't I had call'd the Assembly to meet the 14th of Feb'y. They met accordingly. With great Applicat'n, many Argum'ts, and with much difficulty they were prevail'd on to vote 10,000[£ in] this Currency for supporting the Expedit'n I propos'd [to] the River Ohio. In Consequence thereof I appointed Officers to enlist 300 Men, to be at the Town of Alexandria, the Head of Poto. River, by the 20th of this Mo.; from thence I order'd them to escorte the Cannon, Stores and Provisions to the Ohio, w'ch is about 150 Miles March by Land. I further directed a Fort to be immediately erected at the Forks of Monongahela, w'ch com'ds that River and Part of the River Ohio. His M'y was pleas'd to order me to raise the Militia on Occas'n to support His just right to the Lands on the Ohio, but on consulting the Council and other Persons of weight in the Co't'y, I found it w'd be impossible to oblige them to march to the Ohio, as it is uncertain whether these Lands are in this

Dom'n or belonging to Pennsylvania. I wish there were an Order for running the Line between this Dom'n and that of Pennsylvania. However, my Lord, I think 300 Men rais'd voluntarily will do more Service than 800 Men of the Militia forc'd on the Service. I immediately wrote to all our neig'bouring Colonies for their Aid and Assistance, but the Express is not yet ret'd, that I know not w't Success my Applicat'n to them may meet with.

My Orders to the Com'd'g Officer, shall be to take Possess'n of all the Lands the Back of our frontier Settlem'ts to the River Ohio, in the Name of His Majesty the King of G. B., and if any foreign Force appear to interrupt them, he must send to them to retire; but if they persist, to prevent their building of Forts, he is in that Case to repell Force by Force. The Settling and securing the Lands in the interior Parts of this large Cont't, particularly those on the back of this Dom'n, has been much in my Thoughts ever since my Arrival at my Gov't, and be assured, my Lord, every Thing in my Power in supporting the present Expedit'n shall be done with Chearfulness.

As we never had any regular Troops or Independ't Compa's establish'd here, makes me much in want of proper Officers, however I have taken all necessary Care to Comiss'n those that are the most expert and have the best knowledge of Military Affairs, but the Men this Dom'n will raise and those of our neighbouring Colonies, will be but few compar'd with what the French threaten us with of being on the Ohio this Spring, w'ch in some Measure intimidates our People, but I endeavour to raise a Spirit of Courage among them. Some Mos. ago the Cherokees and Catawbases (two considerable Nations of Ind's to the So.w'd of this) offer'd me 1000 Men in Case the French sh'd offer to invade their hunting Grounds on the Ohio. I have sent an Express to them to send what Warriors they possibly can spare to the Ohio the Beginning of April, and that they may expect a Regiment of our Forces to join them at that Time, w'ch with our friendly Ind's on the Ohio, and the Twightwees, on whom I have a great Dependence, w'n met in a Body, I hope they will make a good Appearance. To engage them I have promis'd them a handsome Present from their Father, the King of G. B. They appear to profess a Fr'dship to the British Subjects on this Cont't, yet they expect to

be p'd as Auxillaries. I have promised them and hope Y'r L'ds will qualify me to perform. It is my sincere Opinion that a real F'dship and true Understand'g with the different Nations of Ind's is the most eligible Method to secure and settle the interior Parts of this Cont't, and the Skin and Furr Trade is to be conducted there to great Advantage. The French take another Method to secure these Lands. They are at an imense Expende in building a String of Forts from the River St. Lawrence, with Intent'n to carry them to the river Mississippi, without any View of settling the Lands. I hope we shall be able to stop their Career, but I suppose they intend these Forts as Marks of Possess'n,⁷⁴ and to raise in the Ind's a regard to them as much Superior to the British Subjects who have so long, I think shamefully, neglected ascertaining His M'y's rights to these Lands, granted to him by the original and native Proprietors of the Soil. The Prize the French have in their View is certainly valuable; after w'ch, if they are allow'd to finish their Forts, no doubt their Subjects will come from the barren Co't'y of Canada and make Settlem'ts on the rich soil on the Banks of the Ohio and endeavour to secure to themselves the valuable Trade of Skins and Furrs, w'ch that Co't'y affords in Plenty. They have prosecuted their Scheme of building Forts to the Lake Erie, and last Sumer built one on a Creek that runs into the Ohio, and this Summer they propose building many others on that river, and their chief Rendezvous to be at Logstown, immediately back of this Dom'n, w'ch Lands were ceded to His M'y by the Six

⁷⁴ It was the practice of the French also to indicate their territorial rights by the erection of crucifixes and the interment of inscribed metallic plates along the water courses. One of the last, a leaden plate, in dimensions about eight by twelve inches, and one-eighth of an inch thick, with incised inscription, is in the Cabinet of the Virginia Historical Society. It was discovered in 1846, "a few inches below the surface of the earth, immediately at the confluence of the Great Kanawha and Ohio Rivers," by a son of John Beale, Esq. The inscription denotes that it was deposited in 1749 by "Celeron, Commandant of a Detachment sent by the Duke of Gallisonière, Commandate General of New France." This plate is pictured by De Haas, and by Craig in his *Olden Time*. A similar plate, which was buried by Celeron at a Treaty with the Senecas in 1749, is depicted in O'Callaghan's *Doc. Hist. of New York*, vol. vi, p. 611.

Nations at Lancaster in the Year 1744, and since that confirm'd by two subsequent Treaties with the Indians at Logstown, and last Year these Ind's desir'd me to build two Strong Houses or Forts on that river. My Lord, I think from the above short and just Narrative, it is full Time to Stop their Carrier, and to rouse from our supineness, by ascertaining His M'y's just rights to these Lands; For I cannot conceive the French can advance any right whatever but w't they assume by Conquest, or Marks of Possess'n by building of Forts. The Funds of this Dom'n are but small to answer the Expençe (that with the greatest Frugality) will attend this Expedition, but as it is a national Service, I am in hopes of Assistance from Brittain; however, I shall look forw'd and hope for Success.

If I had one Regim't of Regular Troops, I sh'd not doubt of answering our Intent'n of building Forts and prevent the French settling on the Ohio. My Lord, the Bounds of the Proprietary Gov'ts of M'yl'd and Pensylv'a are limited to the Westw'd. That of Pennsylvania, I think, is five Degrees West of the Eastermost Part of their present Settlem'ts. M'yl'd is not so extensive. The Lands to the West of these Boundaries, I conceive to be properly in his Majesty's Dom'n of Virg'a, w'ch will make it very extensive. After our Assembly were prevail'd on to vote 10,000[£], I thought it necessary to give Encouragem't to the People to enlist with Spirit, to grant them 200,000 Acres of His M'y's Lands on the Ohio, 15 Years without paying Quit rents, Copy of the Proclamation, I enclose You. The reason I went on, was to engage the People that went on the Expedit'n, to rem'n there and make Settlem'ts, and [I] think it better to give that Quantity to our People, than to a quiet Poss'n to the French of as many Millions of Acres, and I therefore hope it will meet with His M'y's royal Approbat'n. If we succeed in building the Forts on Monongahela, I propose building two other Forts on the Ohio, one of w'ch, a good way down the River to prevent any Communicat'n from Mississippi to that river. I have ordered Colo. J'a Fry who comands in Chief on the Expedit'n, to lay off one Thous'd Acres of Land contiguous to the Fort for the Use of the Officers and Soldiers that do Duty there, and to be call'd the Garrison Land. And as this is the Time to ascertain the B. right, I shall be as expeditious as possible in giving the necessary Orders. When three or four Forts

are properly finish'd, I think fifty Soldiers in each will be sufficient, and that will greatly encourage our friendly Ind's to have a strong House to put their Women and Children in when they go Hunting or to War, and at [the] same Time prevent Encroachments on His M'y's Lands. I am much of Opinion that a greater Number of regular Forces than Y'r L'ds. mentions, w'd be of much Service here for a few Years till we thoroughly settle the Lands to the Westw'd of this Dom'n, but this I submit to You. My Lord, Y'r two Letters of the 18th Jan'y, I rec'd the first of this Mo. This Dom'n has no regular Forces established here; w'n there are any, I assure Y'r Lords. I shall take the most effectual Measures of keeping them compleat, and that without Favo. or Affect'n, but with the strict regard to Truth. Y'r Letter to Mr. De Lancey, Lt. Gov'r of N. Y., I sent Express the 2d of this Mo., and I desir'd that Gent. to use all possible Exped't. in transporting the two Compa. of Soldiers His M'y is pleas'd to put under my Com'd, and shall provide proper Carriages for their Provis's. &c., and to be by them escorted to the Ohio. I wish I had many more, but I am very thankful for this seasonable and necessary Assistance.

Y'r Let'r to Mr. Dobbs, Gov'r of No. Car. to supply one Compa. from thence must be a Mistake of some of the [clerks?] in Y'r L'd's Office, for there are no Indep't Compa's or any regular Forces in that Province. I presume that the Letter was intended to Mr. Glen, Gov'r of So. Car'o. where there are two Indep't Compa's. I forw'd Y'r Let'r to the Pres't of No. Car'o. (Mr. Dobbs not being arriv'd) and desir'd him to send Y'r Let'r by my Express to Mr. Glen of So. Car'o. to whom I wrote, and enclos'd, trouble You with a Copy of my Let'r to him and no doubt he will observe the Mistake; and I expect he will send a Compa. by one of His My's Ships, as the time will not admit of any Delay, and I hope the Steps I have taken in the Affair will meet with Y'r L'd's approbat'n. I am sorry to lie under Y'r L'd's Censure for Neglect of not answering Y'r^s p the Man of War, dated in August. I assure Y'r L'ds. I acknowledg'd the receipt of that Letter by Capt. Teage dated 17th of Nov'r, w'ch I think was the first Ship for London, and I beg to assure You I shall on that Head, or any other, duely obey Y'r Com'ds. I must observe, these Indep't Compa's will be sent to the Ohio, and I think it will

be necessary to supply them with Provis's. for some Time till they can make a proper Settlem't. I sh'd be enabled to draw Bills for their Pay and Provis's. w'ch I hope You will please to consider, and give Direct's therein. And in Discharge of my Duty and any Com'ds I may have, I shall in every Thing endeavour to approvè myself with great Integrity and Truth,

R't Hon'ble,

Y'r L'd's most Ob'd't and faithf'l h'ble Serv't.

¶ Cap't Lane.

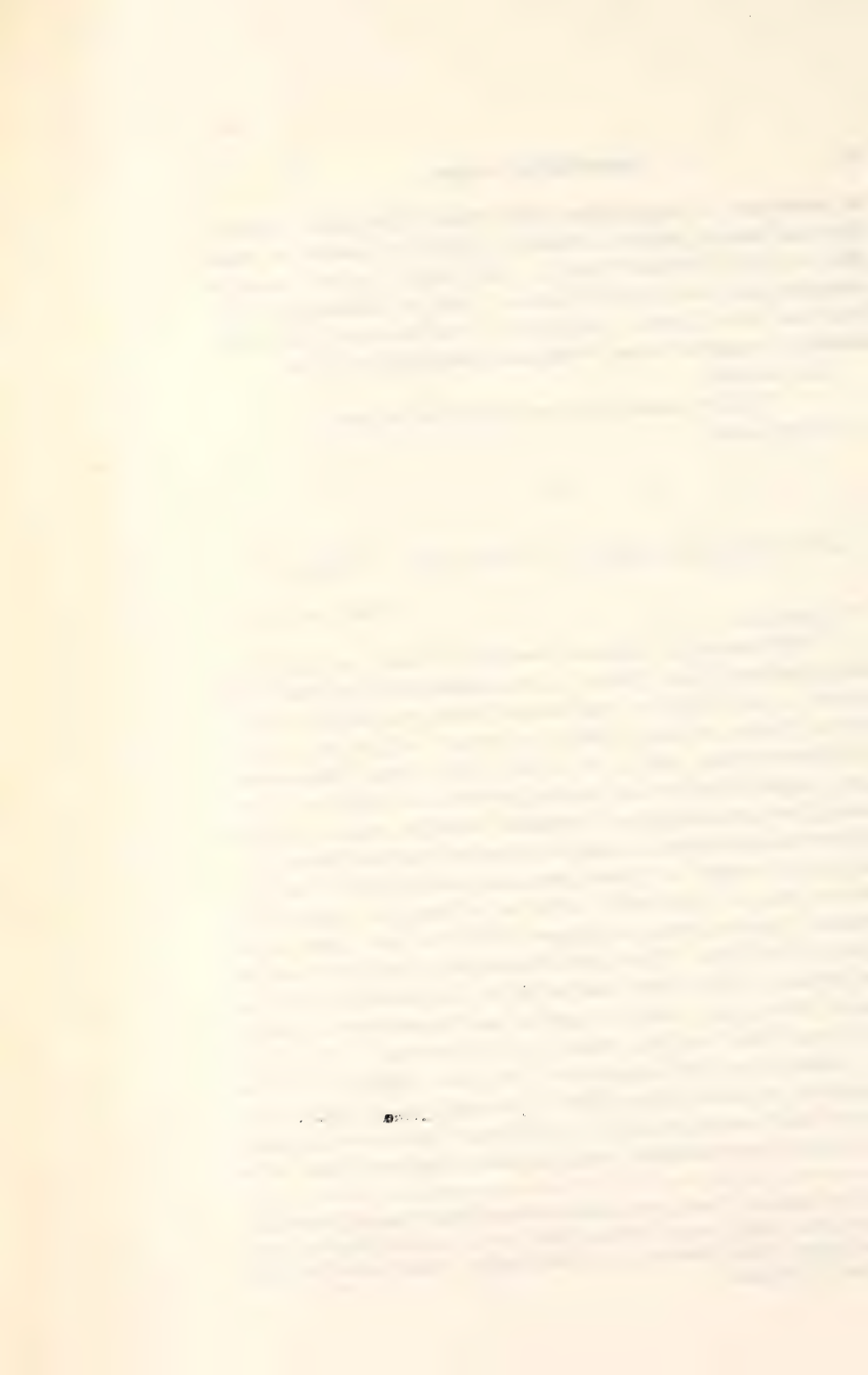
GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.⁷⁵

Mar. 12, 1754.

R'T HON'BLE:

My Last to Y'r L'ds was the 29th of Jan'y, by His My's Sloop Speedwell, Capt. Webb. I then transmitted You, Maj'r W's Journal to the Com'd't of the French Forces on the river Ohio, and the Papers relating thereto, to them, I beg to be referr'd. Our Assembly met the 14th of Jan'y, with great Perswasions, many Argum'ts and much Trouble, they were prevail'd on to vote 10,000£ for protecting our Frontiers; that Bill was so clogg'd with unreasonable regulat's and Encroachm'ts on the Prerogative, that I, by no means, w'd have given my Assent to it if His My's Service had not imediately call'd for a Supply to support the Expedt. I have in view, to support His My's just rights to the Lands on the Ohio. They plead Precedents in raising Money in this Method, w'ch I found was so in my Predecessor's Time in raising Money for Forces to go on an Expedit'n to Canada. This I urg'd sh'd not be a Preced't as it's contrary to His My's Int't, however, as the Exigency of the pres't Affair c'd not be Otherways supplied, I was oblig'd to submit, and for that reason I hope I shall stand excus'd. The Bills are not fairly Ingross'd that I cannot now transmit them, but shall soon, and then make

⁷⁵ The Lords of Trade under the Ministry of the Duke of Newcastle March, 1754, were Lords Halifax, first Lord, Hon. R. Herbert, Andrew Stone, James Oswald, Lord Edgcombe, James Grenville, John Pitt and T. Pelham.



my further observat's thereon. In Consequence of this Supply, I have appointed Officers to raise six Compa's of Volunteers, to be at Alexandria, the Head of Poto. River, by the 20th of this Mo. They shall have my Orders to escort the Cannon, Stores, Provis's, &c., to the Ohio, To erect a Fort on the Fork of Monongahela, w'ch com'ds that river and Part of the Ohio. Lord Holdernessee has been pleas'd to order two of the Compa's at N. Y. to be sent hither, and I have wrote to the neighbouring Colonies for their Aid and Assistance, w'ch with our F'dly Ind's, I am in Hopes we shall make a tolerable Appearance on the Ohio this sumer to defeat the Designs of the French. I wish for a Regiment of Regular Forces w'ch w'd be of great Service, as the French threaten Us with having 1500 or two Thous'd regulars at Logstown this Sumer, besides Ind's.

I have wrote to the Catawbass and Cherokees (two powerful Nat's of Ind's) to send as many of their Warriors [as] they possibly can spare to the Ohio, by the Middle of April, w'n I expect they will be join'd by our Forces; to encourage them, I promis'd them a Present from their Father the King of G. B., and I hope for Y'r L'd's Assistance to enable me to perform that Promise. Every Thing in my Power to ascertain His M'y's undoubted right to the Lands on the Ohio shall be done with Earnestness and due Dispatch. Y'r L'd's Letter of 18th Sept'r was forw'd me by Mr. DeLancey, L't Gov. of N. York; that Gent. appointed an Interview with the five Nat's at Albany the Beginning of June next. I laid Y'r Letter before our Assembly, as we are at great Expence on this Expedit'n; and that I am to meet many Chiefs of the different Nat's of Ind's at Winchester in May next. They w'd not comply in sending Com'rs to Albany, and, indeed, the Chiefs of the Ind's I expect to meet at Winchester will be a very great national Service, and [I] think the So'ern Indians are more to be courted than the five Nat's, being ten Times their Number; yet it's very necessary to keep a strict F'dship with them all, w'ch I shall constantly endeavour to support. This Ship being clear'd for sailing, straitens me in Time, but [I] desire to assure You that, with great Deference and due respect, I am,

R't Hon'ble,

Y'r L'd's much Obliged, Obedient
and faithful, humble Servant.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.⁷⁶

Mar. 12th, 1754.

R'T HON'BLE:

We have had several Ships from Londo. but I am not hon'd with a Line from Y'r L'ds. I am now to acq't You y't our Assembly have voted 10,000[£ in] this [Dominion's] Currency for protecting our back Settlem'ts, and I have appointed Officers to raise six Compa's of Volunteers to march to the Ohio river, to escort the Cannon, &c., to the Place, and they have my Orders to erect a Fort immediately. Lord Holdernessee has order'd two of the Independ't Compa's at N. Y. to march in here, to be under my Com'd, w'ch, with the Aid and Assistance of our neighbouring Colonies and our friendly Ind's, I hope we shall be able to make good our Ground ag'st the French Incur-sions, as I am very earnest and hearty in this Expedit'n. I shall do every Thing in my Power to execute it with all possible Dis-patch, but I wish I had more regulars, for the French give out that they will come to Logstown, on the Ohio, this Sumer, with 1500 or 2000 regular Forces, besides their Ind's; but I am really of Opinion they cannot spare so many from Canada. As I wrote to Y'r L'ds. pretty fully some Time Since, with my Opinion on the Affairs in this Part of the World, I fear my Sentim'ts did not meet with Y'r Approbat'n, as I have no Answer to my Letters, or did I venture to write to the B'd thereon, as I then thought it w'd come from Y'r L'ds. as Y'r own Opinion and have a proper Influence. I am in pain to know the result of our House of Burgesses' Address to His M'y in regard to the Pistole Tax, and their extraordinary resolves thereon. I prorogu'd them, expect-ing to have some Direct's in regard to these resolves. I am sorry to find them very much in a Republican way of Thinking,

⁷⁶ George Montague, second Earl of Halifax, succeeded to the title upon the death of his father George, first Earl, in 1739; married Anne, daughter of William Richards, and becoming possessed through her of the estates of Sir Thomas Dunk of Tonges, in Kent, he assumed the surname of Dunk; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, March, 1761; First Lord of Trade, May, 1762; First Lord of the Admiralty in June, and in October, 1762, one of the Secretaries of State; died in 1771, and the title became extinct. Halifax counties, North Carolina and Virginia, were named in his honor.

and indeed they do not act in a proper Constitutional way, but making Encroachments on the Prerogative of the Crown, w^{ch} some former Gov^r submitted too much to them, and I fear without a very particular Instⁿ it will be difficult to bring them in Order. As their Acts are not yet Ingross'd for Transmitⁿ to Y^r B'd, I cannot point out properly w^t I have reason to complⁿ of in regard to them, but shall soon. I do not incline to write to the B'd on the Affairs I presum'd to lay before You 'till I receive Y^r Opinion thereon; but sure, after this Expeditⁿ, if the Ind^s give Us the Assistance I have desir'd and expect from them, they will expect a Pres^t of Goods, and I have to encourage [them,] promis'd them a Pres^t next Year. I ventur'd to trouble You with a short Line from a fix'd Opinion of Y^r great Concern for His M^y's Int^t in the interior Parts of this Cont^t, and flattering myself with Y^r F^dship and Patronage, I beg leave to assure You I will always endeavour to approve myself,

Y^r L^{ds}. much-Obliged,

Obedient and faithful h^ble serv^t.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JNO. HANBURY, ESQ^R.⁷⁷

M^{ch} 12th, [1754.]

DEAR SIR:

Y^r Let^r of the 24th Dec^r, to Capt. Robinson, I duely rec'd, and am much oblig'd for the Hints You give me of w^t passed at the Council. I did not care to be too solicitous with

⁷⁷ John Hanbury, a wealthy and influential merchant of London was very popular with the planters of Virginia, with whose consignments and mercantile affairs he was extensively entrusted. He was one of the original grantees in the Ohio Company. In religious tenets he was of the Society of Friends. His brother and partner in business, Capel Hanbury, in a letter of June 23, 1758, to Robert Pleasants, Curles, James river, Virginia, enclosed the following obituary, doubtless from a newspaper of the day:

"22nd June, 1758: Died in Coggeshall, in Essex, Mr. Jno. Hanbury of London, Merchant, not more eminent for his Diligence, Punctuality and Success in Trade, than truly Amiable for the unaffected Simplicity of

the B'd of Trade ab't Presents and Independ't Compa's, but as L'd Halifax Honours me with a Personal Correspondence with him, I wrote him my Thoughts in a free and open manner, judging that Affairs of that kind as from himself w'd have been much more eligible and of greater weight than from me, but this to Y'rself, and w'n You see him he probably will open the Scheme of my Proposals. I find I am to correspond entirely with Lord Holdernessee in regard to my present Operat's, and accordingly have wrote him now a very long Letter, w'ch he likely may show you. Our Assembly met on the 14th Ult., w'n with great Applicat'n, many Arguments, and every Thing I possibly c'd suggest, they at last voted 10,000[£] for protecting our Frontiers. In Consequence thereof, I have commiss'd proper Officers and I expect to have six Compa's of Volunteers at Alexandria, the Head of Poto. river, by the 20th of this Mo.; from thence they are to escort the Cannon, Amunit'n and Provisions to the Ohio, whère I have order'd a Fort to be imediately built. I assure You I have had a very up-hill Work of it, for our People have not a proper Opinion of the Consequence of the Ind'n Nat'n, and [are] indifferent in settling the Lands on the Ohio. In a Committee of the whole House, a Friend of Y'r's pretended to ascertain the Right of the French to these Lands from Mons'r De Lisle's Maps. You may conceive how I fir'd at this, that an English Legislature sh'd presume to doubt the Right of His Majesty to the interior Parts of this Cont't, the back of His

his Manners, the Chearfulness of his Conversation and the Integrity of His Heart. In domestic Life his Memory must be revered as a kind Master, a tender Parent and a faithfull Friend. In the busy World he merited invariably that extensive Confidence reposed in him and from the Great, the native Dignity of his Address (Sincere yet affable, plain but not rude) frequently won that Attention to his Advice or Solicitation which artificial Politeness cringes for in Vain. Deception indeed was not his Talent, for he Lived and died, an Honor to the Principles of his Education, to his Profession as a Merchant and to his Species as a Man."

From a communication to Governor Dinwiddie in the Letter Book of James Abercromby, before referred to, it appears that John Hanbury died of the Palsy. The style of the mercantile house of Hanbury was successively, John Hanbury, John & Capel Hanbury, and Capel & Osgood Hanbury.

Dom's; how this French Spirit sh'd possess a Person of His Distinct'n and Sense, I know not. However, that is pretty well got over, and I look forw'd with the small sum they have voted, with the Assistance of our neighbouring Colonies and our friendly Ind's, I am in Hopes of defeating the Designs of the French, and if I can effect the building of two Forts, may give us a proper Possess'n of these Lands. The treatm't, I have met with from our House of B. has been very disrespectful, and nothing but the Discharge of the Duty I have in view of ascertaining and possessing His Majesty's Lands on the Ohio c'd support me under their unjust Clamours and Reflect's. Ever since the former Meeting of that Ho. w'n they made some remarkable resolves, the People have been much inflam'd, and with republican Principles endeavour to act very unconstitutional, and the money now voted, if it was not on this present Emergency, where His M'y's Service immediately requires it, I sh'd not have given my Assent to the Bill. You judge very properly in not divulging w't I writt You. L'd Holderness has order'd two of the Independ't Compa's at N. York to march in here to be under my Com'd, and I hope for one from So. Caro. If they come as order'd, I shall fix them in the Fort at the Ohio, if we be so lucky as to have them built this Sumer. Que[ry.] Sh'd not I have a sepe-
rate Com'o. to take on me the Com'd of them? and an Agent be appointed for them, that I may know how to draw upon for their Subsistance &c. for I am of Opinion they must be supplied with Provis's for some Time. If the Agency is left to me, I leave you to nominate any Friend of Y'r's, or if You will take the Trouble Y'rself, or if after enquiry of the above at tother End of the Town, do the necessary therein as you think right. I by no means think it proper to shew Y'r Letters to any Person here, for excepting a very few, I c'd not venture to divulge any Thing of Consequence. However, if Mr. Randolph's Solicitat's in regard to the Pistole Fee, meets with the Treatm't I expect, the People here may probably be bro't to think more reasonably and with more Moderat'n. Poor Lasselle's Death, is a fatal Loss to the Atto'y in His Negotiat's, as I hear that Man was to be engag'd to solicit his Affairs with the Ministry. Their Motive for this Step, I suppose was, believing him to be my Enemy, and that he w'd go great Lengths to hurt me. If

so, poor People, I pity their Ignorance and narrow, ill-natur'd Spirits. Now, Sir, as His M'y is pleas'd to make me a military Officer, please send for Scott, my Taylor, to make me a proper Suit of Regimentals to be here by His M'y's Birth Day. I do not much like Gayety in Dress, but I conceive this necessary. I do not much care for Lace on the Coat, but a neat Embroider'd Buttonhole, tho' You do not deal that way, I know You have a good Taste, that I may shew my Friend's Fancy in that Suit of Cloths; a good lac'd Hatt and two p'r Stock'gs, one silk, the other fine Thread.

I think I have nothing more to write You at pres't, but my kind Love and respects to all the Branches of Y'r agreeable Family, and that I always am in great Truth,

D'r Fr'd,

Y'r affect'o. h'ble Serv't.

P. S. I have wrote to L'd Hol. to qualify me to draw Bills for the Pay of the Independ't Compa's and their Provis's. Please call on him to have this properly establish'd.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JOHN CLEVELAND, SECRETARY
TO THE BOARD OF ADMIRALTY.

Mar. 12th, [1754.]

SIR:

Y'r two Letters I rec'd, the first in answer to my Let'r to their L'ds, recommending two Ships of War on this Stat'n and y't of M'yl'd. It's true we have no Pirates on this Coast as yet, and [I] hope we shall not, but if that sh'd be the Case, it will be too late to write home. What I mention'd to their L'ds. was the great Produce of these two Colonies, w'ch Produce gives me great Duties to the Revenue, and we are an open Co't'y without Fortificat's. I have done my Duty, and their L'ds. are to do what they think proper. Y'rs of the 14th Dec'r I rec'd with a List of Passes You say are not accounted for. I gave Y'r Letter to the Person that usually issued these Papers, and enclos'd You have his Answer. I wish it was in my Power to serve You

therein, but if still due, the Ex'ors of S'r Wm. Gooch only are liable to acc't for them. I desire You will send me 30 Passes, and Mr. Jno. H[anbury] will pay You for those you last sent me. There are no Books belonging to S'r Wm. Gooch left here, y't I cannot give You any Acc't of the Passes You say remains unp'd. I sh'd think it no Trouble if I c'd serve You in this Affair.

I am,

S'r, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Mar. 3rd, [1754.]

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Letter of the 27th Ult., about a hour ago. How any Person c'd presume to ascert that we were to raise no Forces, I know not. We have already rais'd pretty many, and expect the Six Compa's to be rais'd in this Dom'n, will be at Alex'a by the 20th of this Mo. My Orders to the Comd'g Officer of our Regim't is to march imediately to the Ohio, and on the Forks of Monongahela to erect a Fort, and if any foreign Force sh'd come to molest them, I order'd him to act on the Defensive, and to desire them to retire from His My's of G. B's Lands, w'ch, if they refuse, he is directed to repell Force by Force; this is agreeable to my Orders from Britain. The time of the Forces being embark'd is uncertain, but [I] hope if we can build the Fort soon and defeat the designs of the French, it may not be long, but I think many of our Forces propose remaining there under the Encouragem't given of Land free from Quit-rents for fifteen years, w'ch Encouragem't is to be general to all the Forces on the Expedition. I am sorry Y'r Assembly are backw'd in their Supplies, as it is a Com'd from His M'y, and at [the] same Time the Peace and Protec'n of all the Colonies depend on our vigorous supporting the Rights of the Crown to the Lands on the Ohio, so contiguous to our back Settlements, and at [the] same Time, I beg they will consider if we do not make a Push at this

Time, we shall loose all the Ind's now in our Friendship; the consequence thereof may prove fatal. I wrote you by an Express Yesterday, to w'ch I desire to be refer'd, and to assure You I am with very great Esteem,

Y'r Ex's most obed't h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—Excuse Hurry, as I was earnest to dispatch Y'r Express, who has been here but two Hours. I expect a large number of Cherokees and Catawbas at the Ohio [the] Beginning of April; having sent them an Express to that Purpose.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLO. GEO. WASHINGTON.

Mar. 15th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r two Letters of the 3d and 7th Curr't I rec'd, and the enclos'd from Messrs. Trent and Cresap. I am surpriz'd from their Letters that the French are so Early expected down the Ohio; w'ch, I think, makes it necessary for You to march what Soldiers You have enlisted, immediately to the Ohio, and escort some Waggon, with the necessary Provisions. Colo. Fry to march w'th the others as soon as possible. I shall send three Sloops with Recruits from York, James River, and the Eastern Shoar, so that I hope the Number of Men will be fully Completed. By the first of these Sloops, I shall send 24 more Tents, w'ch is all that's to be had here. Picks, Cutlasses, or Halberts, none in the Magazine; so the Officers must head their Comp's with small Arms. I have no Objection to the Soldiers being in an uniform Dress, on the Head You propose, but I am perswaded You have not Time to get them made, unless to be sent after You. In that Case, Care sh'd be taken of buying the Cloth at the cheapest rate.

The Soldiers are to be p'd from the day they were enlisted 'til the day they march, after that every two Mo's, to be p'd by Mr. Carlyle at Alex'a on producing a Certificate from the Comd'g Officer and their Capt., w'ch Certificate will be a Voucher to Mr.

Carlyle, and he will be supplied accordingly. Mr. Muse⁷⁸ was with me this day, and will soon be at Alex'a. I have appointed him Major at 10s. 7½ day, and enclos'd You have Com'o. Lieut.-Colo. pay, 12s. 6d. 7½ day Without any Trouble of Comanding a Comp'a. I have sent to the Treasurer for Money, if he disappoints me, I shall, nevertheless, send You some immediately, w'ch You may Expect in 24 Hours after this Messenger. I recomend to You Dispatch to be with Capt. Trent, if possible, before the French comes down the river. Send a runner before You for Intelligence, that You may not meet with any Surprize. I hope the Colonies to the No'w'd will assist Us.

His M'y has order'd two Independ't Comp's from N. Y. and one from Carolina to come here, to be under my Com'd. I have sent Expresses for their imediate coming here; w'n they arrive, I propose sending them out to the Ohio. I w'd gladly hope, as Capt. Trent has begun to build a Fort at Allegany, that the French will not immediately disturb us there; and w'n our Forces are properly collected, we shall be able to keep Possession and drive the French from the Ohio. I hope the Cherôkees and Catawbas are there by this Time. I intreat You to be diligent in Y'r March; take w't Officers You see proper that are at Alex'a, and keep up a good Discipline 'till Colo. Fry joins You. He has my Orders to choose a Court Martial, to peruse the Articles of War, and select from them such [as] the Court may think proper for the discipline of the Men.

Pray God preserve You and grant Success to our just Designs.

I am most Sincerely, S'r,

Y'r Friend and h'ble Serv't.

⁷⁸Major George Muse, from Caroline county, afterwards promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel. He received his proportion of the 200,000 acres of land granted by Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation of February 9th, 1754. He was also one of the four District-Adjutants of Virginia.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLO. WM. FAIRFAX.

Mar. 15th, [1754].

SIR:

Y'r kind and friendly Let'r, P Henry Stuart, I rec'd. You are sensible of the uphill Work I have had in putting in Execution His M'y's Com'ds, and You know the reason that prevented the Supply in Nov'r, w^{ch} refusal was not only a great Stop to our Early Assistance of our friendly Ind's, in order to defeat the designs of the French. The Refusal at that Time was attended with a further ill Consequence, by preventing Pennsylv'a from acting with a proper Spirit, saying, if our Colony did not enter heartily into it, they c'd not be expected to grant Supplies; but as I sent Expresses after the last Assembly, to acquaint all the Colonies of the Vote of our Assembly, I hope they will follow the Example, having wrote very pressingly on the Subject; but I fear we shall be too late. The first of this Mo. I have Let'rs from L'd Holdernesse, with an Order for two Independ't Compa's from N. Y., and one from Carol. to march hither to be under my Com'd. The day after, I sent Express to New York, and desir'd the Gov'r to forw'd those two Compa's imediately by Sea, and to proceed to Alex'a, from thence I shall order them to the Ohio: to the same Purpose I sent Express to Carolina, but the Time of their being here is uncertain, and I fear [will be] too late, if the French come down the Ohio as soon as is reported. If so, we must collect all the Forces we can, in order to dispossess them of their Settlm't, &c. If things had succeeded agreeable to Y'r Advice and mine, we sh'd have been there before this Time. I have order'd Colo. Washington to march as many Men as he can collect together, the rest to follow with Colo. Fry and Maj'r Muse. I have three People enlisting on James River, York, and the Eastern Shoar; their Men will be up next Week by Water. I have been very much fatigu'd, but if I c'd accomplish w't I have in View, I sh'd not grudge any Trouble. I call'd a Council yesterday, they seem concern'd at the disappointm't of the Money from the Treasurer, and I sent an Express to him imediately to see if he c'd furnish the Money agreeable to my War-rant to Colo. Fry; his Answer is that he c'd not borrow the Money at W'm's'b'g or York, but that he had wrote by Mr.

Washington to a Gent. at Fredericksb'g to lend the Money and keep the Warr't, w'ch sh'd be p'd with Int't, but that Mr. W. has not wrote him. If he has not rec'd the Money, he sh'd have ret'd me the Warr't; speak to him on the Head. However, to give some Life to the Affair, I have borrow'd £300, w'ch I send You, to supply Colo. Washington with part, and the rest to Colo. Fry, and if you can borrow £300 more with You, it shall be p'd at the Court. I wish it was in my Power, I w'd advance the Whole. Maj'r Carlyle has not wrote me, but Colo. Hunter says he order'd some Beef and Pork, w'ch I desir'd him to send up; he did not mention Flower, w'ch I presume he has sufficient at Com'd. My Philosophy is put on the Rack to support myself under the Disappointm't, but Patience is a Virtue I must endeavour to exercise for some time. You see, I give You the Trouble of this small Sum to be manag'd for best Advantage; the Officers recruiting here have also been supplied by me. Write me by return of this Express. My wife joins me [in] kind respects to You and Y'rs. I always am most cordially,

S'r, Y'r aff. h'ble Serv't.

P. S. I am sorry to hear from the No'w'd that the Twightwees are ret'd to the French, and taken up Arms ag'st Us. I shall be glad to hear it contradicted.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLO. JOSHUA FRY.

Mar. 18th [1754].

SIR:

I hope this will meet You at Alex'a. To the former Instruct's I gave You here I order You after You have chose Y'r Court Martial to read over the Articles of War, and select out of them such as You think proper for the regular discipline of Y'r small Regim't. After that, have them read at the Head of each Compa. that the soldiers may know the Punishm't they may expect on the Breach of their Duty. Union in Council, and Union in the Execut'n of Orders is the certain means, with the Blessing of God, to give Success to any Expedit'n, I therefore earnestly recomend Unanimity and a proper Discipline. As Capt. Trent wrote to Colo. Washington the Necessity of a

Re-inforcem't to his Compa. on the Ohio, I desir'd him to march what Officers and Soldiers he had ready, imediately to his Assistance, w'ch I suppose he has done before Y'r Arrival. The rest of the Forces, w'n collected into a Body, I desire You will marshall them into different Compa's, the List of the Officers Comiss'd by me You have here enclos'd. This week all the recruits rais'd here and [on] the Eastern Shoar, will embark in Sloops and be with You soon. After you have done the Necessary in fixing the Officers and Soldiers into proper Compa's You are to march them, with all convenient Speed, to Wills's Creek, and as I expect the Cannon and Provisions will be there before You reach that Place, You are to escorte them out to the Ohio for the Use intended by my former Instruct's to You, but I desire You to send a Runner or Messenger before You, that You may not be surpriz'd by the Enemy. Colo. Washington wrote me the Soldiers desir'd to be in an uniform dress; the Charge thereof to be stop'd out of their Pay agreeable to the Method in His M'y's Army, to w'ch I have no Object'n, if it does not occasion delay, but we are already late in our March, I earnestly recomend all possible dispatch. I know not yet w't Supply of men we may expect from our neighboring Colonies; but His M'y is pleas'd to order two of His Independ't Compa's from N Y., and one from Carolina, to march hither imediately to be under my Com'd. I sent an Express the 2d of this Mo. for them, w'n they arrive I shall order them out to re-inforce You at the Ohio. Money is scarce, and I have been much disappointed by the Treasurer, who says he has none, nor can he borrow any. However, I have supplied the Officers recruiting here with about 100 Pistoles, and sent £300 to Colo. Fairfax to supply Colo. W. with some, and the rest for You. I desir'd that Gent. if he c'd borrow some more M'y at Alex'a for the pres't, it sh'd be p'd at the Court. The Soldiers will want a little Rum in their March, and some, according to the Labour, w'n You come to the Ohio. You must therefore speak to Mr. Carlyle to send the Qu'ty You may think proper. I send You 4 blank Como's for Ensigns and Adjut't and Q. Master. Young Mr. Mercer⁷⁹ and Mr. Bro-

⁷⁹ John Fenton Mercer, a Lieutenant in Captain Robert Stewart's Company, son of John Mercer, of Marlborough, Stafford county, (compiler of *Mercer's Abridgement of the Laws of Virginia*), and a younger brother

naugh⁸⁰ have applied for two [of] these Com'o's. I recom'd them to Y'r Fav'o. You will observe there are five Capt's and six Lieut's. As C't Trent has a d'ble Comp'a. You cannot fix the Lieut's till you come to the Ohio, and if you divide his Comp'a. the eldest Lieut. has a right for Capt's Com'o.; but as he is a dutchman and cannot speak good English, I think you [had] better prefer the next to him. Colo. Washington's Bro.⁸¹ must have a pair of Colours, but not a Lieut's Com'o. as the Lieut's are already compleated. Maj'r Carlyle has a particular Acc't of the Cannon, and their different Inplem't[s], the small Arms, Powder, Shott, &c., w'ch he will furnish you with Copy of. I sent up 30 Tents, w'ch dispose of as You see proper. I cannot recollect any Thing further at pres't, but my sincere Prayers for Y'r Protect'n and Success. Believe me to be in great haste,

S'r, Y'r Friend and h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—Mons'r Peronie⁸² is strongly recommended to me by several of our Gent. I shall be glad You can let him have a Com'o. One de Keyser was mentined by Colo. Fairfax for Adjut't and Q'r Master. I hear he is a dancing Master and not acquainted with the Exercise, if so, not eligible for that Appointm't.

of Colonel George Mercer, was born August 31, 1735. Attained the rank of Captain; killed and scalped by the Indians April 18, 1756, at Edward's Fort, on the Warm Springs Mountains whilst in command of a scouting party of one hundred men.

⁸⁰William Bronaugh, promoted Captain, and was allotted in 1771, 6,000 acres of land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation of February 19, 1754. This survey was made by Washington, and his autograph report of it, rendered Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, is in the Cabinet of the Virginia Historical Society.

⁸¹John Augustine, a younger and favorite brother of Washington. It does not appear that he was commissioned.

⁸²William Chevalier de Peyronie was a French Protestant, settled in Virginia and highly esteemed. At Fort Necessity he was ensign, and being desperately wounded, obtained leave to wait upon the Assembly to petition for some recompence for his personal losses of clothing, &c. On 30th August, 1754, the Burgesses voted him their thanks, and especially desired the Governor to promote him, and he accordingly received a Captain's commission to date from August 25th, 1754. He was killed July 9th, 1755, at the defeat of Braddock. Sargent's *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 328.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

Mar. 18th, 1754.

SIR :

Y^rs of the 9th came to my Hands a little after I had sent Mr. Finne, Express. It is impossible, in the Managem^t of the Trust repos'd in You, for me to give Explicit Instruct's, as many Things may occur that I cannot think of, therefore left to Y^r own discretion, with the Advice of Colo. Fairfax. The Waggon's You send up with Provisions, &c., if not escorted by the Soldiers, must have a trusty Person to see them deliver'd, and the Pay you mention'd, I think very reasonable. I hope the Cannon will be at Wills's Creek before Colo. Fry marches, that he may Escorte them out. I am sensible Y^r Time will be greatly Enhanc'd on this Expedit'n, and You must be accordingly paid; the first will be attended with difficulties, but in a short time will become familiar. You mention fresh Waggon's at Wills's Creek, are they to be had so far up the Country? I sh'd be sorry to have any Disappointm^t; pray explain this to me. Colo. Hunter, I suppose, has forw'd the Provis's You order'd, and hope You have plenty of Bread kind, that we may not be under any Inconveniency on that Head. Colo. Fry will order some Rum, w^{ch} must be carried out in Waggon's. I am with respect,
S^r, Y^r most h^{ble} serv^t.

Colo. Joshua Fry, Com'd'r in Chief, 15s. 3^d day and 100^l 3^d Ann. for his Table.

Geo. Washington, Esq'r, Lieut. Colo.,	12s.	6d.
——— Muse,	Major,	10.
Wm. Trent,	Captain,	8.
Adam Stephen, ⁸³	do.	8.

⁸³ Adam Stephen succeeded to the command of Fort Cumberland with the rank of Lieut. Col.; commanded expedition to South Carolina against the Creek Indians, and was later placed at the head of troops for defending the frontiers of Virginia, with the rank of Brigadier Gen-

Robert Stobo, ⁸⁴	do.	8.
Peter Hogg,	do.	8.
And'w Lewis, ⁸⁵	do.	8.

eral. At the commencement of the Revolution he was Commissioned a Colonel; promoted a Brigadier General in the Continental service, Sept. 4, 1776, and Major General, Feb'y 19, 1777. He behaved gallantly at the battle of Brandywine, but yielding to a bad habit, fell into disgrace at Germantown; was found guilty of intoxication and dismissed from the Army in 1778. He died near Winchester, Va., in Nov'r, 1791, leaving a landed estate which was the subject of protracted legal contest among his heirs.

⁸⁴ Robert Stobo, was born in Glasgow in 1727, of respectable parentage; settled in Virginia about 1742 as a merchant; appointed Captain in 1754, surrendered July 3, 1754, with Van Braam at Fort Mifflin as hostages for the fulfilment of the articles of capitulation; whilst a prisoner at Fort Duquesne he made a plan of the works and sent it to the commanding officer at Wills's Creek. His correspondence fell into the hands of the French at the defeat of Braddock, and he was in consequence treated with unusual severity; upon a third attempt, he succeeded in escaping from Quebec in 1758, and joined the English at Louisburg. He accompanied the Expedition to Quebec and was most useful in his knowledge of localities. Returning to Virginia he sailed in 1760 for England, and on June 5th was made Captain in the 15th Foot (Amherst's Regiment); served in the West Indies in 1762; returned to England in 1767 and left the army in 1770, dying soon after. He possessed a fertile genius and an indomitable spirit, but was very eccentric; an acquaintance of Hume and a friend of Smollet to whom it is said he sat for the character of Lismahago in "*Humphrey Clinker*."

⁸⁵ Andrew Lewis, son of John and Margaret (Lynn) Lewis, (pioneer settlers of Augusta county, Va.,) was born in Ulster, Ireland, in 1720; Major in the regiment of Washington at the surrender of Fort Mifflin; in the company of his brother Samuel, at Braddock's defeat; commanded the Sandy Creek Expedition in 1756, and in the unfortunate expedition of Major Grant in 1758, was made prisoner and taken to Montreal. In the same year he was a commissioner to treat with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix; made a Brigadier General in 1774, and commanded the Virginia troops at the Battle of Point Pleasant, Oct. 10, gaining a victory over the most formidable Indian force which ever opposed the whites in Virginia; a representative of Botetourt county in the Virginia Assembly and a member of the Conventions of March and June, 1775; commissioned Colonel and promoted Brigadier General, but declined Ap'l 5, 1777. He drove Lord Dunmore from Gwynne's Island, and was on duty in the lower part of the State where he contracted a fever, of which he died Sept. 25th, 1781, at the residence of

Jacob Vanbraam,	Lieut.	4.
Geo. Mercer, ⁸⁶	do.	4.
Thos. Wagener, ⁸⁷	do.	4.
William Polson, ⁸⁸	do.	4.

Capt. Talbott, in Bedford Co., and was interred on the Thursday following, the 27th inst., "beside his younger son Charles," in the burial ground on his home farm on Roanoke river. A movement has recently been instigated by Col. J. Marshall McCue, of Augusta Co., for the removal of the remains to the cemetery at Salem, Va., and their due marking by a substantial monument. Samuel, Thomas and Charles, brothers of General Andrew Lewis, were severally distinguished in the annals of Virginia, and have been worthily represented in succeeding generations.

⁸⁶ George Mercer, son of John, of "Marlborough," was born June 23d, 1733; educated at William and Mary College; promoted to Captain, and assigned as aid to Washington; with General Braddock at the time of his being wounded, and complimented for his bravery; accompanied Washington from Williamsburg to Boston on the mission to General Shirley in behalf of the rank of Virginia officers; elected to the House of Burgesses May 18, 1761, (the date of the election of Washington to like position); sent to England about 1763, as the agent of the Ohio Company, of which his father, John, was Secretary; returned to Virginia in 1765 as Collector for the Crown, under the Stamp Act, but found that measure so obnoxious that he declined to act; going to England again, he was appointed, Sept. 17, 1768, through the influence of Lord Hillsborough, Lieut.-Governor of North Carolina, but relinquished the office very soon afterwards—by tradition, upon the death, on May 30, 1768, of his wife at Richmond, Va. He married Aug. 8th, 1767, at Scarboro', England, Mary, daughter of Christopher Neville, of Lincoln. He returned to England prior to the Revolutionary War, and died there in April, 1784, without issue.

⁸⁷ Thomas Waggener is believed to have been a member of a family of respectability and early seating in Rappahannock county. He was a Captain at the defeat and death of Jumonville, May 28th, 1754, and was slightly wounded. He had previously served under Governor Shirley in the projected Canada expedition of 1746. He received the thanks of the House of Burgesses for his gallantry at Fort Necessity. Others of the name also served during this period. Ensign Edmund Waggener was killed at the defeat of Braddock, and Captain Andrew Waggener received lands under the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie.

⁸⁸ William Poulson was probably a Scot, who had been concerned in the Rebellion of 1745; since, early in 1755, he writes to James Burd,

John West, Jun'r, ⁸⁹	do.	4.
John Savage, ⁹⁰	do.	4.
— Craick, ⁹¹	Surgeon.	4.

complaining bitterly of a report that assigned him in that affair, "such a low station as I detest as much as the author of such a falsehood." He received the thanks of the Virginia Burgesses in 1754 for good conduct and was promoted Captain to date from July 21st; killed at the defeat of Braddock, and an annual pension of £25 was bestowed on his widow. His son John, commissioned a Lieutenant in the 60th regiment (of which Gage was Commandant, and Gates, Major, May 5, 1756; served in the Revolution as Captain from July 1, 1777, to May 12, 1779, when he was promoted Major of the 8th Virginia Regiment; a prisoner from Oct. 5, 1779, until exchanged Nov. 2, 1780 at Elizabethtown, N. J., when he returned to his home in Accomac county, Va. He subsequently rejoined the army and served until the end of the war.

⁸⁹ John West served through the war, receiving in 1771 his allotment of lands under the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie.

⁹⁰ The last note is applicable to John Savage.

⁹¹ Dr. James Craik was born at Orbigland, Scotland, in 1730; died at "Vancluse," Fairfax county, Va., February 6, 1814; graduated at Edinburgh; emigrated to the West Indies and subsequently to Virginia, practicing his profession in Norfolk, Winchester, and Alexandria; efficiently served in positions of trust during the Revolution; active in 1777 in unveiling the conspiracy to remove Washington from the Chief Command; in 1781 Director of the hospital at Yorktown, Va.; married in 1760 Marianne, daughter of Colonel Charles Ewell, and his wife Sarah, daughter of Colonel Edwin and Sarah (Ball, half sister of Mary, the mother of Washington) Conway, and sister of Charles, the father of Colonel Benjamin S. (President of William and Mary College) and Lieutenant-General Richard S. Ewell, lately of the Confederate States Army. After the Revolution, Dr Craik settled near Mount Vernon, was intimate with General Washington, and one of his attendant physicians in his last illness. A son of Dr. Craik, George Washington Craik, was the private secretary of Washington during his second Presidential term. He married a Miss Tucker, of Alexandria, and was the father of the late James Craik, D. D., LL. D., of Louisville, Ky., who died June 9, 1881, in the 76th year of his age.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE OF
MARYLAND.

Mar. 28th, 1754.

SIR:

As I have wrote You two Letters, w^{ch} rem'n unanswer'd, I much expect Y^r Assembly have granted You Money to raise Forces on our present Expedition. I have a Letter from Gov^r Hamilton, w^{ch} gives me Hopes that their Assembly (w^{ch} meets the 2d of next Mo.) will give an agreeable Supply. I think the Men rais'd here will be at Alex'a this Week, in their Way to Wills's Creek and the Ohio. I shall be glad to hear they were join'd by Y^r Men, as I have a particular Instruction from His M^y to build two Forts on the Ohio, and by all means to prevent any Persons, not his Subjects, to settle on his Lands on that River. The Pay given to our Forces are 15s. to Colo., 12s. 6d. Lieut. Colo., 10s. the Maj^r, 8s. to Capt's, 4s. to Lieut's, 3s. to Ensigns, 4s. to the Doct^r, and 8d. ^{per} day to the private Men. In order to have them in an Uniform, they allow a deduct'n from their Pay to purchase a Coat and Breeches of red Cloth. I have order'd six Mo's Provisions of all Kinds to be carried out with them. I hope to be favour'd with an agreeable Letter from You on return of the Express I sent to N. York.

I remain with great regard and Esteem,

Y^r Ex. most Ob'dt h^{ble} Serv^t.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DELANCEY OF
NEW YORK.

Mar. 21st, 1754.

SIR:

Since writing the above, w^{ch} I sent you by Express, I rec'd Y^{rs} of the 18th Feb'y. The Orders I have from His M^y, by a full Instruction, are to prevent the French and their Ind's from settling on his Lands on the Ohio, and to build two or three Forts on that River, and he has been Pleas'd to send me 30 Pss. of Cannon, and all other Implem^{ts} therewith, to be mounted on the above Forts wⁿ built, and 80 Bls. Gun Powder. As to concerting Measures with the other Gov^{ts}, the Time will not admit

of it, as what is to be done must be immediately, and His M'y's Orders to the different Governors is for a mutual Supply, w'ch I think is w't each Assembly will grant, to qualify the Gov'r to raise Men, &c., for the Good of the Comon Cause. I have Commission'd Officers to raise six Compa's, w'ch I expect will be completed this Week, and they are to march to the Ohio to support an Officer now there, in building a Fort at the Forks of Monongahela. As to settling the different Quotas of each Gov'r w'd take up much Time, that the present Intention of the French will not admit of, I, therefore, hope You will do what's in Y'r Power to assist Us with as many of Y'r People as possible. The Plan of Operation is no more than to take Possession of the Land in the King's Name, and build Forts agreeable to His Comands, and each Colony to pay and Victual their own Men. We allow a Colo., 15s., Lieut. Colo., 12s. 6d., Maj'r, 10s., Capt., 8s., Lieut's, 4s., Ensigns, 3s., Surgeons, 4s., Private Men, 8d. p^d Day, with Victuals; they allow a Deduct'n from their Pay to put them in an uniform Dress. I hope to see at least two of the Chiefs of the Five Nations at Winchester in May, as the Design of that Meeting is to make a Peace between the Northern and Southern Ind's, after which to make a strict Alliance between them and the whole British Subjects on this Cont't. I hope I need not repeat to You the absolute Necessity of Y'r immediately ordering two of Y'r independ't Compa's, agreeable to His M'y's Order, formerly sent You by Letter from Lord Holderness, for this Place, as I expect one from Carolina, and if you send them in Sloops with six Mo's Provisions, will be very convenient, as the Sloops may call at Hampton to take in a Pilot to carry them directly up to Alex'a, the Head of Poto. River, and pray send me a muster Roll with them. Or if Y'r Station Ship can bring one of the Companies, as it's for the King's Service, I suppose You will think it very proper. I thank You for the Examinat'n of Stephen Coffey. I have nothing now to add but that I am with very great respect

S'r, Y'r Hon'rs most ob'd't h'ble serv't.

P. S. By Let'r from Gov'r Hamilton, I am in great Hopes of a handsome Supply from that Province.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

Mar. 21st.

SIR:

Your former Letter of the 25th of Feb'yry gave me much concern for Y'r ill state of Health, but [I hear] You are now well recover'd and shall be glad to hear of a full Confirmat'n thereof. Our Assembly in Nov'r last spent a great deal of their Time in complaining of my taking a Pistole Fee for Signing and Sealing all Patents for Land. This Fee was agreeable to my Instruct's establish'd by the unanim's Consent of the Council and approv'd by the Lords for T[rade] and P[lantations], however, they were so violently warm thereon that they have address'd His M'y on this trifling Fee and sent a Person Home on purpose to negotiate this Affair. They made several ill-natur'd and uncomon Resolves w'ch occasion'd my proroguing them with some Marks of Anger. Y'r private Letter of the 13th Curr't, I have duely rec'd, and am much misled by our Surveyors, if the Forks of Monongahela be within the Limits of Y'r Proprietor's Grant. I have for some Time wrote home to have the Line run, to have the Boundaries properly known, that I may be able to appoint Magistrates on the Ohio, (if in this Gov't,) to keep the Traders and others in good Order, and I presume soon there will be Com'rs appointed for that Service. In the mean Time, that no Hindrance may be given to our intended Expedit'n, I think it's highly reasonable, if these Lands are within Y'r Proprietor's Grant that the Settlers thereon sh'd pay the Quit Rents to Mr. Penn and not to His M'y, and therefore, as much lies in my Power, I agree thereto, after the time granted them by my Proclamat'n to be clear of Quit Rents, ceases, but surely, I am from all hands assur'd the Logstown is far to the Westw'd of Mr. Penn's Grant. I did not care to promise every private Man a certain Quantity of Land as I fix'd it agreeable to their Behaviour and Recomendat'n of their Court Martial and to raise an Emulat'n among them. I shall do all in my Power to prevent the Injury You justly observe on former Encouragem'ts of the like kind. I am of Opinion if we succeed that the new Settlers will be the greatest Barrier and therefore the Land divided among Numbers will be much more Eligible. I shall be in Pain 'til I hear from You of the Result

of Y'r Assembly. The March from Y'r Province to Wills's Creek I think much [a] easier and shorter distance than from this [place]. I enclose You the act passed last session for £10,000 w'ch I am asham'd of, as it is much clogg'd, nothing but the Emergency of our Present Affairs w'd have allow'd me to pass it. I also send You my Speeches and their Addresses to me last Sessions.

I am with very great respect and Esteem,

S'r, Y'r Obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON, OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

Mar. 21st, [1754.]

SIR:

Last Night I rec'd Y'r Letter of the 13th Curr't by Y'r Express. I am sensible of the Endeavours You in course must have taken with Y'r Assembly for a mutual Supply, agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds to all the Gov'rs on this Cont't, and it gives me much Concern and Surprize that the Gent. of Y'r Assembly sh'd be so backward in qualifying you to resist the Invasions of the French on His M'y's Lands on the Ohio, w'ch, if once they have a quiet Settlem't there, the Incursions of these People with their Ind's on our present Settlem'ts, will be constantly, and attended with Robberies and Murders, w'ch was the Case last Year w'n some of their Ind's Came to our Frontiers, Murder'd a Man, his Wife and five Children, Robbed them of all they had, and left their Bodies to be tore in Pieces by the wild Beasts. This is no more than may be annually expected from them. His M'y's Orders to me are to prevent their Settling on his Lands on the Ohio, and further orders me to build two or three Forts on that River, not doubting but the Neighbouring Gov'rs will assist me to put these his Com'ds in due execution.

He has further order'd two of the Independ't Compa's at N. York, and one from Carolina, to be sent hither to be under my Com'd. I have accordingly sent Expresses to these Colonies to send these Compa's with all possible Dispatch. W'n arrived, I propose sending them, with the Forces rais'd here and the

neighbouring Colonies, to the Ohio. Our Assembly were very backward in raising Money, and the Sum rais'd is not half w't I expected, but in Compliance with His M'y's Orders I am willing to do all in my Power to erect a Fort. In Jan'yry I Comission'd Wm. Trent to raise 100 Men. He has got 70, and has begun a Fort at the Forks of Monongahela. His M'y sent me out 30 Pss. Cannon, 4 Pounders, and all other necessary Implem'ts; with 80 B'ls Gun Powder. I have sent of the Guns and $\frac{1}{2}$ of their Implem'ts to Alex'a, from thence to be transported to Wills's Creek, and so to the Ohio in Waggon. They are a little too heavy, therefore I only sent 10, to see if they can be properly carried out. And I am of Opinion w'n our Assembly comes to think seriously of the Importance of this Expedit'n, they will, on their next Meeting, grant a much larger Supply, w'ch w'd have been more Eligible to have done it at once, but [I] hope the small Sum now given will be no Precedent to Y'r Assembly, but that they will shew themselves loyal Subjects, and consider His M'y's Lands are likely to be invaded, and that the Invaders will not rem'n quiet there, but constantly harrass our Settlem'ts on our Frontiers. We are in great want of proper Officers, but have, from the best Informat'n and Recomendat's, Comission'd the best I c'd meet with. The Chief Com'd is invested in Colo. Joshua Fry, a Man of very good Sense, and one of our best Mathemet't's. The Number of Men to be rais'd now is only 300, besides those Capt. Trent has rais'd, and now on the Ohio. If we can only erect a Fort or two, as a Mark of Possession, [it] will be doing something; but I am much cramp'd by the narrow Dispositions of our Assembly. The Time the Men are to be kept in Pay c'd not be determin'd. I sent up 300 small Arms to this small Regim't, with Powder and Shott, [and] 30 Tents. They propose to be in an uniform, by having a red Coat and Breeches, w'ch they are willing the ch'ge sh'd be stop'd out of their Pay. I have order'd six Months Provisions, viz't: Beef, Pork, and Flower, but this Qu'ty must be increas'd, as we must supply our friendly Ind's with Provisions, as the Supply is to be carried out to the Ohio, I leave the Proportion (to be given to each Man) to the Comand'g Officer. I order'd a Qu'ty of Rum to be sent out, to have some on their March, and w'n they come to Work in erecting the

Forts to allow a Quart of Rum to every four Men $\frac{1}{2}$ Day. The Guns, &c., to be transported as above. The Men receive each a Pistole on their enlisting and 8d. $\frac{1}{2}$ day Pay. The Colo. 15s., Lieut. Colo. 12s. 6d., Maj'r 10s., Capt's 8s., Lieut's 4s., Ensigns 3s. $\frac{1}{2}$ Day, Surgeon 4s., Serg't 2s., Drum'r 1s. I have wrote the Catawbas and Cherokees to join our Forces on the Ohio in April next. I promis'd them a Present from their Father, the King, next Year. They must have Provision and Arms, but I did not engage them any Clothing, the Messenger I sent to them is not yet ret'd. I shall be glad if we can, this Sumer, erect two Forts, w'ch if effected, I propose leaving the three Independ't Compa's to remain in them all Winter. We have not above 350 Small Arms remaining in our Magazine, some thereof I believe must be sent to the Ind's, and I know of none to be sold here. I think the above is a full Answer to Y'r Queries, and I am of Opinion if we cannot effect building the Forts before the French come down the Ohio, that in that Case, w'n our whole Forces are collected together, we sh'd make a Push to dispossess them of any Settlement they sh'd presume to make there. Y'r Calculation is very right in regard to the small sum granted by our Assembly, but hope they will at next Meeting increase that Sum by a further Vote. Our Forces, to be sure will be much inferior to the French, unless the other Colonies are more liberal and Sanguine than ours has been. And You know the Uncertainty of dependence on the Ind's, but I always had much dependence on the Supply from Your Province, and 1,000 Men from you w'd give great Life to the Expedition, and in that Case [we] sh'd [have] reason to expect Success. I am in Hopes the Men enlisted here will be at Alex'a this Week and as Capt. Trent has wrote earnestly for some Men to be sent out to his Aid, I wrote last Monday to march w't Forces were at Alex'a imediately for the Ohio to join him, and order'd them to send a Runner before them that they may not be surpriz'd. If our Assembly had granted even this little sum of 10 000[£] last Nov'r, I think it more than probable that a Fort might have been finished before this Time, but I c'd not then prevail with them, w'ch occasion'd my Proroguing them with some Anger. I have had a very uphill Affair to manage, and indeed I never met with so much Trouble in any Thing I had the Managem't of, as

this. Pray let me know as soon as possible the determinat'n of Y'r Assembly, w'ch if they act with Spirit will be very great Encouragem't to ours.

I rem'n, with very great respect,
S'r, Y'r most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MATTHEW ROWAN, PRESIDENT
OF NORTH CAROLINA

Mar. 23rd, [1754.]

SIR:

Your kind favo. of the 10th Mar. by Mr. Ashe,⁹² I duely rec'd. It gives me much Pleasure to observe the Loyalty and Readiness of your Assembly in raising Money for the Good of the Common Cause. Our Assembly were much divided and a Spirit of Content'n among them, that they voted only 10,000[£] for the imediate raising 300 Men to join and escort a Compa. of

⁹² John Ashe was born at Grovely, on the Cape Fear river, 1720, and with his brother (Governor Samuel Ashe), and a sister, was left an orphan at a tender age. He was educated at Boston, was heir to a large estate, and soon became distinguished as an orator, statesman and popular leader. He inherited a hatred of oppression, and was imbued with a spirit that led him to espouse, with ardor, the cause of the people against the arbitrary exactions of government.

His grandfather, John Ashe, an influential member of the South Carolina Assembly, had been engaged in long and bitter controversy with the Governors of that Colony—particularly in regard to the measure depriving dissenters of the right to sit as legislators: and his father, John Baptista Ashe, (Speaker of the North Carolina Assembly,) had violently opposed the oppressions of Governor Burrington in North Carolina, with the eventual result of accomplishing his abdication and flight from the Colony.

Among the coterie of gentlemen on the Cape Fear, distinguished for their elegance and culture, no less than for their intrepidity and patriotism, none entered life better equipped or more highly gifted than young Ashe, and none played a more important part in the grave matters that came to test their fortitude.

As speaker of the Assembly he opposed with great resolution the enforcement of the Stamp Act, and leading the people to the Gover-

100 Men, now at the Ohio building a Fort agreeable to His M^y's Com^d's to me, but I do not doubt of their raising a much larger Sum for the general Service. These Men I expect will be at Alexandria, the Head of Potomack River, next Week, wⁿ they are directed to march immediately to the Ohio. That Part of the River where they are order'd to build a Fort is in Dispute, whether it is in their Gov't or in the Proprietary Grant of Mr. Penn, of Pensylv^a, however, it's deem'd the Property of the Crown of G. B., and for the Safety of His M^y's Colonies on this Cont^t, it's absolutely necessary to prevent the French from settling or building Fortresses there. And as it is for the general Safety of the Whole, the Forces rais'd in each different Colony, is to be Paid and maint'd in Provisions by them. I have provided six Mo's Provisions for the men now rais'd, and those from the No^ern Colonies will bring their Provisions with them. The Pay of our Officers and soldiers is as follows. The Colo. 15s. Lieut. Colo. 12s. 6d., Maj'r 10s., Capt. 8s., Lieuts. 4s., Ensigns 3s., Doct'r 4s., and the Private Men 8d. $\frac{2}{3}$ Day. To bring them into an uniform dress of a red Coat and p^r Breeches, they

nor's mansion, required Governor Tryon to deliver up to him the Stamp Master, who was taken to the market-house and made to swear never to receive or distribute a single stamp.

In consequence of retaliatory measures, Governor Tryon being at Fort Johnston, at the entrance of the Cape Fear, Ashe informed the Governor, in writing, that he would "accompany the people and take possession of the Fort because of the particular restrictions imposed on the port of Wilmington." The odious restrictions were speedily removed.

In the spring of 1775 he embodied troops at Wilmington and so alarmed Governor Martin that he fled from the town and took refuge on board a British vessel off Fort Johnston; later, in July, with Colonel Waddell, he seized Fort Johnston, and under the eye of the Governor, destroyed it, applying the torch with his own hand. He projected the first Colonial Congress held (1774) in subversion of the constituted authorities of the Colony—and was a strenuous promoter of all the patriotic measures of that period: none of his contemporaries being more advanced or wielding a greater influence in the Colony than himself.

During the war he served in both civil and military station; was captured in 1780, confined in Wilmington by Major Craig; took the small-pox, and after being broken in health, was released only to die in 1781.

allow a Stoppage to be made out of their Pay. Provisions of Flower, Pork and Beef to be given them at the Discretion of the Com'd'g Officer, and Rum, a little on their March, and a Quart for every four Men w'n at Work on the Ohio, with Encouragem't of Land to every Person according to their Merit, free of Rights or Quit Rent for 15 Years. The pay that Mr. Ashe tells me Your Private Men are to have, Surprizes me. I wish you c'd prevail with the Officers and Soldiers to be at the same Pay as our Forces, but I fear if they know the Pay, they will be backw'd in coming, but this I must leave to Your Prudence. As to Provisions, if You write me, I shall take care to provide w't You may Order, and as I fear the Expence will be large either for Your Province or our's to bear, we must in a proper Manner repres't it home and depend on His M'y's Goodness for reimbursement't. As the Ministers are very earnest on this Expedit'n I doubt not of their good Offices in being rep'd. Cannot You order a Qu'ty of Pork for Your Forces. I am glad Your Regim't comes under the Com'd of Colo. Innes, who's Capacity, Judgment and cool Conduct, I have a great Regard for. And w'n he comes here [I] shall do all I can to help him. The March of Y'r People by Land will be long and very fatiguing, I recomend their coming by Sea to Hampton, w'n shall have Sloops to carry them to Alex'a, thus I advise the Independ't Compa's from N. York and Carolina to be transported, and if Y'r Station Ship is with You, I think as it's for the Service of the Crown, he sh'd bring round to Hampton as many as he can accomodate, and for other Vessells they may be press'd on this emergent Occasion. This my Opinion I submit to Your Judgm't. The Gov'r of Pensylv'a sent me an Express last Week w'n he was in hopes to prevail with the Assembly to qualify him to send 1,000 Men and I doubt not of the other Colonies sending their proper Quotas agreeable to the Supplies voted by their Assemblies, w'ch as yet, I am not inform'd of, but the greatest Dispatch is absolutely necessary as the French is expected down the Ohio next Mo. I have nothing further to add, but that my sincere Wishes for Success in this Expedit'n attends it.

I am, with very great regard and Esteem,
Y'r Hon'r's most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MR. ROWAN, PRESIDENT OF
NORTH CAROLINA.

Mar. 23, [1754].

S'R:

Since closing my Let'r of this date, I have examin'd into our Magaz'e, and find we have only 300 small Arms remain'g, that I hope You will be able to supply Y'r Regim't in Your own Colony. We allow no Bedding to the Soldiers, but send Tents with them; we are also deficient in them, but I propose having some made. I found our Magazine very short of Warlike Instrum'ts, not having any Cutlasses, but Bayonets for the Arms. I remain, with very great Esteem,

Y'r Hon'rs most humble Serv't.

P. S. Our Forces are not to be p'd agreeable to the Act of Assembly in pay'g the Militia, but as Volunteers, w'ch accordingly as in my Other Letter, their Pay is establish'd.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL JAMES INNES.⁹³

23d Mar., [1754].

DEAR JAMES:

Y'r Kind Let'r of the 12th Curr't I rec'd by Mr. Ashe, and I am very glad that I shall have the Pleasure of seeing You at the Head of a Regim't of 750 Men. I intended You the Chief Com'd of our Forces, but the few now rais'd were to march directly to the Ohio, that [I] was oblig'd to Com'on the Officers. Y'r Age is nothing, w'n You reflect on Y'r regular Method of living. It gives me Pleasure that You are to be on the Expedit'n, and I hope You will soon recover [from] your present Complaint. As for the Expectat's of the People here, I always have regard to Merit, and I know Yours and You need

⁹³James Innes, a native of Scotland, and a citizen of New Hanover county, N. C. He had served in 1740, it is believed as a Captain, in the unsuccessful expedition against Carthagera, commanded by Colonel William Gooch, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia.

not mind or fear any Reflect's. The Bearer appears to be a very discreet, well-behav'd Gent., and I doubt not will make a good Officer, and the Encouragm't, You give in preferring those that raise their Compa's first to the Senior Com'o., is right. We allow'd a Pistole listing Money to each Man besides their Pay, but I refer You to my Let'r to Your Presid't. The very Thought You write me, occur'd to me, and a Month ago I wrote to [the] Gov'rs of N. York and New England to make a Faint towards Canada, to divert their sending the Number of Forces mention'd; whether they will put it in Practice, I cannot say. Dispatch is absolutely necessary, and [I] hope You will bring Y'r Forces by Sea, and I heartily wish to see You and them. I think Y'r Com'd from me must be by a Com'o. superior to any I have yet granted. You know my regard and Esteem for You. My Wife, Lise, and the Child, join me in sincere respects to You and Mrs. Innes, and believe me, I am,

- S'r, Y'r affect'o. h'ble Serv't.

P. S. His M'y sent 30 Pss. Cannon, 4 Pounders, with all necessary Implem'ts. They are heavy, therefore [I] have sent only ten up to be carried in Waggon to the Ohio; if they be easily transported I shall send the other twenty. No Cowhorns or hand Granades here.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE, OF
MARYLAND.

Mar. 25th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'rs of the 11th Curr't I duely rec'd and am heartily sorry Y'r Assembly will not assist with Forces to repell the unjustifiable Encroachm'ts of the French. I am obliged by His M'y's Com'ds to endeavour the building of two Forts on the Ohio, but I fear the small Force rais'd here will not be sufficient. The Presid't of No. Caro. writes me that their Assembly have voted £12,000 Proclamat'n Money, and that they are enlisting Men accordingly and thinks they will raise 750. The Gov'r of Pensylv'a thinks he will be able to prevail with the Assembly to grant a handsome Supply. Their House are to sit down the 2d of next Month. I

have rais'd 300 Men, w^{ch} with a Comp. under Capt. Trent's Com'd now at the Ohio, is all I can purpose to raise from the small Sum given by our Assembly, but I doubt not they will increase the Sum hereafter. I am thorowly convinc'd of Your Assiduous Endeavours with Your People, but there is no resisting an ill founded Prejudice. If they w'd look forward and consider the dismal Consequences that must follow the Settlem't of the French so near our Frontiers, they certainly w'd chearfully assist with a proper Supply, as it's easier to prevent their Settling than to dislodge them w'n settled, besides they ought to shew themselves good Subjects in complying with His M'y's Com'ds for a mutual Supply, as the Dignity of the Crown, His M'y's just right to these Lands, and the Safety of all these Colonies much depends on this Expedition, But You or I can do no more than to press the Necessity thereof, which I am convinc'd You have done in the strongest Manner.

I remain, with very sincere respect,

Y'r Excell'y's,

Most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN, OF SOUTH
CAROLINA.

15th Apr. [1754].

SIR:

Y'r two Letters of the 14th and 25th Mar. I duely rec'd. Y'r Observat's on the French Transact's in this part of the World are very right, and the Consequences You draw in regard to their securing the many Nat's of Ind's to their Int. is very just, and exactly agreeable to my Opinion, and that no Time is to be lost in preventing their further Invasion on his M'y's Lands, is w't I have much at Heart, and is the Foundat'n of my Earnestness in Complying with His M'y's Com'ds to build two Forts on the Ohio River. The Steps I have taken in conformity thereto, is, that in Jan'y last, I sent out a Compa. of 80 Men to the Forks of Monongahela, where they have clear'd the Land, and I hope by this, begun the Fort. Since that I have sent two De-

tachments of 150 Men each to support them, and I expect 3 or 400 Men from No. Carolina to follow them in a Fortnight's Time, w^{ch} with the three Independ't Compa's, the Assistance of the Northern Colonies, and the Junct'n of our friendly Ind's, I am in Hopes will put me in some Capacity to prevent the French extending the Settlem'ts on that River, and I shall be very glad to hear Y'r Gov't goes into the mutual Assistance recommended by the E. of Holdenesse, as His M'y's Com'd's to each Colony on this Cont't, and if You cannot conveniently raise Men, &c., if You can supply me with Money, I doubt not but [I] can raise Men sufficient here, agreeable to the Aid Your Assembly may vote for a Supply on this critical Juncture, and I believe [I] can procure some Small Arms for them, if You qualifie me to make a Purchase of them, but I hope You will join with me that no Time is to be lost, as I suppose [the] French are now on their March towards the Ohio. Y'r Assembly's Compliance will shew the French the Conpect'n of the British Colonies against their Invasions. The Assembly of Pennsylvania is now Sitting, and from the Gov'r's Let'r to me I have good reason to expect a hand-som[e] Supply from them. Y'r proposal of a General Meeting of all the Gov'rs, no doubt would be of great Service, both as to Representat's Home and a true knowledge of the Strength of each Colony, but as to their proportioning the quota each is to supply, wou'd have no Weight with my Assembly, as they are too headstrong to be under any Direct'n but from their own Opinions and Arguments. W't Influence You may have over Y'r Assembly I know not, but I frankly tell You I have none over this here, further than arguing on the necessity and leaving the Quantum to them and I rec'd His M'y's Direct's for a mutual Supply to be no other than our Endeavours with the Assemblies to vote Supplies for His Service. I must further observe, let Y'r proposal be ever so eligible for an Interview and meeting of the several Gov'rs, this is a very improper Time, first as the French are on their March, we should be active in our Supplies to prevent their further Encroachments, by an imediate Force to stop their Proceedings. Secondly, My Meeting the Ind's at Win-[chester] the 20th of May, will, in all probability, prevent my return hither till the End of June. Thirdly, The Gov'r of N. York has a Meeting with the Six Nat's at Albany (by Order from Home, to

deliver them a Present) on the 12th of June. Lastly, It cannot be well expected that Mr. Shirley, the Gov'r of N. Eng'd, w'd come here, w'ch, I believe, is a Journey of 800 Miles. For these reasons, I believe You will think with me, that the Time and Place You mention cannot be comply'd with. But to bring our Affairs with the Ind's into a better regulat'n, I have sent home a Scheme to the L'ds of Trade, w'ch I conceive will answer all the Views You propose. If approv'd of at Home, I shall give You due Notice thereof. I am obliged to You for the Care You have taken in ordering the Independ't Compa. here, w'ch I daily expect, tho' not yet arriv'd, and am glad [of] the Acc't You give of them. It is impossible for me as yet to describe to You the different Tribes of Ind's or their Number of Gun-men, but after the Meeting at Win. I hope to be able to give You a particular Acc't. My Invitat'n is to the Six Nat's, the different Tribes of Ind's on the Ohio River, The Twightwees, a large Nat'n of Ind's to the So'w'd, that inhabit between the Ohio and Lake Erie, The Cherokees, Catawbas, and Chickasaws, and if we meet and come to a proper Treaty, I shall be very glad to include the Creeks and all other Ind'n Nat's in Fr'dship with Britain and these Colonies. If I possibly can perswade some of the Chiefs to come from Win. here, I sh'd be glad, but as You know them better than I do, I suppose You will think that very uncertain, and more so, if their People sh'd be wanted to defend their hunting Ground on the Ohio. I can give You no better Acc't of the French Force than w't You have in Maj. Washington's Journal. I have no View at pres't of dislodging them from the Forts they have unjustly built on His M'y's Lands, w'ch may be consider'd hereafter. At pres't, in obedience to His M'y's Com'ds, [I] want to build two Forts, as a Possess'n, and for a safe retreat on Occasion. His M'y has sent me 30 Cannon, four Pounders, mounted on proper Carriages, w'th all Implem'ts, properly fitted, and 80 Bls. Gun-powder. Ten of the Cannon I have sent out to be carried to the Fort now building, with $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Stores belonging to the whole, and if they can carry them properly over the Mount's, the other shall be sent after them. We have no Coe-horns, Mortars or shells, and as we are not going to attack, but build Forts, they are not so imediately wanted. The Distance from this to the Place I propos'd building the Forts is about 400 Miles. I

think I can supply Provisions for more Men than I have any Prospect of raising, Tho' there is no doubt of raising a great Number of Men here, and in No. Car. You have enclos'd an Acc't of the Pay I have establish'd for our Forces, and I supply them with Arms, and each Colony must do the same. I cannot tell the Qu'ty of Arms in other Colonies. There now remains in our Magazine ab't 400, some of them I must lend to No. Carolina. Hereafter, I hope to be able to give a proper Acc't of the Number and Situat'n of each Tribe of Ind's, but I once more desire to enforce the absolute Necessity of a Supply from Y'r Province. I am sorry Y'r People sh'd suggest my keeping them in the Dark, and [that I] enlighten other Gent. I declare I have been open to them all, in giving them all the Intelligence in my Power, and my Letters to You correspond with w't I wrote the other Gents. And I cannot help saying, I am surpriz'd at Y'r Backwardness, as I really had great Dependance of a handsome Supply from You, but if they disappoint the Expectat's of His M'y, in giving a mutual Supply, I must be easy as to myself, as the present Designs of the French effect all the Colonies, it's just and natural to expect each of them sh'd exert themselves with a proper Spirit at this Time. Y'r Answer by this Express will much oblige

Y'r Ex's most obed't, h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MATHEW ROWAN, PRESIDENT
OF NORTH CAROLINA.

15th Apr., [1754]

SIR:

I c'd not let slip the good Opp'ty of Colo. Innes in paying my Respects to You. He and I have talk'd the Affairs fully over in regard to the Forces from Y'r Colony, and [I] therefore refer You to him; and I desire to assure You that I shall do every Thing in my Power for the Service of No. Carolina, as I am very much pleas'd with their readiness in granting Supplies on this emergent Occasion; and I rem'n with great respect,

Y'r Hon'r's most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE KING,⁹⁴ HEAD MEN, AND
WARRIORS OF THE CATAWBAS.

Apr. 19th, 1754.

I rec'd Y'r L'r of the 5th Apr. by Abr. Smith. I sh'd not have urg'd Y'r going to protect Y'r hunting Grounds on the Ohio, if I had not been duely informed of the Designs of the French and their Ind's full Intent's to settle Forts and take Possess'n of all that Land, and in Course to make Slaves of our friendly Indians. To prevent their Designs, I have sent out a good Number of our Forces to the Ohio to support the Ind'n Nat's in Fr'dship with us, and I thought proper, by my former Message, to desire You to march some of Y'r Warriors to join our People. You see they have come near You by killing two of your People, for I am convinc'd they were French Ind's, as the Six Nat's are at Peace with You. I sent for some of Y'r Chief Men to Winchester to Partake of a Present from Y'r Father, the K. of G. B., and You need not fear any thing whilst among Y'r Brothers, the Engl., and I expected they w'd come with a proper Attendance. I have been oblig'd to send what Guns, Powder and Bullets I c'd possibly spare to the Ohio, for Y'r Bros., the Eng., and our f'dly Ind's, where, if you had thought proper to send some of Y'r Warriors, we w'd have taken particular Notice and Care of them. At present I cannot send any to the Place of Y'r residence, but shall, at all Times, be ready to serve You in every Thing in my Power. The Pres't at Winchester will be divided among the different Tribes of Ind's there pres't. I shall be at Winchester to deliver the Pres't ab't the 20th of next Mo. You know the great distance You are from Us, w'ch makes it impossible at this Time to send You Powder and Bullets, but if some of Y'r Chiefs come to Winchester, w'ch is nearer to You than this Place, You shall be supplied, but at pres't I am earnest, and very busy in sending Ammuit'n to the Ohio, to defend and protect Y'r hunting Grounds. Some of Y'r Warriors

⁹⁴The King of the Cherokees, a little earlier, was Outacite, or Wootas-sitie. He entered into a treaty with Governor Francis Nicholson, of South Carolina, in 1721.

may be at Winchester by the time ment'd, where I shall be very glad to see them, and be assur'd, I shall, at all Times, have a great regard for the brave Catawbas: and am sincerely,
Y'r loving Brother.

P. S.—I shall be glad if some of the Chickesaws also come to W., w'ch, pray, give them Notice, as I cannot at pres't write them, being much hurried.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EMPEROR, KING OF
CHOTE,⁹⁵ AND WARRIORS OF THE GREAT NATION OF
THE CHEROKEES.

R. D., G. of V. and Y'r Bro., wisheth You Health and Happiness:

I rec'd Y'r L'r of 23rd of Mar. by A'ra. Smith. I sh'd not, &c., to (as in the L'r to the Catawbas) You see. I sent to invite Y'r Emperor, &c., to some of Y'r Warriors. Your Emperor desired some time ago to come to see me; I referr'd inviting him till this Time, and thought his coming to Winch. w'd have been very agreeable. The Pres't from Y'r Father, the King of G. B., is now at Fredericksburg, in its way to Winchester, and if Y'r Emperor, or some of Y'r Chief Men and Warriors come there any Time next Mo., I shall be glad to see them and shew my regard for them.

I am Y'r affect'o. Brother.

Apr. 19th, [1754.]

P. S.—I sh'd be glad if some of the Chickesaws also come to Winchester, w'ch [you] may give them Notice [of,] as I cannot at present write them, being much hurried.

⁹⁵Oconostota, a chieftain of great influence, is styled at this period "Prince of Chote," and the "Great Warrior of the Cherokee Nation."

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO WAYHOCKE, KEHOWE,⁹⁶ TEL-
FOWE KEHOWE, CORRONAH TOXSO, SKYONNACO
KEHOWE, WARRIORS OF THE CHEROKEES.

I sh'd not have urg'd Y'r going to the Ohio, if I had not been advis'd that the French, with their Ind's, are coming down that river to build Forts, and take Possession of all that Land, and in course will endeavour to make Slaves of all our f'dly Ind's. To prevent their Designs, I have sent out a good Number of our Forces to support the Ind'n Nat's in F'dship with Us, and I thought proper by my former Message to desire Y'r Assistance, and that You w'd join our People.

I invited the Emperor to meet me at Win[chester] to partake of a Pres't from Y'r F'r the K. of G. B., where I shall be very glad to see him or You, that I may have an Opp'ty of shewing my great regard for Y'r Nat'n. I have been oblig'd to send w't Guns, Powder and Bullets I c'd spare, to the Ohio for Y'r B's the Engl. and our f'dly Ind's, where, if You think proper to march, You will find all Necessaries and be taken particular Notice of. I assure You I cannot at pres't send any Stores to the Place of Y'r residence, but shall at all Times be ready to serve You in every thing in my Power, and believe me, in great Truth, Y'r lov'g Bro.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESSE.

Apr. 27th, 1754.

R'T HON.:

My last to You was the 19th Mar. to w'ch I beg to to be refer'd, and in my Duty, I desire to acqu't Y'r L'ds. of my Proceedings since. In Consequence of the little Mo[ney] given me by our Assembly, to qualifie me to execute the Com'ds of His M'y in taking Possession of the Lands on the River Ohio in his Name and building two Forts, I have Comiss'd Officers and

⁹⁶ Fiftoe appears as the Chief of the town of Keowie, in South Carolina, at this period.

enlisted 300 Men; 150 of them march for the Ohio the 10th of this Mo. and the others march'd the 20th to escorte 10 Cannon and other necessary Stores and Provis's, w^{ch}, with the Compa. of 70 Men that I sent out in Feb'y, I hope will be able to build two Forts on that River this Sumer. No. Caro. have rais'd 300 Men, who are now on their March to join them. M^yl'd and Pensylv'a have not as yet given any Supplies, but I hope. they will be convinc'd of the Necessity of giving their Aid. Mr. Sharpe, the Gov'r of M^yl'd has acted with great Spirit in endeavouring to perswade them of the Necessity at this Time to join our Forces with a proper Number from their Province, and I have reason to think Mr. Hamilton, the Gov'r of Pensylv'a, is also very earnest with his Assembly, and I hope will succeed. In conformity to Y^r Let'r I wrote to the Gov'rs of N. York and So. Caro. for those Independent Compa's. Mr. De Lancey of N. York writes, that two of their Compa's shall be sent with all Expedit'n. Mr. Glen writes me, one Compa. from thence shall be sent and that I may expect them the 6th of this Mo., but none of them yet appears, w^{ch} gives me Concern; however, I shall with great Earnestness and Dispatch proceed with w^t Forces that are already on their March, to execute his M^y's Com'ds in every Point, as much as possibly can be done, as I have that Duty and Business very much at Heart, and beg leave to assure You, that I [am] with dutiful respects,

R^t Hon., Y^r L'ds. most obed^t h^{ble} Serv^t.

P. S. I am now preparing to meet the Heads of the different Tribes of Ind's at Win. to d^r his M^y's Present to them.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

Apr. 27th [1754.]

R^T HON:

The Acts pass'd last Assembly are not fairly engross'd, that I do not now write to Y^r L'd's Board. But I presume to trouble You with this to acqu^t Y^r L'ds. that tho' I have His M^y's Orders to raise the Militia of this Dom'n, from the Advice

of the Council and Others, I found they w'd not have answer'd the Intention of raising them, as I c'd not compell them to march to the Ohio; and if forc'd, w'd have been of little Service, and indeed in the Winter there is no marching of forces in this Country, from the many Rivers and Morasses, w'ch in the Winter, from the great rains and Snows are impassable. However, in the Mo. of Feb'ry, I order'd a Compa. of Seventy Men to march out and take Possess'n of a Place on that river to build a Fort; they are now on the spot, and [I] hope have clear'd the ground accordingly. I have Com'o'd Officers, and rais'd 300 Men; 150 thereof began their March to the Ohio the 10th of this Mo., the other 150 march'd the 20th. No. Caro. raises 300 Men, and they are on their March to join ours. M'yl'd and Pensylv'a have not as yet voted any Supplies, tho' Mr. Sharpe, the Gov'r of M'yl'd, has acted with great Spirit in endeavouring to perswade his Assembly of the Necessity of a Supply at this Time, and is in Hopes of bringing them to a Compliance with His M'y's Com'ds for a mutual Supply. E. of Holderness's Letters to the Gov'r of N. York, for two Independ't Companies, and Gov'r of So. Caro. for one Compa., were immediately forw'd'd to them. The Gov'r of N. Y. writes he will forw'd his two Compa's with all Expedition. Mr. Glen, of So. Caro. writes, the Compa. from that Province will be here the Beginning of this Mo., but none of them yet appears; however, with the little Force I have, [I] shall endeavour to obey the Com'ds of His M'y, in building two Forts on the River Ohio this Sumer, if I am not interrupted by the Frénch. I am inform'd, about 400 of their Forces are on the River Ohio about 60 Miles distant from the Place I propose to build one Fort. I beg to assure Y'r L'ds. that I have this Duty much at Heart, and every Thing in my Power to put [it] in Execut'n shall be done with all possible Dispatch, but the Tardiness of our neighbouring Colonies is a great Obstruction to the Expedition. I have done, and shall do every thing in my Power for the Service. I am now preparing to go to Win., a Town far back on our Frontiers, to deliver His M'y's Present to the Chiefs of the different Tribes of Ind's. I appointed them to meet me on the 20th of next Mo. I hope Y'r L'ds. will excuse the Freedom and Trouble I give You with this L'r; it's from a sincere Opinion I have of Y'r great regard for the settling the interior Parts of

this great Cont't, the back of the British Dom's. A Line from Y'r L'ds. will give me great Joy, and I always am, with profound respect,

R't Hon., Y'r L'ds. most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF GRENVILLE.⁹⁷

27th Apr., [1754.]

R'T HON:

Enclosed I send you two L's that came under my Cover from Y'r Agent Mr. Corbin.⁹⁸ That Gent. sent me [£]558, 9s. 2d. [in] this Currency, for w'ch I enclose y'r L'ds my own Draft on Messrs. J. & C. Hanbury for [£]429. 11 St'g, w'ch at 30 ¢ C't. is equal to the above Sum, and I shall at all Times be proud of serving Y'r Int't in this Part of the World, but as our Bills here are precarious as to their being p'd, made me send you my own Draft. I am now strongly engag'd in sending Forces to the O. River to take Possess'n of the Lands there in His M'y's Name; from this Colony 370 Men are march'd out. No. Car'o have rais'd 300 Men, who are on this March to join them. The Colonies to the No'w'd of this have not as yet granted any Supplies tho' strongly press'd thereto by their Gov'rs. I hope they will be prevailed on to grant a mutual Supply agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds. I shall do every Thing in my Power to

⁹⁷John Carteret, Earl Granville, the remaining proprietor of North Carolina, and after whom Granville and Cartaret counties were named, was appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber upon the accession of George I, and was constituted in 1716, Lord Lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Devon. In 1719 he was accredited ambassador extraordinary to the court of Sweden; in 1721 was made principal Secretary of State; and from 1724 to 1730, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was thrice one of the Lords Justices, during the occasional absence of the King, and was Knight of the Garter. He died January 2, 1763, leaving one son, Robert, who succeeded him, and at whose death, in 1776, the title became extinct.

⁹⁸Francis Corbin, a member of the Council of North Carolina.

forw'd this Expedition and if not interrupted by the F., I hope to be able to build two Forts on that river this Summer.

I beg to assure you that I am with great Deference and h'ble respects.

R't Hon., y'r L'ds. most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO J. ABERCROMBY.

Apr. 26th, [1754].

DEAR SIR:

Y'r L'rs of Jan'ry 29th, Feb'ry 18th, and do. 23rd, I rec'd last Night, and observe their Contents. I find that You have gone throw the Offices, and that my Fr'ds think my Case is entirely in my Favo., w'ch gives me some Satisfact'n, but shall rem'n uneasy till its finally ended, and I must confess to You, if I had [known] that this Affair w'd have created so much Uneas's to me, and Trouble to my Fr'ds at Home, I w'd not have taken that Fee; but w'n it was Establish'd by the Council here, and approv'd by the L'ds for Trade, I c'd not in hon'r to the Board, submit to the unjust Clamours of our Ho. of Burgesses, who, by the Opinion of S'r Dudley Ryder,⁹⁹ had no Cognizance of it. As this was Prior to any Direct's in regard to the Encroachm'ts of the French on our Frontiers, it c'd not be any Foundat'n for the Ho. of Burgesses not giving due Obedience to his M'y's Com'ds for a mutual Supply ag'st the common Enemy. I never had so troublesome [a] Duty to perform. In the Mo. of Febr'y last, I sent out a Compa. of 80 Men to take Possession of the Lands on the Ohio, and to begin the building of a Fort, but every Person knows that without Money, little is to be done in that way. However, by many Argum'ts, and all the Int't I c'd make,

⁹⁹ Sir Dudley Ryder, an eminent English lawyer, was born in 1691. He was of an ancient Yorkshire family, and liberally educated; appointed Solicitor General in 1733, and in 1736 advanced to the office of Attorney General; in 1754 made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and was about to be elevated to the peerage as Lord Ryder, baron of Harrowby, in Leicestershire, but died while the patent was being prepared, May 25, 1756.

the Assembly were prevail'd on to grant 10,000£ to raise Men to protect our Frontiers, and I immediately thereon gave Como. and Orders to raise Six Compa's of 50 Men each. 150 of these rais'd for us, march'd for the Ohio the Beginning of this Mo., and the rest march'd last Week, who were to join the 1st detachm't sent out. No. Caro. have rais'd 12,000[£] Proclamation Mo[ney], and have listed between 3 and 400 Men, who are now on their March. The two Proprietary Gov'ts have done Nothing. His M'y has order'd two Independ't Compa's from N. York and one from So. Car. but neither of them are yet arriv'd here; w'n they do, [I] shall order them out to the Ohio, and I may witho't Vanity say that no Person c'd do more, or [be] more earnest in obeying His M'y's Com'ds, but w't can be expected from the trifling sum of 10,000[£]? However, without regard to that, I have done all in my Power for the Service of the Expedit'n. I wrote pretty fully by the Man of War, but [as] we are a very extensive Co't'y, I c'd not call the Assembly sooner than the 14th of Feb'ry, w'ch was after that Ship sail'd. I did all I c'd with them w'n met, but they are a very stubborn conceited people. Y'r's of the 18th Feb'ry informs me of Y'r hav'g retain'd the Att'o. and Solicit'r Gen'l, with Mr. Hume Campbel,¹⁰⁰ and Mr. Jno. Sharpe, as Solicit'rs w'ch I much approve of, tho' I was in Hopes You w'd have procur'd a Sign Manual. I am greatly oblig'd to the Noble L'd in Arlington Street for his Direct's to You, and am glad of Y'r presenting a Pet't. to the B'd of Trade in my Name, and as You have taken up the Ground by these regular Steps, I hope Success will attend it, whether before the King and Council, on any of the Points You mention. I shall be easy as we have so good Council. As for Probates of Wills and L'rs of Administrat'n, I desire to give up, therefore take no Steps in regard to them. As to the Compl't of Gratuities¹⁰¹ on the Council's Affairs, it met with no great Opposit'n, but I think You sh'd have wrote me a Let'r of Y'r being satisfied with w't they gave You, that I c'd have shewn it to them. The 15£ due from the Ho. of Burgesses, I believe

¹⁰⁰ Hon. Alexander Hume Campbell, appointed Lord Register of Scotland in 1755.

¹⁰¹ These were presents to clerks, and under officials in the several public offices to advance the applications of the Colony, made by Abercromby and charged as incidental expenses in his account.

was a Neglect, but [I] shall at a proper Time remind them thereof. I shall endeavor to find out Mr. Palmer, if in this Colony, and notice Y'r Direct's therein. Y'r's of the 23rd of Feb'y mentions Y'r delivering my L's to the different B'ds, &c., for w'ch I thank You. I am sorry the Affair makes so much Noise in Coffee Houses &c.; that must be owing to the unjust Advertis'm't of the Att'o. Gen'l's that was in the News Paper, for the Fee, if establish'd, never w'd prevent the 50 Acres to Serv'ts, w'ch will always be granted without that Fee, but I know no Applicat'n on that Head since my Arrival; for if they did apply, it w'd be to Lands far back, that are not worth taking up in Such small Quantities, but you know every trifling Thing occasions Coffee Ho. Argum'ts and Disputat's. I am easy, as I think I am right, and properly authoriz'd to take that Fee. Upon Mr. Leheup's present Situat'n,¹⁰² I think it is right that he does not appear in this Affair. I can honestly say, that the Fee, w'n establish'd, was as much to support His M'y's Quit-rents as Self Int't, for it's [a] trifling Income. I am sorry my Noble F'd¹⁰³ is Chagreen'd; I have not a Line from him of a long Time, w'ch I attribute to the Loss of his Lady. My Correspondence with him was proper Answers to sundry Queries he was pleas'd to send me, and I inform'd him of the Motions of the French from Canada to possess themselves of the Lands on the Ohio, w'ch I think is fully confirm'd by Maj'r W's Journal to their Fort, and to the Com'd'r's Answer to my Let'r. On the Ho. of Burgesses' Applicat'n to me to know w't Authority I had to dem'd a mutual Supply, I sent them a Copy of L'd Holderness's Let'r to that Purpose, otherways they w'd not have granted any Thing, and really I tho't it was very judicial to do it, to confirm [to] them that it was His M'y's Com'ds, but the Explanatory Let'r, they, nor any other have seen it. My Instr'n I shew'd and had read at the Council Table as usual. The Alarm of the French Invas'n were from every Gov'r, I believe, on this Cont't, and I acknowledge w'n I was convinc'd of the Truth, I tho't it my Duty to represent the same in its proper Light, and I yet hope the Steps I am taking will turn out absolutely necessary, and for a national Service, if I meet with the

¹⁰²Peter LeHeup, then clerk of the Privy Council. He was succeeded by James Abercromby as Agent for the Colony of Virginia, at London.

¹⁰³Lord Halifax, it is presumed, is here referred to.

Success I propose and expect. If the Ministry knew this Co't'y, with the great Rivers, Morass's, &c., they w'd be convinc'd that little is to be done here in the Winter, and I can safely say I have lost no time in prosecut'g w't I had in View from my first Arrival here, to extend His M'y's Dom's to the West and to secure our Frontiers. S'r Danvers Osborn's 39th Instruction¹⁰⁴ was in most of the Public Papers on this Cont't, which much surpriz'd me, or can I give any Acc't how the Printer came by it; it was first from N. Y., and the other Printers copied it from thence. As I have now answer'd Y'r different L's, I have nothing to add, but that I wish the Compl't may soon be heard and determin'd, not doubting Y'r Care and Oeconomy in its Procedure. Let me know the fate of Mr. Leheup.¹⁰⁵ You may guess my reasons. I wish You Health, &c., and am, &c.

P. S. I sent You by the Man of War Sloop, the Journals of the Ho. of Burgesses, with the Laws of this Dom'n, w'ch [I] hope came safe to Y'r Hands. In the Journals, Page 85, You'll find a resolve of an extraordinary Nature; they there resolve to give P. Randolph as their Agent, to negotiate the Affairs of this Colony in G. Britain 2,500[£] this Mo., and the Treasurer of His M'y's Revenue is by that Resolve directed to pay the above Sum, without the Concurrence of the other Branches of the Legislative. Is not this a notorious Encroachm't on the Prerogatives of the Crown, and immediately contrary to my Inst's? The Council rejected it, as the Complaint he was to negotiate, was ag'st the Gov'r. for endeavouring to support His M'y's Quit rents. Pray

¹⁰⁴ Sir Danvers Osborn, of Chicksands, Bedfordshire, Bart., appointed Governor of New York, June 6, 1754. He committed suicide October 12th, by strangling himself in a fit of depression from excessive grief at the death of his wife, who was Lady Anne Montague, daughter of the first Earl of Halifax and sister of the second Earl, then President of the Board of Trade. The 39th Article of his instructions recited the "several encroachments" made upon the Authority and Prerogative of the King "with regard to the methods of raising and disposing of all publick money for the support of Government." *O'Callaghan's Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, vi., p. 790.

¹⁰⁵ He was tried before the King's Bench, April 19, 1755, for malfeasance as one of the receivers in a recent lottery for £300,000. Judgment was reserved until May 12, when he was fined £1,000, "which he paid directly in court." *London Magazine*, 1755, pp. 186, 250.

point out this Resolve to my Council that they may speak to it and obtain a proper Repremand for this Insolence. He has further Orders from that Wise Body to choose an Agent at Home, who they engage to pay [£]200 ^{per} Ann. out of His M^y's Treasury. These, with their other extraordinary resolves, I hope will produce an Order to me to show them how necessary it is to bring them to act in a more consistent and Constitutional Manner. You know the proper Use to make of this great Encroachm^t on the Prerogative. I hear our Ho. of Burgesses have lately address'd His M^y on their Supply of [£]10,000 for the Ohio Expeditⁿ, a mere trifle considering the Service intended; I, at least, expected £20,000. A Ship from Londo. brings some News that elates the Minds of many of my Oponents. I wish You w^d write me frequently. You may believe I am Uneasy to hear the Progress of the Affair; they relate a Story I do not believe true, therefore, will not mention it to You.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DELANCEY.

Apr. 27th, 1754.

SIR:

I have Y^r Hon^r's Favo. before me of the 1st Curr^t. I shall be glad to hear [it] Confirm'd that N. Eng. makes a Diversion, by attempting to dislodge the French from the Head of Kennebeque river, w^{ch} probably may occasion their recalling some of the Forces intended for the Ohio. I am in great Pain for the Arrival of Y^r Independent Compa's, as our Forces, and those from No. Caro., are now on their March for the Ohio, to the Number of 700 Men, and I daily expect an Independ^t Compa. from So. Caro., w^{ch}, wⁿ all joined together, may make near 1,000 Men. I, therefore, hope long before this, Y^r two Compa's are embark'd, for the Season of the Year will not admit of any Delay. I need say no more to You of the Necessity of their being soon here. I shall be glad at Y^r Treaty at Albany, to excuse my not sending Commiss^rs, on Acc^t of my meeting the Chiefs of the Ind's at Winchester the 20th of May, w^{ch} Time was fix'd long before I knew of Y^r Intent's. I shall do my Endeavour to

have [care] taken of Jean Clur, [*sic*] if possibly he can be got into our Possess'n.

I rem'n with very great respect.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

Apr. 27th, [1754.]

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Hon'r's L'r of the 18th Curr't. The Proceedings of Y'r Assembly gives me real Concern; this Expedit'n to the Ohio is of so interest'g a Nature—so warmly recomended by His M'y—so strongly urg'd by His Minister, and so evidently calculated for the Welfare of all the Colonies, that I cannot forbear expressing my Desire that Y'r Hon'r's Attachm't to His M'y's Service may be again repeated, and that You may again lay before Y'r Assembly the Necessity of a Supply. Whatever may be their religious Scruples, I think they sh'd consider the first Law of Nature, Self Preservat'n, and not to remain unactive w'n likely to be invaded by the comon Enemy. Men, we c'd have rais'd enough, but money was wanting. In this great National Concern, had I met with Assistance equal to the Importance of the Service; had the Strength of the B. Colonies be[en] properly and truely exerted, we must, by our brave and vigorous Effort, have defeated all the Machinat's of France. I cannot help observing that two Proprietary Gov'ts sh'd distinguish Themselves on this Exigency of our Affairs in not contributing their Assistance to His M'y's Com'ds, and more so from Y'r Province, as It's in doubt whether the Land we are going to possess is not in Y'r grant. If they grant you Money, and if You cannot raise some Men, it may be applied for Food, raim't and other Necessaries for the Soldiery. The Plan of my Operat's is agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds to take Possess'n of the Lands on the Ohio in His Name, to build two Forts. My Order to the Com'd'r in Chief, is to be on the Defensive, but if oppos'd by the Enemy, to desire them to retire; if they sh'd still persist, to repell Force by Force. If You sh'd raise Men, they may be told to submit to the rules and regulat's of the other Forces. Our

Forces are all March'd, to the Number of 350 Men, from No. Caro.; 300 Men now on their March to join them. I daily expect two Independ't Compa's from N. York, and one from So. Caro.; w'n collected together, will be near 1,000 Men. I think Y'r Colony much nigher the Place of action than this, and a much shorter March than from No. Carolina. It is reported [the] So. Car. Assembly had voted 100,000[£] their Mo[ney], w'ch if so, is near 20,000[£ of] this Mo. I wrote the Gov'r, as it may be chargeable to transport the Forces hither, I c'd raise Men, if Qualified by a Supply of Mo. from him. The last Acc'ts I have of the Fre. is that they have about 300 Men at the Fort they built last year, and that they expected 400 Men from Mississippi up the river Ohio, to join them, but the Informat's from the Frontiers are not to be depended on. I have often been deceiv'd by them, And if Y'r Hon'r, whose Zeal for His M'y's Service is well known, c'd prevail with Y'r Assembly to grant a Supply for the Purposes before mention'd, It will, I am satisfied, be no less a Pleasure to You than it will be to,

S'r, Y'r most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DeLANCEY.

May 1st, 1754.

SIR:

Your favo. of the 19th Apr. I rec'd, and I am much oblig'd for the Intelligence You give me in regard to the Forces the French intend to send to their Settlem'ts on the Ohio, and their proposing to build a Fort with Stone on that or Belle Revere.¹⁰⁶ The Force is much larger than any I can pretend to send to protect his M'y's undoubted right to the Lands on the Ohio. Our small Regim't of 350 Men are march'd for that River, and the same Num. from No. Car., but I am greatly disappointed of Supplies of Men, &c., from the Colonies to the No'w'd of this, w'ch I had

¹⁰⁶ *La Belle Riviere*, the Beautiful River; the French rendition of the Iriquois name Ohio, which the Delawares called *Alliwegi Sipee*, the river of the Alliwegi. A branch of the Ohio retains the ancient name Alleghany.

good reason to expect from his M'y's Orders for a mutual Supply, and indeed the Delay of the two Independ't Compa's from Y'r Colony is not a small Discouragem't to our Volunteers, as I gave them Hopes of their being here long before this Time. The Delay is a great Loss to the Expedit'n, and I am perswaded You have done all in Y'r Power, therefore, I presume it is to be attributed to the Capt's of these Compa's, or that they are not Compleat, and want to enlist others. I am sorry Y'r Assembly have not enabled You to send Men to our Assistance; we must therefore, trust on Providence with the few Men we have. W'n Y'r Compa's arrive, I hope we shall have near 1,000 Men, w'ch are but few Compar'd to the Number mention'd of the French. There is a Report prevails here that the French Forces are supplied with all sorts of Provisions from the Settlem'ts contiguous to Oswego Fort. I think and hope the Com'd'g Officer there will take proper Care to prevent any Thing of that Sort; pray write him thereon. We have no Tents here; all in the Magazine have been made Use of for our own People, and indeed I expected Y'r Companies w'd have come provided with all Necessaries for their March. Waggons and Horses I have given Orders about, and sh'd be glad, if from Y'r Magazine, they c'd be supplied with Tents. The Resolution of Your Assembly, I think very proper, and the building of Forts in the Countries of the Six Nat's may be very Eligible. As our Assembly have been, by great Difficulty, perswaded to grant a Supply for the Expedit'n to the Ohio, I cannot conceive they will enter on any other expensive Engagem't for this Year, but hereafter I may lay it before them, and be very well pleas'd if they w'd join in so Necessary an Affair. At present I must endeavour to prosecute the Expedit'n we are now engag'd in, with as much Spirit and Dispatch as is possible. I shall be glad to hear the Six Nat's declare in our Favo., and [I] doubt not, for all the Threats of the French, if we made a Vigorous Push this Sumer, we sh'd be able to take and keep Possession of the Ohio. The Ind's on the Ohio have strongly declar'd in our Int't, if they be not debauch'd by the French Promises. I shall expect the Favo. of w't Informat's You may hereafter have in regard to the French Forces marching, and I am, with respect,

S'r, Y'r most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

May 1st, 1754.

SIR:

Your favo. of 25th Apr. I rec'd last Night. I am very glad You agree with me in Opinion in regard to Gov'r Glen's Proposal, as I am convinc'd if a Gov'r of this Dom'n sh'd direct the Assembly either in regard to raising Men or Money, [it] w'd be the infallible way of being disappointed of both, for they depend greatly on their own Notions and Judgm't. Y'r Let'r to that Gent. shall be duly forwarded, and I shall, at all Times, be ready to concur with the Gov'rs on this Cont't in any reasonable Scheme for His Majesty's Service and that of these Colonies. Mr. DeLancey has wrote me to the same Purpose he wrote You. However Eligible his Proposal may be, we can do Nothing this Year, as my whole Attention is on the Ohio Expedition, and I agree with You that a gen'l Plan w'd be more proper to be laid before an Assembly, as I think the different Colonies are too much confin'd to their separte Interests without consider'g Themselves Subjects to one Prince. I wish You may succeed with Y'r Assembly for a Supply, as it appears to me monstrous that from the many Informat's we have of the French Intentions, that any British Colony sh'd hesitate in granting a mutual Assistance against the comon Enemy on this present Exigency of our Affairs. You may be assur'd that it gives me Pleasure and Satisfaction that the Plan of my Opperat's on this Expedition meets with Y'r Approbat'n. If our Assembly had voted the Sum they have now given, on my Applicat'n to them in Nov'r, I am pretty fully convinc'd the Fort w'd have been built before this Time; however [we] must look forw'd and do the best we can w'n the three Independ't Compa's arrive. I think we shall have near 1,000 Men, tho' that's much short of w't the French threaten Us with. The Plan of the Fort is not yet Drawn, as the Ground is not fully fix'd on, being left with discrecional Power to the Engineer; w'n done, shall send You a Copy of it.

I have, from an old Book of Laws, sent You enclos'd a Copy of one relating to the King's Lands, but no report of the Survey'r thereon; if any, I fear it was destroy'd w'n [the] Capitol¹⁰⁷ was

¹⁰⁷ The Capitol at Williamsburg was destroyed by fire in 1746, and

burn'd. Lord Howard was not Gov'r¹⁰⁸ here till 1680. If that, or any Thing else from this will be of any Service to You, I shall be glad to serve You. And be assur'd, I rem'n with great regard,
Y'r Ex's most ob'd't humble serv't.

P. S.—I set out for Win'r ab't the 12th of this Mo.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL JOSHUA FRY.

May 4th, [1754.]

The Bearer hereof, Capt. Jas. McKay,¹⁰⁹ Com'ds an Independ't Compa. in His M'y's Service, and is order'd to the Aid and Assistance of the present Expedition to the Ohio. You are by me appointed Com'd'r in Chief on the Expedition, but as it is not usual to have the regular Forces under His M'y's imediate Com'o. to be under the Com'd of an Officer in America appointed by any of the Gov'rs; yet, that there may be no Misunderstanding or Delay in the Expedit'n, I recomend You to shew a due regard to these Troops of His M'y, and shew this Officer and the others in that Station as much Indulgence as is in Your Power. I wish Success to all Y'r proceedings, and am,
S'r, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

was rebuilt in 1752. In the MS. Diary of John Blair, before referred to, he records, December 12th, 1752: "This afternoon I laid the last top Brick on the Capitol Wall, and so it is now ready to receive the roof; and some of the Wall plates were raised and laid on this Day. I had laid a foundation brick at the first Building of the Capitol above 50 years ago, and another foundation Brick in April last."

¹⁰⁸ Francis Howard, Baron Effingham; Governor of Virginia 1684-9; died in England March 30, 1694. He was instructed not to allow the use of a printing press in the Colony. His administration was arbitrary, and during the early part of it the Colony suffered much from the depredations of the Indians, with whom he concluded a treaty at Albany, N. Y., in 1685.

¹⁰⁹ Captain James Mackaye, as he appears to have written his name, in 1755, "left the service, sold out, and went to Georgia." About 1787, on his return to Georgia, by land, from Rhode Island, (whither he had gone to benefit his health,) he died at Alexandria, Va. Letter of Washington, see *Sparks*, xii, p. 303.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL JOSHUA FRY.

You will allow me to be surpriz'd, on receiving Y'r Let'r dated at Alex'a the 31st of Apr. last, w'n I perswaded myself You must be near Wills's Creek. It is a great Misfortune that the active French outdo Us by their timely Vigilance and Applicat'n. We must now exert our Utmost to dispossess the French of their present Possession of the Fort of Monong[ahela]. The Independ't Compa. from So. Car. is arriv'd at Hampton, is compleat of 100 Private Men, will re-embark on Monday for Alex'a, thence proceed immediately to follow You to the Mouth of red Stone Creek, the Place recomended for the rendezvous 'till You can be joined by the Forces from N. Car. and the other Colonies, w'n Y'r own Council will best direct Y'r further proceedings. I am advis'd that Capt. Trent, and his Lieut., Fraser, have been long absent from their duty, leaving Ensign Ward with ab't 23 Men only, to guard the Workmen whilst preparing Materials to erect the Fort begun, and [who was] oblig'd to surrender, on the Sumons of the French Com'd'r; Which Conduct and Behaviour I require and expect You will enquire into at a Court Martial, and give Sentence accordingly. As I shall notifie the French's further Encroachm'ts, to the Gov'rs of the neighbouring Colonies, I hope for their better Success in geting Assistance. I must recomend Y'r Earnest Exhortat'n to all the Officers and Soldiers to be faithful and Couragious in their respective dutys, assuring them of his Britannic M'y's Protect'n and Fav'o. I think it will be prudent to have the Cannon secur'd, at the Fork of the Roads, or other Place of the best Secur'y, 'till advisable to remove them to their destinat'n. As I am determined to be at Win[chester] ab't the 20th or 25th Inst. at furthest, You will send me thither such advice of Occurrences as may be proper for my Informat'n, and [I] am desirous of seeing the Half King there, if no other Sachem can accompany him. As the Officers of the Independ't Compa's are Gent. of Experience in the Art Military, have serv'd in several Campaigns, are jealous of their own Hon'r, and are well recomended, I hope You will conduct Y'rself towards them with Prudence and receive their Advice with Candor, as the most probable means of promoting His M'y's Service and the Success of the Expedit'n. I have sent a speech and String of Wam-

pum to the Half King¹¹⁰ by the Bearer hereof; if You cannot be in Time with him, write to Colo. Washington to deliver it, and Consult, if You have not Force sufficient, w'n collected together, to dislodge the Fr. from our Fort, to erect another in a proper Place this Sumer. I shall be at W. this Mo., in hopes of meeting some of the Ind'n Chiefs. With hearty Wishes for Success to our Arms, I am, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

May 4th, 1754.

SIR:

This day I rec'd Y'r Advices by Mr. Ward, w'ch give me great Concern, to Experience that my Fears of the French geting Possess'n before us of the Fork of Monongahela, were too prognostic. The March of our Forces has been delay'd by unfortunate Circumstances. The Independ't Compa. from So. Car. arriv'd two days ago; is compleat; 100 Men besides Officers, and will re-embark for Alex'a next Week, thence proceed imediately to join Colo. Fry and You. The two Independ't Compa's from N. York may be Expected in ab't ten days. The N. Car. Men, under the Com'd of Colo. Innes, are imagin'd to be on their March, and will probably be at the Rendezvous ab't the 15th Inst. I have laid Y'r Letters before the Council, and We approv'd of the Caution You have taken in halting at red Stone Creek 'till You have assembled a sufficient Body to secure Y'r Selves and Cannon, &c., and then to proceed to Monongahela.

¹¹⁰ Tanacharison, the Half King, a Seneca chief, also given the name of Dinwiddie, after the Governor, was a constant adviser of Washington and a warm friend of the English. He was an astute warrior, and it was he who advised Ensign Ward when summoned by Contracoeur to surrender Fort Necessity, to reply that his rank did not invest him with the power to do so, and to desire a delay, until his chief commander might arrive. He is said also to have slain Jumonville with his hatchet at the affair of the Meadows, to avenge himself on the French, whom he declared had killed, boiled, and eaten his father. He died October 4, 1754, at Aughquick, leaving his family destitute.

I have wrote to Colo. Fry, directing him also to proceed to red Stone Creek, w'ch being not far from the Place call'd the Fork of the Roads, where the Half-King proposes to meet a select Body of our friendly Ind's, You will have frequent Occasions of seeing each other and agree in Council what is fittest to be done in the present Emergency. I hope Capt. McKay, who Com'ds the Independ't Compa., will soon be with You. And as he appears to be an Officer of some Experience and Importance, You will, with Colo. Fry and Colo. Innes, so well agree as not to let some Punctillios ab't Com'd render the Service You are all engag'd in, perplex'd or obstructed. The ill Conduct of Capt. Trent and his L't., Fraser, in leav'g the Fort witho't Leave, meets with just resentm't here. I have order'd Colo. Fry to try them by a Court Martial, w'n, I hope, they will meet with such Punishm't as this unaccountable Action deserves.

I am, with respect, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN MCKAY, OF THE INDEPENDENT COMPANY FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

May 4th, [1754.]

SIR:

An Expedit'n being comenc'd and now carrying on to the river Ohio, agreeably to His M'y's Orders to me, Six Compa's from This Dom'n and five Compa's from No. Car. being now on their March, I tho't it proper to give the Com'd of the Expedit'n to the direct'n of Colo. Joshua Fry. His M'y having tho't it proper and necessary that His Independ't Compa. under Y'r Com'd, sh'd be employ'd in the Expedit'n, and to be under my direction. I therefore order You to Embark Y'r Compa. now at Hampton on board of a Sloop (I engag'd) to proceed to Alex'a, the Head of Potom'k river; w'n You arrive there, apply to Maj'r J. Carlyle, who has my Orders to supply Y'r Compa. with such Necessaries suitable for Y'r March to join the other Forces. On Y'r Arrival with them, You are to join Colo. J. Fry, who is appointed Com'dr in Chief on this Expedit'n. And as Unanimity are proper rules for Success, I doubt not You will promote the same to the utmost of Your Power. As to the other Parts of Y'r

duty in conducting and managing Y'r Compa., I have not the least doubt of, as I esteem You a very good officer. May you retain Y'r Health, and Success attend our just designs, is the sincere Wish of Y'r most h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

May 4th, [1754.]

S'R:

The Independ't Compa. of 100 Private Men from So. Car. being arriv'd at Hampton, w'ch I expect will re-embark in a hir'd Sloop for Alex'a on Monday next. And as they will want Tents, Provisions and other Necessaries, I must desire You to furnish them and give them all proper Assistance, taking Capt. McKay's receipt, for w'ch Y'r Acc't shall be fully p'd. Pray get 25 Tents for the So. Car. Compa.; if not possible to be done in Time, You must let them have Blankets, and be sure provide Waggon's for their Provisions, and those of No. Carolina.

I am, with kind respects, S'r.

GOVERNOR D'N WIDDIE TO COLONEL HUNTER.

May 4th, [1754.]

SIR:

This will be delivered You by Capt. McKay, Com'dr of the Compa. of Soldiers now arriv'd from So. Carolina. I desire You will Supply him with necessary Provisions to carry the Compa. to Alex'a. I hope You have put on board the Sloop 20 bls. Gun Powder, the Shot and Flints I sent from this, Yesterday, And, as I daily look for two Compa's from N. York, I must still desire the Favo. of You to have Some Vessell in Y'r Eye to transport them to Alex'a. Capt. McKay will give You a Bill of Excha. for £100, w'ch please send me up as soon as You can. An Express this day from the Ohio brings Acc't that the French have landed a

Number of Men there and taken Possess'n of the Fort, but I hope w'n our Forces are collect'd in a Body, we shall be able to dis-lodge them. My Wife and Girls join me in kind respects to good Mrs. Hunter,

And I am Sincerely.

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

LITTLE MEADOWS, 9th of May, 1754.

HON'BLE SIR :

I acquainted your Honour, by Mr. Ward,¹¹¹ with the determination which we prosecuted in 4 Days after his Departure, as soon as Waggon's arrived to convey our Provisions. The want of proper Conveyances has much retarded this Expedition, and at this time, unfortunately delay'd the Detachment I have the Honour to command. Even when we came to Wills's C'k, my disappointments were not less than before, for there I expected to have found a sufficient number of pack Horses provided by Capt. Trent, conformable to his Promise [in reply to] Maj'r Carlyle's Letters and my own, (that I might prosecute my first intention with light expeditious Marches) but inst'd of th't there was none in readiness, nor any in expectation, that I could perceive, which reduced me to the necessity of wait'g till Waggon's c'd be procur'd from the Branch (40 Miles distant). However, in the mean time I detach'd a party of 60 Men to make and amend the Road, which party since ye 25th of Ap'l, and the main body since the 1st Inst't, have been laboriously employ'd, and have got no further than these Meadows, ab't 20 Miles from the new Store ;¹¹² where we have been two Days making a Bridge across, and are not done yet. The great difficulty and labour that it requires to amend and alter the Roads, prevents our March'g above 2, 3, or 4 Miles a Day, and I fear (tho' no dili-

¹¹¹ Edward Ward, an Ensign in Capt. Wm. Trent's Company, and lately in command of Fort Necessity.

¹¹² A store-house or magazine established by the Ohio Company at Wills's Creek.

gence shall be neglected) we shall be detained some considerable time before it can be made good for the Carriage of the Artillery with Colo. Fry.

We daily receive Intelligence from Ohio by one or other of the Traders that are continually retreating to the Inhabitants with their Effects; they all concur, that ye French are reinforced with 800 Men; and this Day, by one Kalender, I received an acc't which he sets forth as certain that there is 600 Men building at the Falls of Ohio, from whence they int'd to move up to the lower Shawnee Town at ye Mouth of Scioto C'k to Erect Other Fortresses. He likewise says that these forces at ye Forks are erect'g their works with their whole Force, and as he was coming, met at Mr. Gist's new settlem't, Monsieur La Force with 4 Sold'rs, who, under the Specious pretence of hunting Deserters, were reconnoitering and discovering ye Country. He also brings ye agreeable News that the Half-King has receiv'd and is much pleas'd with the Speech I sent them, and is now upon their march with 50 Men to meet Us. The French down the River are sending presents and invitations to all the neighbouring Indians, and practising every means to influence them in their Interest.

We have heard nothing from the Catawbass or any of the Southern Indians, tho' this is the time we mostly need their assistance. I have not above 160 Effective Men with me since Capt. Trent have left us, who I discharg'd from this Detach't and order'd them to wait your Honour's Com'ds at Capt'n Trent's, for I found them rather injurious to ye other Men than Serviceable to ye Expe'n, till they could be upon the same Establish't with us and come under the reg't. of the Martial Law.

I am, Hon'ble Sir, with the most profound respect, Y'r Honour's most ob't

And most H'ble Serv't,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

P. S. I hope Y'r H'r will excuse ye pap'r and w'g, ye want of conveniencies obliges me to this.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MR. C. HANBURY.¹¹³

May 10th, [1754.]

DEAR SIR;

I wrote You some Time since, but had not the Pleasure of a Line from You by Capt. Randolph, who arriv'd here 10 Days ago. I have had a great deal of Trouble and uneasiness from the factious Disputes and violent Heats of a most impudent troublesome Party here, in regard to that silly Fee of a Pistole; they are very full of the great Success of their Agent, the Atto. Gen'l, w'ch I give small Notice to, as it is yet impossible that any great matter can be done in that Affair, and as I am well perswaded the Steps taken by me in having that Fee establish'd is agreeable to Instructions, and [I] doubt not but the B'd of Trade will support their Approbation thereof. The Atto'y (I presume) has taken a great deal of Pains in incerting in the Publick Papers many reflections and unjust Insinuations ag'st me, Saying I have laid a Tax on the People of a Pistole for Patents. Surely every thinking Man will make a distinction between a Fee and a Tax; the first is a fee of Office agreeable to the Custom of all the Gov'ts on this Continent, and that Fee is absolutely necessary for His M'y's Service in having His Quit-Rents properly bro't to Acc't. It's further s'd, that it prevents Serv'ts receiving their fifty Acres after serving their Time, &c., and that foreign Protestants and Others leave this Co't'y rather than pay that Exorbitant Fee. As to the first, There has not been a Dem'd of fifty acres for Serv'ts or Others for these fifty Years, and I can vouch since my Arrival no such Dem'd has been made, w'ch the Atto. is very sensible of; therefore it's a very false and unjust accusation. As to the Other, not one Person has left this Dom'n on that Acc't, or any other, unless for Debt. Where could they go to take up Land on so easy Terms? They come from Pennsylvania, where they are in want of Land, and Quit-rents 4s. St'g £ 100 Acres; if they go to No. Caro., they must pay 3s. St'g £ 100, and the Fees d[ou]ble, so that the Whole incerted in Y'r Papers are false reflections, for the People here have their Lands on easier Terms than any Part of this Cont't, and were always

¹¹³Capel Hanbury, of the firm of John and Capel Hanbury.

very easy and well satisfied till an Evil Spirit enter'd into a High Priest, who was supported by the Family of the Randolphs,¹¹⁴ and a few more, who, by unjust Methods, fir'd the Ho. of Burgesses to act very inconsistently. But my Fr'd, consider, I c'd, by no means give up this Fee without affronting 'the B'd of Trade and the Council here, who Establish'd it, and therefore I doubt not I shall be fully justified, and he receive the just reproof of his irregular Proceedings in appearing ag'st the Gov'r and his M'y's Quit-rents justly deserves. An Affair of infinite more Conseq'ce to the Nation and all our Colonies on this Cont't gives me much more Uneasiness. I rec'd Orders last Nov'r to do all in my Power to prevent the French Incursions and Invasions on His M'y's Lands on the Ohio, and His M'y order'd circular Letters to all the Gov'rs for a mutual Supply, for executing the above Orders; in Consequence thereof, I applied to the Assembly in Nov'r for a Supply, w'ch they impudently refus'd. I sent out a Messenger to the French Com'd't who ret'd in Jan'ry, and gave an Acc't of their resolution and design to come down the river Ohio early in the Spring, to build Forts and take Possession of the Lands on that river. I immediately call'd the Assembly in Feb'ry, who, with great Solicitat'n and all the possible Int't I c'd make, they voted 10,000[£] to be borrow'd on certain Duties then laid to repay the Loan. I thereupon immediately Com'o'd proper Officers to raise 300 Men, w'ch was as many as that Fund w'd maintain and pay for 10 Mos. They were collected together the Beginning of Apr., at Alex'a; the first detachm't march'd from thence the 20th Apr., and the rest were to follow soon. No. Carolina have rais'd the same Number; none of the other Colonies have as yet given any Supply. His M'y order'd two Independ't Compa's from N. York and one from So. Carolina; them from N. York are not yet arriv'd, tho' I sent the Order to the Gov'r of that Colony the 2d of Mar.; their Delay is unaccountable. The Compa. from So. Caro. arriv'd here only last Week, but as my main View was to build a Fort as a Mark of Possession, I sent out a Compa. to one Trent to begin the Fort. This was in Feb'ry, and the first Detachm't

¹¹⁴ It may be presumed that the Rev. Wm. Stith, Commissary, whose mother was Mary, the daughter of the first William Randolph, of "Turkey Island," is here thus denominated.

from Alex'a was to join and support them on their March; about 70 Miles short of joining them, they rec'd an Express that the French, with 1,000 Men, had taken Possession of the Fort we had begun, and allow'd the People to march off with their Arms and Tools; that now we are put to the Necessity to endeavour to dislodge them, w'ch I shall, with all Assiduity, endeavour to do, and no Person c'd have done more in the Time than I have done. If our Assembly had voted the Money in Nov'r, w'ch they did in Feb'ry, it's more than probable the Fort w'd have been built and Garrison'd with Men before the French had approach'd, but these Things cannot be done without Money to raise Men, and except No. Car., not one of the other Colonies have granted any Supplies, or are the Independ't Compa's from N. York arriv'd. You may imagine w't a dilemma I am in, and w't Anxiety it gives me in a Disappointm't of an Affair I had so much at Heart, and to be retarded by the Backwardness of the other Colonies, who have not given due Obedience to His M'y's Com'ds, or indeed consider'd the Safety and Prosperity of their own Possessions. As Affairs of this kind are often judg'd by their Consequences, probably Neglect may be imputed to me, but I can honestly say every Thing in my Power has been done, for as there was no Mo. in our Treasury, I have advanc'd my own to forw'd the Expedition, and now have order'd the Forces rais'd to be collected in a Body, and if the Independ't Companys from N. York come soon, I am in hopes the Eyes of the other Colonies will be op'n'd, and if they grant a proper Supply of Men, I hope we shall be able to dislodge them, or build a Fort on that River. I have wrote to the Sec'y of State on the Subject, but in Case it sh'd be misrepresented, I give You the Trouble of this detail, w'ch shew Y'r Cousin.

I congratulate You on the increase of Y'r Family. My wife and two Girls join me in our most sincere respects to good Mrs. Hansbury and Y'r Self. I always am, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAS. ABERCROMBY.

May 10th, 1754.

SIR :

My last was the 26th ult'o, w'ch I hope You duely rec'd, I desire to be refer'd thereto, as I hope not to have any Occasion to write You any more on the Pistole Fee. By this Opp'ty I transmit to the B'd of Trade the Acts that pass'd the two last Sessions of Assem'y. Two private Acts are recomended to Y'r Care, as they are for my F'ds, do the necessary therein. That for Gerard Alexander,¹¹⁵ you have a bill enclosed on Ralph Noden Esq., for £25; if more is wanted Mr. Noden will supply it. The other for Rob't Chew and Mary his Wife,¹¹⁶ Mr. Corbin writes Mr. Hanbury to Supply you with Mo. necessary, and pray get them expedited as soon as possible, and for fear of loosing the Certificates, they are annexed to the Laws, and I send you two enclosed, that there may be no delay. I now send You Copy of the Printed Journal of last Assembly; read seriously the Act for encouraging and [the] Protection of the Settlers upon the Waters of the Mississippi. You will observe several Things in it unconstitutional and derogatory to the prerogative of the Crown, particularly that Part w'ch gives the Power of the application of the Money by a Comitteee therein named, among whom are some of the Council, contrary to their Consent or Approbat'n.¹¹⁷ This

¹¹⁵ Gererd Alexander, of Holm's Island, Prince William county, son of Robert Alexander, of Stafford county, Va., who died prior to 1753, leaving a large landed estate and negroes, to his sons John and Gerard. *Hening*, vi, pp. 499-402.

¹¹⁶ Robert Chew, of Spotsylvania county, Va., fourth in descent from John Chew "Gentleman" and "Merchant," who settled at Jamestown in 1622 and whose name has been honorably represented by successive generations of descendants in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. The mother of Robert Chew was Margaret, daughter of Robert Beverley, and his wife was Mary Perrot of Middlesex county, Va.

¹¹⁷ This bill as first enacted February, 1752, exempts Protestant settlers from the payment of any tax for ten years; November, 1753, the immunity is extended to fifteen years, and in February, 1754, an appropriation of £10,000 (to be raised by a tax on the importation of slaves, on wheel carriages, and on licenses for ordinaries) is made for purposes of defence of such settlers. *Hening*, vi, pp. 258, 355, 417-20.

Bill takes from me the undoubted right I have of directing the Applicat'n of the Money rais'd for the Defence of the Dom'n, but on considering the imediate Necessity of a Supply to defeat the Designs of the French, and that no Money w'd be rais'd on any other Terms, I ventured to give my consent, and I hope, on the Emergency of this present Affair, I shall be excus'd; however, I hope the B'd of Trade will take proper Notice thereof; they shew'd me here some Precedents to the same Purpose in my Predecessor's Time, yet that's not sufficient to support me in acting contrary to Instruction, and [I] do assure You it was very much ag'st my Inclinat'n, but Necessity has no Law; after the Vote pass'd in Mar. 10th, I comission'd Officers to raise 300 Men, w'ch was done with all possible Expedition; they had my Orders to meet at Alex'a; the first Detachm't march'd the beginning of Apr. When they were within 75 Miles of the Place where the Fort was begun by a Compa. I sent out in Feb'ry, before the Assembly met, an Express came to them to acquaint them that the French, with 1,000 Men, from Canada, had appear'd before it and sumon'd them to surrender, with Leave to march with their Arms and Tools, so they have had the Start of Us, but how will they support this Action to take Possession of a Fort building on His M'y of G. B.'s Lands? However, I am not to wait for this Determination, and am now endeavoring to collect as many Forces as I can, and to try to dislodge them, or build a Fort on that river as a Mark of Possession. If our Ho. of Burgesses had granted the Mo. on my Applicat'n in Nov'r, 't's more than probable the Fort w'd have been finish'd and a good Party of Soldiers in it before the French c'd have been there, or if the other Colonies had been as forward in obeying His M'y's Comands for a mutual Supply, as This and No. Carolina. I do not doubt by these Aids we may still be able to dislodge them, but not the least View of Supplies from any of them, unless this Insult of the French sh'd open their Eyes, w'ch I sincerely wish. This is the Situat'n I am now in, and often Actions are judged by their Consequences, and probably may throw reflect's on me, but I can answer to God and my King that every Thing in my Power has been done with Spirit, Diligence and Dispatch as soon as I was enabled by the small Sum voted by the Assembly; even that I c'd not com'd, having no Cash in the Treasury; but to carry on the Expedition have been oblig'd to advance my own Money.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESSE.

May 10th, 1754.

R'T HON.:

My last to Y'r L'ds. was the 27th Ultó. I then acquainted You y't the Forces rais'd in this Dom'n were march'd out for the Ohio. I am sorry to acqu't You that the first Detachm't of 150 Men, under the Com'd of Co[l.] G^o. Washington, had march'd within 70 Miles of the Forks of Monongahela, where I order'd the building of a Fort; w'n the Ensign of that Compa., at the Fort, came Express to Col. W. to acquaint him that an Army of 1,000 French Men came down that river and march'd near to the Fort (y't was building for His M'y and on his own Land) and summon'd them to deliver up the Fort to them; as their Number were small, they were oblig'd to obey. Copy of the Ensign's Informat'n of this Proceeding of the French, You have enclós'd, and swore to by him, as also the French Com'dr's Summons, both w'ch I beg to be refer'd to. The Ind's on the Ohio march'd with our Men to a Place they call red Stone Creek, from thence the Half-King, who comands on the Ohio the several Tribes of Ind's, sent a young Warrior with the above Ensign, with a Speech to me. Copy thereof, and my Answer I enclose to Y'r L'ds. I presume this Extraordinary Step of the French in invading His M'y's Lands, sumonsing the People engag'd in building a Fort in His M'y's Name to give it up, and their actually taking Possession thereof is a very heinous Violat'n of the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, and I doubt not will be properly represented at the Court of France, but I cannot think it prudent in me to rem'n unactive till that is fully heard and determined. I have, therefore, order'd the Forces rais'd in this Dom'n and those raised in No. Car. to march to red Stone Creek. The Independ't Compa. from So. Carolina arriv'd here a few Days Since, and they have my Orders to march to the above Place, but I am sorry to acqu't Y'r L'ds that the two Independ't Compa's from N. York do not yet appear, tho' I wrote Mr. DeLancey the 2d of Mar., and he answer'd y't he given Orders accordingly. Where the Delay lies, I know not, but it has been a very great Loss tq the Expedition. No. Caro. only and this Dom'n have given due obedience to His M'y's Com'ds in granting a mutual Supply. Whether this great

Insult of the French will open the Eyes of our Neighbour'g Colonies so that the Gov'rs may prevail with them for a Supply, I know not, but I wish it may, because if we can have a proper Force at red Stone Creek, I w'd endeavour to turn the Scales upon them by dislodging the French from our Fort; if not, I shall give Orders to build another Fort in a proper Place on that River. I assure Y'r L'ds. every Thing in my Power was done to promote this Expedition, but Money, the Sinews of War, was wanting, and the People of these Colonies do not properly consider the bad Consequence of having the French settled so near our Frontiers, or do they esteem or value the F'dship of the Ind's so much as they ought to do. Our Magazine is in want of almost every Thing—no Cutlasses, Mortars, Granad Shells, or Coehorn[s,] all w'ch w'd be absolutely necessary on a Siege, or in retaking the Fort began to be built in his Majesty's Name, or do I care particularly to pay for these Supplies. Thinking it sufficient to acqu't Y'r L'ds therewith, I further beg leave to assure You that I will diligently, and with all possible Expedition, endeavour to retake the Fort, or as above, to build another on a proper Situation on that River. Monday next I set out for Win[chester] to meet the Chiefs of the different Tribes of Ind's, tho' I fear the aforementioned Invasion of the French will prevent some of them from meeting me, but I think proper I sh'd be there at the time appointed to deliver His M'y's Presents. On my return, I shall write Y'r L'ds. and I beg to assure You that I am, with great Deference and Duty,

R't Hon. Y'r L'd's most ob'd't humble serv't.

P. S.—I have not the least Expectat'n of a further Supply from the Assembly of this Dom'n, and I fear the Expedit'n will suffer for the want of Men and Money, w'ch I wish may be properly consider'd at Home, and grant an Aid from some other Quarter.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS FOR TRADE, &c.

May 10th, 1754.

R'T HON:

By this Ship I transmit Y'r L'ds. in a small Box, the Acts that pass'd the Assembly of this Dom'n, one set in Dec'r, 1753, and another set that pass'd in Feb'ry last, as also the Journals of the Council and that of the Assembly on their two different Meet'gs. I beg leave to observe to Y'r L'ds. that on the Assembly's meeting in Nov'r, agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds, I applied to them for a mutual Supply to enable me to defeat the designs of the French on their intended Invasions on His M'y's Lands on the Ohio, and to support an affectionate F'dship with the Ind's, to w'ch they gave not the least attention, but were prorogu'd without any Supply, w'ch proves a great Hurt to His M'y's Service. During this Session they made several resolves of a very extraordinary Nature, not preceded by any Assembly in his M'y's Dom's, and at the close of that Session they resolv'd that the Atto. Gen'l sh'd be p'd by the Treasurer, £2,500 for negotiating their Affairs at Home, and this without the Approbat'n of any other Part of the Legislature; the Speaker of the Ho., who is Treasurer, declared that if the Ho. w'd make the resolve he w'd pay the Mo. I gave them to understand that the Treasurer sh'd not have my Warrant for that Mo., and, in course [it] w'd not be allow'd in his Acc'ts. They further resolv'd, that the Atto. Gen'l sh'd appoint an Agent at Home to transact their Business, for that Service they of the Ho. of Burgesses engag'd to pay him £200 p' Ann. out of His M'y's Mo. in the Treasurer's Hands; all these things are done ag'st the Opinion, and without the Advice of the Council or myself. Y'r L'ds. no doubt will observe how unconstitutional their Proceedings have been, and how they act inconsistent with the Prerogative of the Crown and contrary to my Instruct's. In the Sessions in Feb'ry last I again press'd the absolute Necessity of a Supply. I had influence and weight sufficient to obtain a Vote for £10,000, and by an Act Entitled an Act for the Encouragem't and Protection of the Settlers on the Waters of the Mississippi, They clogg'd this Bill with many Things unconstitutional and derogatory to the Prerogatives of the Crown. I went to the Council and told them I

c'd not, agreeable to my Instruct's, give my Assent to that Bill for the following reasons: " Their giving a Power to a Comittee therein named to order the Application of the Money, in w'ch Number they included four of the Council, contrary to their Desire; That the Bill contains some Clauses of dangerous Consequence as tending towards an Alteration of a fundamental part of the Constitution by taking from the Gov'r his undoubted [right] of directing the Application of all Monies rais'd for the Defence and Security of the Country, to w'ch reasons and Observations the Council Unanimously concur'd, but as the Necessity of our Affairs requir'd an imediate Supply to defeat the Designs of the French on our Frontiers, [it] is of the greatest Consequence, and required something to be done this Sumer, I therefore, with the Advice of the Council, gave my Assent to this Bill, and for the above reasons I hope to stand excus'd by Y'r L'ds. I determin'd imediatey to dissolve the Assembly, but as their Proceedings are so monstrously unconstitutional, I Suspended that Step until I heard from Y'r L'ds., in hopes of an order to dissolve them by Proclamat'n, w'ch will be shewing much more resentm't to their Actions. Enclos'd You have the half Year's Acc'ts of His M'y's Quit-rents, and [the] 2s. p' hhd Duty. Upon the Assembly's refusing a Supply in Dec'r, by Advice of the Council, I granted a Com'o. to Capt. Wm. Trent to raise Men to proceed to the Forks of Monongahela, on the river Ohio, and there clear the Ground and begin to erect a Fort, and that I sh'd, as soon as possible, send out some Men to strengthen and assist him. On the grant of the £1,000, late in Feb'ry, I commission'd Officers to raise 300 Men; they were compleated by the 10th of Apr., w'n a Detachm't of 150 Men, under the Com'd of Colo. Washington, began their March; w'n they were within 75 Miles of the Fort begun by Capt. Trent, his Ensign came Express to acq't him that the French, to the Number of 1,000 Men, came down the river Ohio, march'd up to the Fort, and sumon'd them to surrender, and to march out with their Guns and Tools, w'ch they were oblig'd to do. I send You the Ensign's Acc't, upon Oath, with Copy, of the French Com'd'r's Summons, w'ch I conceive to be a most egregious Violation of the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns; to take possession of a Fort begun in His Majesty's Name, and on his own undoubted Lands. The Ind's on the Ohio march'd with our People to a Place call'd red Stone

Creek, (and enclos'd You have the Half-King's Speech to me and my Answer), ab't 30 Miles distant from the Fort. I doubt not but this Insult will be properly represented to the Court of France, but I am determin'd not to rem'n unactive in our present Situation. The Forces rais'd here, with 350 rais'd in No. Car., with 3 Independ't Compa's his M'y has order'd, I propose to collect them in a Body at red Stone Creek, and endeavour to dislodge the French from our Fort. No other Colony but No. Car. have granted as yet any Supply, but I am now in hopes they will see the Necessity of raising Forces, w'ch, if we can make a considerable Number, it's probable we may turn the Scales upon them. If our Assembly had granted the small Sum in Nov'r, w'n I first applied for it, I think we might have had the Fort compleated with a good Garrison of Men in it before the French appear'd, but there is nothing can be done that way without Money, and the People of these Colonies do not pay a dutiful Compliance with His M'y's Com'ds, or think properly of their own Safety. However, I am determin'd to do all in my Power to oppose the Designs of the French, w'ch, I cannot help calling them now our comon Enemies. I never underwent more Fatigue in my Life than in directing and assisting this Expedition, but am sorry it has not succeeded to my Wish and Expectat's. I shall still look forw'd in hopes of a Chance in our Favo. Monday next I proceed to Winchester to meet the Chiefs of the Ind's, to deliver His Majesty's Present to them, but I fear from the above I shall not have so many as I reasonably might have expected. I have not the Hon'r of a Letter from Y'r L'ds. of a long Time. I rem'n with great deference and respect,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

May 10th, 1754.

R'T HON:

My last to Y'r L'ds. was the 27th of last Mo., to w'ch I beg to be refer'd. I troubled You with Acc't of the Steps I had taken in the Expedit'n to the Ohio. The first Detachm't of our

Forces, under the Com'd of Colo. Washington, marched from Alex'a the 10th of last Mo., and were within 75 Miles of the Forks of Monongahela, where I order'd a Fort to be built in His M'y's Name, w'n an Express came to him, advising that 1,000 French Soldiers had come down the river Ohio, and march'd up to the Fort and sumoned them to surrender the Fort, w'ch, from their Number, they were forc'd to comply. I have sent the necessary Papers on this Affair to Y'r L'ds. Board, to w'ch please be refer'd. The Insult of the French and Violation of Treaties no doubt will be properly represented to the Court of France. I shall, with all possible Expedition, collect all the Forces I can and endeavour to dislodge them from the Fort begun in His M'y's Name, but I must complain of the want of mutual Supplies from the neighbouring Colonies. No. Caro. only has granted us any Aid, tho' I would gladly hope the other Colonies will now see the Necessity of granting Supplies, but this is very uncertain, and I am too much assur'd that this Dom'n will not advance any more. It will grieve me to allow the French a Quiet Settlem't on the Ohio, as I foresee the Inconveniency, and I may say, ruin to all His M'y's Colonies on this Cont't, both in regard to the Furr and Skin Trade, as in their quiet Possessions of their present Settlem'ts, and also they will get our friendly Ind's from Us, w'ch I think is of great Importance, tho' the People here do not consider them so necessary and useful as I do. Money, the Sinews of war, is deficient here, and indeed without that and Men, I shall dread Success. I have wrote to the Treasury to consider this and submitted to them how they will order Supplies. The 2s. p. hhd Duty, I shall make Use of on Occasion, but I dare not mention His M'y's Quit-rents, tho' the Intention of Settling these Lands will be a means of greatly increasing that revenue. My Situation is bad, few Men and no fund to call for Mo[n]ey for the necessary Exp's of the Expedition, however, I am resolv'd to do all in my Power either to dislodge the French or build some Forts in Convenient Places to support His M'y's just rights to those Lands. I fear I trouble You too much with my Let's, but Y'r known Goodness I hope will excuse me. I am, with great deference and humble respects,

R't Hon., Y'r L'ds much

Obliged and most Ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF THE
TREASURY.¹¹⁸

May 10th, 1754.

R'T HON:

Enclos'd I send Y'r L'ds. the Acc't of 2s. 7^p Hhd. ending the 25th Apr., 1754. I am sorry I have occasion to acqu't You that 1,000 French Soldiers and Officers came down the River Ohio, the back of this Dom'n, and in a very hostile Manner have invaded His M'y of G. B.'s Lands. I sent a Compa. of Soldiers out there last Feb'ry to build a Fort in His M'y's Name; they had made some Progress therein, w'n the French arriv'd they march'd imediately near the Fort and sumon'd them to surrender, w'ch, from their Numbers, they were oblig'd to comply. Y'r L'ds. will consider this Insult in invading the King's Lands and taking Possession of the Fort building for His M'y. I am now endeavouring to collect together all the Forces I can, if possible, to dislodge them from the King's Fort. This Colony and that of No. Caro. have rais'd ab't 700 Men, with three Independ't Compa's His M'y was pleas'd to order here from N. York and So. Caro. will make up 1,000 Men, and I am now in Hopes the Colonies to the No'w'd of this will grant us some Supply, and every Thing in my Power shall be done with Assiduity and Diligence, as I think no Time is to be lost. But Money, the Sinews of War, is deficient, for I cannot have the least Expectation that our Assembly will vote any more than the [£]10,000 they gave in Feb'ry last and that will not maintain and pay the Forces rais'd, above Six Mos. longer. I am therefore oblig'd to apply to Y'r L'ds. for some Supply, w'ch I submit to You. It's a national Affair, and if the French are allow'd a quiet Settlem't on the Ohio it will destroy our Furr and Skin Trade and will in Time be of the last Consequ'ce to all His M'y's Colonies on this Cont't, as it appears to me of very great Importance. I shall act every Thing in my Power, under our pres't unhappy Situation, for the Service of His M'y and these Colonies, and with great deference and Duty, I rem'n,

R't Hon., Y'r L'ds. most ob'd't humble Serv't.

¹¹⁸ The Lords of the Treasury at this time were Lord Darlington, Lord Dupplin and Robert Nugent.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO HORACE WALPOLE.¹¹⁹

May 10th, 1754.

R'T HON:

The many Favo's and Obligat's rec'd from Y'r Hon'r, make [me] with Gratitude very desirous of enquiring after Y'r Health, w'ch is the chief occasion of troubling You with this Letter, and it will give me infinite Joy to hear that Y'r Health is confirm'd. The Quit-rents of this Dom'n have been very loosely paid by not bringing the Lands enter'd on the rent-roll for many Years, but, as I wrote You some Time ago on that Head, I beg to refer You to my former Letters. An Affair of Great Consequence to the Nat'n and His M'y's Colonies on this Cont't, gives me very great Concern; 1,000 French from Canada have invaded His M'y's Lands on the river Ohio, and have taken by Force of Arms, Possession of a Fort I was building in His M'y's Name to protect our friendly Ind's Wives and Children when they go to War or a hunting, as also to protect our Traders for Furs and Skins with the Ind's. This appears to me to be a great Insult and a Violation of the Laws subsisting between the two Crowns. I am endeavouring to collect all the Forces I can, if possible, to dislodge them from our Fort, but the Colonies here have been very backw'd in raising a Supply agreeable to His M'y's Com'd, That at pres't, this Dom'n and No. Caro. have rais'd 700 Men, the other Colonies have as yet not been prevail'd with to give us any Aid. His M'y's has been graciously pleas'd to order two Independ't Compa's from So. Carolina, arriv'd here a week ago. I shall, if assisted by the other Colonies, do all in my Power to defeat the Designs of the French, and I have sent to Lord Holderness a particular Acc't and all the proper Papers relating to the Affair. I am sorry the Pales Y'r Hon'r wrote for were shipt to Hull in so irregular a Method; w'n shipt, Mr. Blair offer'd £5 & 1,000 Freight, and they ask'd no more than £7. The difference between these two Sums sh'd have been left to the Determinat'n of some Merch't in Hull, but Mr. Hamilton, reducing them to Inch Measure to bring them to Freight equal

¹¹⁹The famous Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, scholar and wit, third and youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole; born 1718; died March, 1797.

with perishable Como., is an Imposition that any Man of Honor or Honesty sh'd be asham'd of; if I had known the Affair, they sh'd not have been shipt in so loose a Method. I have advis'd Mr. Blair¹²⁰ to get the Affidavit of the Person that agreed to take them on Freight, and [of] others for the usual Freight of such Things, w'ch he promis'd me Yesterday to get and forw'd to Mr. Smith. I wish Y'r Hon'r had laid Y'r Comands on me in this or any Thing else; I should have been proud of serving You. I leave this place on Monday to deliver the Chiefs of the Ind'n Nat's (who are to meet me at Winchester) a present from His M'y. I present my humble respects to Y'r Lady and agreeable Family, and am, with most sincere and dutiful Esteem and regard,

R't Hon., Y'r much oblig'd, h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO EARL GRANVILLE.

May 10th, [1754.]

MY LORD:

The above is a Copy of my last. In case of miscarriage, I send my 2d Bills of Excha. on Messrs. Hanburys for £429, 11. In my last I wrote Y'r L'ds. that the Forces rais'd here and No. Carolina [were] on their march to the river Ohio to take Possession of the Land in His M'y's Name. I sent out a Compa. in Feb'ry to erect a Fort at the Forks of Monongahela, and the above Forces had my Orders to join and support them; the first Detachm't of 150 Men under the Com'd of Colo. Geo. Washington had march'd within 75 Miles of the Fort I had order'd to be built for His M'y, w'n he rec'd an Express that 1,000 Men from Canada came down the river Ohio and

¹²⁰ John Blair, a nephew of James Blair, D. D., President of William and Mary College, was born at Williamsburg, Va., in 1689, and died there November 5, 1771; member of the House of Burgesses as early as 1736; member of the Council, and as its President in 1757-8, and 1768 acting Governor of Virginia. He was the father of John Blair, who was appointed by Washington, in September, 1789, a judge of the United States Supreme Court.

march'd to the Fort that was building and sumon'd them to surrender, w^{ch} from their Numbers they were oblig'd to comply. This Step appears to me a very great Violation of Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns. I am now collecting all the Forces I can, to endeavour to dislodge them from our Fort, but not having any Supply from the Colonies to the No^wd of this, will make it a difficult Task, tho' I expect from this Insult of the French they will be brought to a just way of thinking and grant me their aid. It is an Affair of great Consequence to the Nation and particularly to these Colonies, and without some more regular Supply, I fear I shall not be able to affect w^t I have in View and much at Heart. I have not the least room to expect any further Supply from this Dom'n, and I have not venture[d] to ask leave to make Use of any part of His M^y's Quit rents here, but on this Emergency I hope the Ministry will consider some Method to strengthen my Hands. All I can say [is] that every Thing in my Power to defeat the Designs of the French shall be done with great Assiduity. On Monday I go to Win[chester] on the frontiers of our Colony to meet the Chiefs of the Ind's to deliver a Present from His M^y, but I fear this Affair of the French will hinder many of them from meeting me. I hope Y^r L^{ds}. will excuse the Trouble I give You of the above, but being sensible of the great regard you have for the national Concerns, and Y^r own Estate here being in some measure attack'd by the Invasion above, I c'd not shun giving You a little Acc't of it, and to assure You, I am with great deference and Duty,

R^t Hon., Y^r L^{ds}. most ob^t humble Serv^t.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN.

May 10th, 1754.

SIR:

Enclos'd You have a Let^r from Mr. Sharpe, Gov^r of M^yl'd. Since my last by Colo. Jas. Innes, who was to send it Express from Cape Fear, I have the disagreeable News to write You that the last Mo[nth,] 1,000 French Men from Canada arriv'd

on the Ohio and sumon'd a Compa. of Soldiers that were build'g a Fort by my Orders on the Forks of Monongahela, to surrender to them; as they were few in Number they were oblig'd to march off with their Arms, &c., and leave the French in Possession. I doubt not but You will think with me that this Step is a great Violation of the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, but I cannot be silent, or meet the determinat'n of this Affair at Home, but am now resolv'd to collect all the Forces I possibly can, to endeavour to dislodge them. I have, therefore, order'd the Forces that were on their march to that Fort, to halt at a Place call'd red Stone Creek, within 30 Miles of the Enemy, 'till they are joined with the rest. Y'r Compa. is arriv'd after a very tedious Passage, and this Day are embarking on two Sloops to carry them to Alex'a, from thence to march to the above Place. The two Compa's from N. York are not yet arriv'd, their delay is a very great Loss to the Expedition. I now expect the Colonies to the No'w'd will see the absolute Necessity of their granting Supplies, w'ch, if they do with Spirit, I am in Hopes we shall be able to do something, and I doubt not You will prevail with Your Assembly to give a Supply in Bills of Excha., with w'ch I can easily raise Men here. I doubt not but You, the Council and Assembly will consider the Situation of our Affairs, and I think it will be very wrong not to make a Push at once, for if the French are allow'd a quiet Settlem't, they will increase in Numbers, and we shall run the risque of loosing the Ind's F'dship. Those that are at the Ohio march'd with our Men to red Stone Creek, and the Half-King sent me a Speech, that he w'd collect w't Ind's he c'd, and earnestly desir'd our Assistance, w'ch I shall give him with great Pleasure. I set out in three Days for W., to meet the Chiefs of the Ind's, but am afraid the above affair will prevent many of them from meeting me, but I think it is proper I s'd be there agreeable to my Promise. I shall be glad if, on my return, I sh'd be so happy as to see You and Mr. Cleland at this Place. This I send by Capt. DuBois, as I suppose it will be with You as soon as by one of our lazy Expresses. I am much hurried, and can only assure You that I rem'n with great Esteem,

Y'r Ex's most Ob'd't humble Serv't.

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

G'T X'ING OF YAGHYAUGHGANE, 18th May, 1754.

HON'BLE SIR:

I receiv'd your Honour's favour by Mr. Ward, who arriv'd here last Night just as two Indians from the Ohio Did. Which Indians contradict the Report of the French having receiv'd reinforcements, tho' they agree that 800 Men are very shortly expected; those that are there are busily imploy'd in Erecting the Fort which they have removed to the point I recommended for the Country's use, whose Walls they have now made two fathoms thick and have raised it Breast high. They are daily sending Scouts out, some of w'ch, ab't 5 days ago, was seen within 6 or 7 Miles of our Camp, but as I did not receive timely Notice of it, they have escap'd, unless they have fallen in with a party I sent out ab't 8 Days ago to Red Stone [Creek] to reconnoitre the Country thereabouts, and to get Intelligence of the motions of the French.

It is imagin'd the Half King will be here in two or three Days, but to hurry him I have sent the Indian that came up with Mr. Ward, with a short speech acquainting him with my desire of his coming as expeditiously as possible, to receive the Speech which your Honour sent by Mr. Ward, and that Colo. Fry wrote me I was to deliver: when he arrives I will endeavor to send him on [to] meet your Honour at Winchester. These Indians and all the Traders that I have been able to get any information from of late, agree that it is almost impracticable to open a Road that a Waggon can pass, from this [place] to Red Stone C'k, but most of them assure me that (except one place,) water Carriage may be had down this River, which will be a most advantageous discovery if it proves so, as it will save 40 Miles Land Carriage over almost impassible Roads and Mount's.¹²¹ The Water is

¹²¹ The following distances to points in the section of warlike operations, are given in the Virginia Almanac of 1756:

"Fort Cumberland, Wills's Creek from Williamsburg, .	259 miles.
"From Wills's Creek to Little Meadows, ...	20 miles.
" " " to Great Crossing of Yauaugany, ...	20 miles.
" " " " Great Meadows, ...	12 miles.
" " " " Gist's Plantation, ...	12 miles.
" " " " 2d Crossing of Yauaugany, ...	5 miles.
" " " " Fort Duquesne, ...	7 miles.
" " " " Frazier's, ...	40 miles."

now so high, that we cannot possible cross over with our Men, which likewise secures us from any imediate attacks of the Enemy, therefore I have Resolv'd to go down the River to this Fall, which is at the Turkey foot, to inform myself concerning the Nature and difficulty attending this Fall, in order thereto, I have provided a Canoe, and shall, with an Officer and 5 Men set out upon this discovery to-morrow Morning.

Capt. Trent's Men, who, by their refractory Behaviour, did oblige me to seperate them from the other Soldiers, has now left the New Store and dispers'd, contrary to my positive orders, till they received your Honour's Commands. As I shall have frequent communications with the Indians, which is of no Effect with't Wampum, I hope your Honour will order some to be sent—indeed, we ought to have Spirit, and many other things of this sort, which is always expected by every Indian that brings a Message or good report; Also the Chiefs who visit and converse in Council look for it; if it would not be thought too bold in me, I would recommend some of the Treaty Goods being sent for that purpose with, or after Colo. Fry; this is the method the French pursue, and a trifle judiciously bestow'd, and in season, may turn to our advantage. If I find this River is navigable, I am convinc'd it can but be agreeable to Y'r Honour building Canoes in order to convey our Artillery down, as the Road to this place is made as good as it can be, having spent much time and great Labour upon it. I believe waggons may travel now with 15 or 1800 w't in them, by doubling at one or two pinches only.

I am, Y'r Honour's
most ob't H'ble Serv't.

G^o. WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL FRY.

WINCHESTER, May 25th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd Yesterday, by Maj'r Carlyle, Y'r Let'r and the Lists of Men, dated the 14th Inst., but from w't Place You do not say. I am here in daily Expectat'n of the Ind's, and not a little un-

easy that they are not come. I think Six Sergeants are two few for Y'r Corps, and therefore I w'd have Y'u add as many more if You find it necessary. The appointing Mr. Craik, Y'r Surgeon, to be an Ensign, I leave to Your Option, or any other You think proper. Next Week the Independ't Compa. from So. Carolina will march from hence to join You, and I hope they will soon be follow'd by two Compa's of regulars from N. Y. I have advice of 800 Men, Ind's and Whites, from No. Car., who are within 8 days' march of Us; And I shall soon furnish You w'th full Instruct's how to act w'n You have all Y'r Men join'd. For the present I recomend to You the Vigilence indispensably necessary, and that You take Care to obtain the best Intelligence. I must observe also to You, that I expect You [to] communicate Y'r Affairs only to me, and that You do it regularly as occasion requires. I conceive there is some discontent crept into the detachm't under Colo. Washington; I think it not well founded, and I desire You w'd endeavour, by all prudent Methods, to prevent so dangerous an Evil spreading among them, (but without leting it be known that I have mentioned it to You), or infecting Y'r Men, but touch this tender Point with great discretion. Lest You think I have been unmindful of the £100 I mention'd to You for Y'r Table, I observe to You that the Comittee, thro' Hurry, I believe, omitted it at their last Meeting, but I shall take Care to have it allow'd. To prevent any Mistakes, I think proper to remind You that it is also intended for the Field Officers, whom, therefore, You will be so kind as to invite in turn. I sincerely wish You Health, and Prosperity to our Arms, and am, with respect,

Sir, Y'r H'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

May 25th, 1754.

SIR:

I can assure You I am concern'd, and no less surpriz'd by Y'r Let'r of the 18th of this Mo. Such ill-timed Complaints, and, as I conceive, not altogether founded in such real Cause, as

I am sorry to find You think they are. You certainly judge very rightly of the Importance of the Service, and that Y'r Hon'rs are engag'd too far to recede from it, w'ch, I hope an attentive reflection on w't I am going to observe, will satisfie You and the other Gent. There is not so great Provocation to withdraw Y'rselves from [the service,] as You seem to think at present. The first Object'n to the Pay, if made at all, sh'd have been made before engaging in the Service. The Gent. very well knew the Terms on w'ch they were to serve, and were satisfied then with it, nor c'd they be ignorant of the Numbers that as well as themselves, and to whom they were prefer'd, approved of the Terms, and were desirous to serve on those Conditions. And as to the Canada Expedition, it is, I believe, a Mistake to say that those who served in it were found with Wine and Beer at the Public Expence, and that their Wages were higher, or even so high as Yours. I agree with You about the second Article, wherein the Allowance for enlisting is complained of. I do not approve of that, and am very far from intending the officers sh'd raise recruits at their own private Expense; the 21s. 6d. allowed, however, is greater than the Complainants mention, who take no Notice of it. I am willing to think it was inadvertency in the Committee, and I will take care it shall be rectified. But as to Your Allowance being the same as the Comon Men, I must observe to You that it is so throughout His M'y's Army and Navy, and if any Officer indulges further it is from his own Pocket. And it sh'd be remembered that an Officer in England is obliged to many more Expences than You are; that the Difference of his Pay is over ballanced by them. The number of Sergeants and Corporals is not sufficient, and I will have more appointed. The Hardships complained of in the last Article are such as usually attend on a Military Life, and are consider'd by Soldiers rather as Opp'ties of Glory than Objects of Discouragem't. They might have easily been foreseen and avoided, but w'd be now the worst reason in the World for quitting the Service or laying down Com'o's that had been earnestly solicited, and were granted on Public, well known Terms. In fine, let the Gent. be assur'd I have them no less at Heart than the Cause to w'ch they have devoted themselves, and that I shall not be wanting to make them Easy and reward their Merit as far as I find I have it in my Power. I have no Complaint of this kind

from Colo. Fry or his Corps, and I hope You will take care not to let them know any thing of Your Dissatisfact'n. Communicate the above to Y'r Officers, with Y'r usual good Sense, and endeavour to pacifie their ill-timed Complaints. Thus much, in answer to the paper signed by Capt. Stephen and others. Now, Colo. W., I shall more particularly answer w't relates to Y'rself, and I must begin with expressing both Concern and Surprise to find a Gent. whom I so particularly consider'd, and from whom I had so great Expectat's and Hopes, appear so differently from himself, and give me leave to say, mistakenly, as I think, concurring with Complaints in general so ill-founded. I am sensible of Y'r Difficulties, and You may believe I shall not let Your Merit pass unnotic'd. I believe You sincerely attach'd to Y'r Country's Wellfare and Prosperity, w'ch You know, very much depends on the Success of Your present Expedit'n, and this, I persuade myself, will sweeten the Toils; that You will hereafter reflect on with Pleasure, and engage You to think of nothing less than resigning Y'r Com'd, or countenancing in any sort the Discontent that c'd never be more unreasonable or pernicious than at present. You seem to be unacquainted with the Allowance of £100 p^a Ann. to Colo. Fry for a Table for himself and the Field Officers, and therefore I ment'n it, as I have done to him, and on junction of the Forces, he no doubt, will keep a Table agreeable to the Allowance given him. The Capt. of the Independ't Compa. from Car. is now here, and his Corps consisting of 100 fine Men, expected on Sunday; and I have Advice that a large Body of Ind's and white Men from No. Car. are on their March and may be expected here in a Week, and the two Independ't Compa's from N. Y. cannot, I think, be long behind them. I shall hasten them all to you as they arrive. I rem'n here in great Expectat'n and Uneasiness for the Half King and some other of the Ind'n Chiefs, whom I desire You will hasten if not already passed You, and pray let me have the best intelligence You can of the Twightwees, and whether I may expect to see them here. Mr. John Willis returns to the Service and I recomend him to Y'r favo. and Notice. I desire You will be particularly cautious in regard to the Design of the French. You know they are a cunning People, and may be apt to take the Advantage of Y'r small Number, w'ch I hope will soon be in-

creas'd to make a good Figure ag'st them. With great Sincerity and regard, I wish You Health, and Success to our Arms, and am, with very great Esteem,

S'r, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

Winchester.

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

G'T MEAD'WS, 27th May, 1754.

HON'BLE SIR:

The 25th Ult., by an Express from Colo. Fry, I receiv'd ye News of your Honour's arrival at Winchester, and advice of seeing the Half-King and other Chiefs of the 6 Nations. I have, by sundry Speeches and Messages, invited him, Monacatoocha, &c., to meet me, and have reason to expect he is on his Road, as he only purpos'd to settle his People to planting at a place chosen up Yaughyaughgane for the purpose, but fearing something might have retarded his March, I immediately, upon the arrival of the Express, dispatch'd a Messenger with a Speech; he is not return[ed] yet. Ab't 4 Days ago I receiv'd a Message from ye Half-[King], of which the following is a Copy exactly taken:

*"To the forist, his Majestie's Commander Offwerses—to hom this
"may concern:*

"On acc't of a freench armye to meat Miger Georg Wassion.
"ton therfor my Brotheres I deisir you to beawar of them for
"deisin'd to strik ye forist English they see ten deays since they
"marchd I cannot tell what nomber the half King and the rest of
"the Chiefs will be with you in five. dayes to consel, no more at
"present but give my serves to my Brothers the English.

"THE HALF-KING,"

"JOHN DAVISON."

This acc't was received in the Evening by another Man. The French were at the x'ing of Vaughyaughgan, ab't 10 Miles. I hereupon, hurried to this place as a convenient spott. We have, with nature's assistance, made a good Intrenchment, and by clearing ye Bushes out of these Meadows, prepar'd a charming field for an Encounter.

I detach'd, immediately upon my arrival here, small light partys of Horse (Wag'n Horses) to reconnoitre the Enemy and discover their strength and motion, who return'd yesterday with't seeing any thing of them. Nevertheless, we were alarm'd at Night, and remain'd under Arms from two O'Clock till near Sun rise; we conceive it was our own Men, as 6 of them Deserted, but can't be certain whether it was them, or other Enemys; be it as it will, they were fired at by the Centrys, but I believe without damage. This morning Mr. Gist arriv'd from his place, where a Detachment of 50 Men was seen yesterday at Noon, com'd by Mons'r La Force; he afterwards saw these march within 5 Miles of our Camp. I immediately detach'd 75 Men in pursuit of them, who, I hope, will overtake them before they get to red Stone Creek, where their Canoes Lie. Mr. Gist being an Eye witness of our proceedings hereupon, and waiting for this with't my knowing till just now that he intended to wait upon your Hon'r, obliges me to refer to him for particulars. As I expect my Messenger to Night, from the half-King, I shall write more fully to-morrow by the Express that came f'm Colo. Fry.

But before I conclude, I must take the Liberty of mentioning to your Honour the g't necessity there is for having goods out here, to give for Services of the Indians, they are expected, and refuse to Scout or do any thing without—saying these Services are paid well by the French. I really think, was 5 or 600 Pounds worth of proper Goods sent, it w'd tend more to our Interest than so many thousands given in a Lump at a Treaty. I have been oblig'd to pay Spirits for what they have already done, which I cannot continue to do.

The Numbers of the French have been greatly magnified, as your Honour may see by a copy of the enclos'd Journal, who I sent out to gain Intelligence. I have receiv'd Letters from the

Governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland—Copies of which I also send.

I am, Y'r Hon's most Ob. and
most H'ble Serv't,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

P. S.—I hope your Hon'r will excuse the Haste with which I was oblig'd to use in writing this.¹²²

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

FROM OUR CAMP AT THE GREAT MEADOWS,
29th of May, 1754.

HON'BLE SIR :

To answer your Honour's Letter of ye 25th, by Mr. Birney,¹²³ I shall begin with assuring you that nothing was farther from my intention than to recede, tho' I then press'd and still desire that my Services may be voluntary, rather than on the present Pay. I am much concern'd that your Honour should seem to charge me with ingratitude for your generous, and my undeserved, favours, for I assure you, Hon'ble Sir, nothing is a greater Stranger to my Breast, or a Sin that my Soul more abhors, than that black and detestable one, Ingratitude. I retain a true sence of your kindnesses and want nothing but opportunity to give testimony of my willingness to oblige as far as my Life or fortune will extend.

I cou'd not object to the Pay before I knew it; I dare say your Honour remembers the first Estimation allow'd a Lieut. Colo. 15s., and Maj'r 12s. 6d., which I then complain'd very much off; till your Honour assur'd me that we were to be furnish'd with proper necessary, and offer'd that as a reason why the pay was Less than British; after this, when you were so kind [as] to prefer me to the Com'd I now have, and at the same time

¹²² This is a soiled and slovenly scrawl, scarcely decipherable.

¹²³ An express rider, or messenger, whose name in other instances is rendered Burney.

acquainted me that I was to have but 12s. 6d. This, with some other Reasons, induced me to acquaint Colo. Fairfax with my intention of Resigning, which he must well remember, as it happ'd at Belhaven, and [it] was there that he dissuaded me from it and promised to represent the trifling pay to your Honour, who would endeavour (as I at the same time told him that the Speaker thought the Officer's pay too small) to have it enlarg'd.

As to the Numbers that applied for Commissions, and to whom we were preferr'd, I believe, had those Gentlemen been as knowing of this Country, and as Sensible of the difficulties that would attend a Campaign here, as I then was, I conceive your Honour w'd not have been so troublesomely solicited as you were; yet I do not offer this as a reason for quitting the Service, for my own part I can answer, I have a Constitution hardy enough to encounter and undergo the most severe tryals, and I flatter myself, resolution to Face what any Man durst, as shall be prov'd when it comes to the Test, which I believe we are on the Borders off. There is nothing, Sir, (I believe) more certain than that the Officers on the Canada Expedition had British pay allowed, whilst they were in the Service. Lieut. Wag'r, Capt. Trent, and several others whom I have convers'd with on the Head, and were engag'd in it, affirm it for truth, therefore, Hon'ble Sir, as this can't be allow'd, suffer me to serve Volunteer, which I assure you will be the next reward to British pay, for as my Services so far as I have knowledge, will equal those of the best Officer, I make it a point of Hon'r [not ?] to serve for less and accept a medium. Nevertheless, I have communicated your Honour's Sentiments to them; and as far as I could put on the Hipocrite, set forth the advantages that may accrue, and advised them to accept the Terms, as a refusal might reflect dishonour on their character, leaving it to the world to assign what reasons they please for quitting the Service. I am very sensible of the pernicious consequences that will attend their resigning, as they have by this gain'd some experience of the Military Art, have a tolerable knowledge of the Country, being sent, most of them, out at different times with partys, and now are accustom'd to the hardships and fatigues of Living as we do, which I believe, were it truly stated, w'd prevent your honour from many troublesome Sollicitations from others for Com's. This last motive has, and will induce me to do what I can to reconcile matters, tho' I really

believe there is some that will not remain long with't an alteration. They have promised to consider of it, and give your Honour an answer. I was not ignorant of the allow'e which Colo. Fry has for his Table, but being a depend't there myself, deprives me of the pleasure of inviting an Officer or Friend, which to me w'd be more agreeable than the Nick Nacks I shall meet with there.

And here I cannot forbear answering one thing more in your Honour's Letter on this head, which (too) is more fully express'd in a paragraph of Colo. Fairfax's to me, as follows: "If on the British Establishment Officers are allow'd more Pay, the Regimentals they are oblig'd annually to furnish, their necessary Table and other Incidents being consider'd, little or no savings will be their Portion."

I believe it is well known we have been at the expense of Regimentals, and it is still better known that Regimentals, and every other necessary that we were under an indispensable necessity of purchasing for this Expedition, were not to be bought for less Vir'a curr'y than British Officers c'd get for Sterling money, which they ought to have been, to put upon a parity in this respect, then, Colo. Fairfax observes, that their Table and other Incident charges, prevents them from saving much; if they don't save much, they have the enjoyment of their Pay, which we neither have in one sense nor the other. We are debarr'd the pleasure of good Living, which, Sir, (I dare say, with me you will concur) to one who has always been used to it, most go somewhat hard to be confin'd to a little salt provision and water, and do duty, hard, laborious duty, that is almost inconsistent with that of a Soldier, and yet, the same Reductions as if we were allow'd luxuriously. My Pay, according to the British Establish't and common exchange, is near 22s. p'r Day, in the R'm of that, ye Committee (for I can't, in ye least, imagine y'r H'r had any h'd in it) has provided (12s. 6d.) so long as ye Service requires me; whereas one-half of ye other is ascertain'd to British Officers forever. Now, if we sh'd be fortunate enough to drive the French from Ohio—as far as your Honour w'd please have them sent to—in any short time, our Pay will not be sufficient to discharge our first expences.

I would not have your Honour imagine from this that I have said all these things to have the Pay encreas'd, but to justify myself and shew your Honour that our complaints are not frivolous,

but are founded upon strict Reason: for my own part, it is a matter almost indifferent whether I serve for full pay or as a generous Volunteer. Indeed, did my circumstances corrispond with my Inclination, I sh'd not hesitate a moment to prefer the Latter, for the motives that lead me here were pure and noble. I had no view of acquisition but that of Honour, by serving faithfully my King and Country.

As your Honour has recommended Mr. Willis, you may depend I shall, with pleasure, do all that I can for him. But above all, Sir, you may depend I shall take all possible means of procuring intelligence and guarding against surprises, and be assur'd nothing but very unequal numbers shall engage me to submit or Retreat. Now, Sir, as I have answer'd your Honour's Letter, I shall beg leave to acq't you with what has happen'd since I wrote by Mr. Gist. I then acquainted you that I had detach'd a party of 75 Men to meet with 50 of the French, who we had Intelligence were upon their March towards us to Reconnoitre, and y't ab't 9 O'Clock ye same Night I receiv'd an Express from the Half-King, who was Incamp'd with several of His People ab't 6 Miles of[f,] that he had seen the Tract of two French Men x'ing the Road, and beliv'd ye whole body were lying not far off, as he had an acc't of that Number passing Mr. Gist.

I set out with 40 Men before 10, and [it] was from that time till near Sun rise before we reach'd the Indian's Camp, hav'g March'd in [a] small Path, a heavy Rain, and Night as Dark as it is possible to conceive; we were frequently tumbling one over another, and often so lost that 15 or 20 minutes search would not find the path again.

When we came to the Half-King, I council'd with him, and got his assent to go hand in hand and strike the French. Accordingly, himself, Monacattoocho and a few other Indians set out with us, and when we came to the place where the Tracts were, the Half-King sent two Indians to follow their Tract and discover their lodgment, which they did ab't half a mile from the Road, in a very obscure place surrounded with Rocks. I thereupon, in conjunction with the Half-King and Monacattoocho, form'd a disposition to attack y'm on all sides, which we accordingly did, and after an Engagement of ab't 15 Minutes, we killed 10, wounded one and took 21 Prisoners, amongst those that were killed, was Monsieur De Jumonville, the Commander; Princip'l Officers

taken is Monsieur Druillorn and Mons'r Laforce, who your Honour has often heard me speak of as a bold Enterprising Man, and a person of great subtilty and cunning; with these are two Cadets. These officers pretend they were coming on an Embassy, but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring as your Honour will see by the Instructions and Summons inclos'd. These Instructions were to reconnoitre the country, Roads, Creeks, &c., to Potomack, which they were ab't to do. These Enterprising Men were purposely choose out to get intelligence, which they were to send Back by some brisk dispatches with mention of the Day that they were to serve the Summons, which could be through no other view than to get sufficient Re-inforcements to fall upon us immediately after; this, with several other Reasons, induc'd all the Officers to believe firmly that they were sent as spys rather than any thing else, and has occasion'd my sending them as prisoners, tho' they expected, or at least had some faint hope of being continued as ambassadors. They finding where we were Incamp'd, instead of coming up in a Publick manner, sought out one of the most secret Retirements, fitter for a Deserter than an Imbassador to incamp in, s[t]ay'd there two or 3 Days, sent Spies to Reconnoitre our Camp, as we are told, tho' they deny it. Their whole Body mov'd back near 2 Miles, sent off two runners to acquaint Contrecoeur with our Strength, and where we were Incamp'd, &c. Now, 36 Men w'd almost have been a Retinue for a Princely Ambassador, instead of Petit, why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within 5 Miles of us with't delivering his Embassy, or acquainting me with it. His waiting c'd be with no other design than to get [a] Detachm't to enforce the Summons as soon as it was given; they had no occasion to send out Spy's, for the name of Ambassador is Sacred among all Nations, but it was by the Tract of these Spy's they were discover'd, and we got Intelligence of them. They w'd not have retir'd two Miles back with't delivering the Summons, and sought a sculking place, (which, to do them justice, was done with g't Judgment,) but for some special Reason Besides. The Summons is so insolent and savours so much of Gascoigny that if two Men only had come openly to deliver it, It was too great Indulgence to have sent them back.

The Sense of the Half-King on this Subject is, that they have bad Hearts, and that this is a mere pretence, they never design'd

to have come to us but in a hostile manner, and if we were so foolish as let them go again, he never would assist us in taking another of them. Besides, loosing La Force I really think w'd lead more to our disservice than 50 other Men, as he is a person whose active Spirit leads him into all parleys and brought him acquainted with all parts, add to this a perfect use of the Indian Tongue and ye influence with the Indians. He Ingeniously enough confessed that as soon as he saw the Commission and Instructions, that he believ'd, and then said, he expected some such tendency, tho' he pretends to say he does not believe the Commander had any other but a good design. In this Engagement we had only one Man killed and two or three wounded, among which was Lieut. Waggener, slightly—a most miraculous escape, as Our Right Wing was much expos'd to their Fire, and receiv'd it all. The Half-King receiv'd your Honour's speech very kind, but desir'd me to inform you that he could not leave his People at this time, thinking them in great Danger. He is now gone to the X'ing for their Familys, to bring to our Camp, and desir'd I w'd send some Men and Horses to assist them up, which I have accordingly done—sent 30 Men and upwards of 20 Horses. He says if your Hon'r has any thing to say, you may communicate by me, &c., and that if you have a present for them, it may be kept to another occasion, after sending up some things for their imediate use. He has declar'd to [me he would] send these French Mens' Scalps, with a Hatchet, to all the Nations of Indians in union with them, and did that very day give a Hatchet and a large Belt of Wampum to a Delaware Man to carry to Shingiss.¹²⁴ He promis'd me to send down the River for all the Minsgo's and Shawnesse to our Camp, where I expect him to-morrow with 30 or 40 Men, with their Wives and Children. To confirm what he has said here, he has sent your Honour a String of Wampum. As these Runners went off to the Fort on Sunday last, I shall expect every hour to be attack'd, and by unequal numbers, which I must withstand, if there is 5 to 1, or else

¹²⁴ Shingiss, or Shingask, King or Chief of the Delawares, and a brother of King Beaver. He lived in the forks of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, where Pittsburg now stands. He was one of the greatest Indian warriors of his day, and was a terror to the whole frontier of Pennsylvania.

I fear the Consequence will be we shall loose the Indians if we suffer ourselves to be drove Back. I dispatch'd an express immediately to Colo. Fry, with this Intelligence, desiring him to send Re-inforcements with all imaginable dispatch.

Your Honour may depend I will not be surpriz'd, let them come what hour they will, and this is as much as I can promise, but my best endeavours shall not be wanting to deserve more. I doubt not but if you hear I am beaten, but you will, at the same [time] hear that we have done our duty in fighting as long [as] there was a possibility of hope.

I have sent Lieut. West, accompanied with Mr. Sprilldorph¹²⁵ and a Guard of 20 Men, to conduct the Prisoners in, and I believe the Officers have acquainted him what answer to return Y'r Honour. Monsieur La Force and Monsieur Druillong beg to be recommended to Your Honour's Notice, and I have promis'd they will meet with all the favour that's due to Imprison'd Officers. I havè shew'd all the respect I cou'd to them here, and have given some necessary cloathing by which I have dis-furnish'd myself, for having brought no more than two or three shirts from Wills's C'k, that we might be light, I was ill provided to furnish them.

I am Y'r Honour's most Ob't H'ble Serv't,

G°. WASHINGTON.

N. B.—I have neither seen nor heard any particular acc't of the Twightwees since I came on these waters; we have already begun a Palisado'd Fort, and hope to have it up to-morrow. I must beg leave to acqu't y'r hon'r y't Capt'n Vanbraam and Mons'r Peyronney has behaved extremely well since they came out, and I hope will meet w'th y'r Hon'r's fav'r.

¹²⁵ Carolus Gustavus de Splitdorph, commissioned Ensign, July 21, 1754; killed at the defeat of Braddock.

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO COLONEL FRY.

FROM OUR CAMP ON YE G'T MEAD'WS,
29th of May, 1754.

SIR:

This by an immediate express, I send to inf'm you that yesterday I engag'd a party of French, whereof 11 were killed and 20 taken, with the loss of only 1 of mine killed and 2 or 3 wounded, among which was Lieut't Waggoner. By some of their Papers we can discover that large detach'ts are expected every day, which we may reasonably suppose are to attack us, especially since we have begun.

This is therefore to acquaint you with the necessity there is for a Reinforcem't, which I hope you will detach immediately, as you can be in no manner of danger in your March, for the French must pass our Camp, which I flatter myself is not practicable with't my having intelligence thereof, especially as there will be Indians always scouting. If there does not come a sufficient Reinforcement we must either quit our G'd and ret't to you, or fight very unequal Numbers, which I will do before I will give up one Inch of what we have gained. The great push I am in to dispatch the bearer, prevents me from being particular at this time. I shall conclude, Sir, with assuring you how sincerely concern'd I am for your indisposition, which I hope you will soon recover from and be able to join us with the artillery, that we may attack the French [in] their Forts.

I am, Sir, Y'r most H'ble Serv't,

G°. WASHINGTON.

On His Majesty's Service.

To Colo. Joshua Fry,

Commander of ye Virg'a Reg't.

By Wm. Jenkins.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Jenkins appears to have been employed regularly as a messenger or carrier of dispatches.

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

HON'BLE SIR:

The bearer hereof, Monsieur Druillong, with Monsieur La Force and two Cadets, I beg leave to recommend to your Honour's particular Notice, as Prisoners of War and Officers whom I had the Honour of taking. I have assur'd them they will meet with all the Respect and favour due to their Charac'r and Personal merit; and I hope they will do me the justice to acquaint your Honour that I neglected no means that was in my power to render their confinement easy here.

Lieut. West is preferr'd to conduct these Gentlemen with 16 Private Prisoners to your Honour at Winchester, who will acq't you with the profound respect with which I am

Your Hon'r's most Ob't and most h'ble Serv't,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

From the Camp at the G't Meadows, ye 29th of May, 1754.

*To the Hon'ble Rob't Dinwiddie, Esq'r,
Governor, Vice-Admiral, &c., of Virginia.*

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL FRY.

May 29th, [1754.]

SIR:

Mr. Croghan ¹²⁷ telling me he was inform'd Y'r Indisposit'n increas'd, w'ch possibly may be some Hindrance to Your marching, I think proper to direct that in case Your disorder continues, You give order to Maj'r Muse to proceed with Y'r Officers and Soldiers in Your present detachm't to join Colo. Washington

¹²⁷Colonel George Croghan, Indian agent, was born in Ireland; died at Passayunk, Pa., about August, 1782. He was educated in Dublin; settled near Harrisburg, Pa.; was an Indian trader as early as 1746, and, acquiring their confidence, became agent for Pennsylvania; a Captain in Braddock's Expedition in 1755; employed in defence of the Western frontier in 1756, and in November was made deputy Indian agent for

with all Expedition, for it is apprehend his small Body may want Y^rs to sustain him. Capt. McKay, with his Independ^t Compa. sets off To-morrow, and as they have made quicker Marches from Alexa. Hither than the Corps of Your regim^t has done, and prom[i]se to hold on [with] their Vigour, I am in hopes they will soon join You. When the other Forces arrive, I shall also hasten them, for I am impatient to have You altogether, that our Ind^s may be animated to do worthy Acts ag^t our comon Enemy. I am heartily sorry for Y^r Indispositⁿ, but I hope You are on the recovery, but if so unhappy as not to be able to proceed Yourself, pray recomend Moderation and kind Usage of the Officers and Soldiers, to Maj^r Muse. I am with respect,

S^r, Y^r H^{ble} Serv^t.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL THOMAS CRESAP.

WHEREAS, Mons^r Le Force,¹²⁸ Com^d^r of a French Detachm^t on an Enterprize to attack our Camp under the Com^d of Colo. G. Washington, was repelled by our s^d Forces, and the s^d Mons^r Le Force, with 21 of his Men, taken Prisoners, and it being most necessary to relieve Colo. W. from the troublesome Guard of so many Prisoners, I hereby Authorize and Impower You, the s^d Thos. Cresap, to take with You ten able Men, well armed and

the Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians by Sir William Johnson, who, in 1763, sent him to England to confer with the ministry about an Indian boundary line. In this voyage he was shipwrecked on the coast of France. While on his way, in 1765, to pacify the Illinois Indians, he was attacked June 8, wounded, and taken to Vincennes, but was soon released, and accomplished his mission. In May, 1756, he made a settlement four miles above Fort Pitt. He continued to render valuable service in pacifying the Indians, and conciliating them to the British interest, until 1776. He was an object of suspicion to the Revolutionary authorities in 1778, but was doubtless unjustly accused.

¹²⁸ La Force had been an active and insidious emissary among the Indians, and was a troublesome prisoner. He succeeded in escaping from prison at Williamsburg, but was apprehended by a backwoodsman in New Kent, who refused a valuable bribe offered by La Force for his release.

mounted, and proceed with great dispatch to our Camp under the Com'd of the s'd Colo. W., and there receive into Y'r safe Custody the above Mons'r Le Force and the other Prisoners, to be carefully bro't to this Place, for w'ch this shall be Y'r warrant. Given under my Hand and Seal at Win. this first day of June, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

WINCHESTER, June 1st, 1754.

SIR:

Mr. Gist¹²⁹ bro't Y'r Letter and the very agreeable Acco't of Y'r killing and taking Mons'r Le Force and his whole Party of 35 Men, on w'ch Success I heartily congratulate You, as it may give a Testimony to the Ind's that the French are not invincible w'n fairly engag'd with the English, but hope the good Spirits of Y'r Soldiers will not tempt You to make any hazardous Attempts ag'st a too numerous Enemy. When Colo. Fry's Corps and Capt. McKay's Compa. join You, You will be enabled to act with better Vigour. I am in daily Expectat'n of seeing or hearing from Colo. Innes and a Body of Cherokee Ind's, w'ch I shall direct to march with all diligence. I have sent Colo. Cresap to bring away Mons'r Le Force and the other Prisoners, w'ch You will deliver him, and be thereby reliev'd from the Anxiety of guarding so many Prisoners w'th Y'r small Number. I have caus'd an Assortm't of Ind'n Goods to be packt up, in order to be sent You imediately, and have engag'd Mr. Croghan as an Interpreter to attend the Com'd'r in Chief, assist in delivering the several Presents, and advise You in all matters You may have occasion to consult him about, hoping his faithful demeanour will merit Y'rs and the Officers' kind reception and Entertainm't. I have also sent out of my private Store some Rum, w'ch will be sent You with the Goods from this on

¹²⁹ Captain Christopher Gist, as the agent of the Ohio Company, had explored the country for several hundred miles north of the Ohio and as far as the Falls, in 1750. In 1751, he continued his explorations up the south side of the Ohio to the Kanawha river, visiting the Twightwee Indians. He kept a journal of his explorations.

Monday next. I wait with Impatience the return of Burney to know whether the Half King comes here. Pray God preserve You in all Y'r proceedings and grant Success to our Arms. I remain, with great Esteem,

S'r, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

WIN[CHESTER], 1st June, [1754.]

SIR:

Mr. Geo. Croghan, a Gent. well acquainted with Ind'n Affairs, is engag'd by me to serve His M'y as an Interpreter. I therefore desire You to shew him a proper regard, and in such Matters relating to the delivery of Presents, w't You may have negotiated with the Half King and the Ind's in the British Alliance and Int't, You will consult him.

I am, S'r, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR MUSE.

June 2d, 1754.

SIR:

You will not be surpriz'd at my telling You that I am not well pleas'd at the tediousness of Y'r March at a Time w'n You should not have lost a Moment. It is necessary that You sh'd not waste any more Time, and therefore I send You this Order for You to quit the Waggon, &c., and march immediately to join Colo. Washington with the utmost Expedition. The Corps that is following You, will have my Directions to take care of the Cannon and Baggage. Mr. Gist will supply you with Horses for Y'r Baggage and Provisions. I am, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN MCKAY.

WIN., June 2d.

SIR:

Tho' I am well persuaded of Y'r diligence, yet as Colo. W. is in a very dangerous Situation, I can't help bespeaking Y'r most expeditious Endeavours to join him. I have order'd Maj'r Muse to leave the Convoy and proceed immediately to the Camp, and as I expect You will overtake it at or near Wills's Creek, I desire when You do, that You will leave it with a proper Escort, and join the Camp with all possible dispatch. Our vigorous Efforts now may probably defeat all our Enemies' Designs, and You may be assur'd, Sir, I shall do all imaginable Justice to Y'r Merit in my recommendation.

I am, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE HALF KING.

WIN'R, June 2d, [1754].

BROTHER:

I rec'd Y'r Speech with a String of Wampum by the Hands of Colo. W. It gives me great Pleasure to find You so steady in Y'r Attachm't to our Father, the King of G. B., and his Subjects. You may be assur'd of our fix'd resolution to assist and protect our Brethren, the Ind's, and secure their Hunting Grounds against the Encroachments of the French, and You may depend of a large reinforcem't, with a great Number of Forces, to join Colo. W'n with all Expedition. In Confirmat'n thereof I send You by And'w Montour a Belt of Wampum.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLO. WASHINGTON.

WIN'R, 2d June, [1754.]

SIR :

I heartily wish that Y'r Self and officers had not at this Time discovered an Uneasiness on Acc't of Y'r Pay, especially as the long delay of Colo. Fry's Detachm't in not joining Y'rs gives me too much Concern. You must all be sensible that if Y'r present Establishment is less than the first Estimate made, it was from a Calculation of the [£]10,000 only granted to support the Expedition, which, if it had been granted, my good Inclinat'n w'd have readily Enlarged Y'r Encouragem't. The difficulties you have undergone are obvious, the prudent Measures taken approv'd, and Y'r Success in taking Mons'r Le Force and the other Prisoners highly pleasing.

As soon as I was acquainted therewith, I engag'd Colo. Cresap, then here, to take a Guard and my Letter for the delivery of them, supposing you c'd not spare a sufficient Number, but as they are already advanc'd under Lieut. West's Care, Colo. Cresap may meet and receive them this day, and Mr. West sooner return. I have sent strict Orders to Maj'r Muse to hasten his March by leaving the Waggons, and carrying the most necessary Provisions, &c., on horseback. Mr. Croghan now has undertaken to deliver you 10,000 [pounds?] of Flour imediately, and as the Half-King, Monacatoocha, &c., intend to secure their Families with You, I shall take care to have You supplied with Provisions for their Sustenance. Those Chiefs having taken up and dispers'd the Hatchet, will soon bring a good Number of Ind's to sustain You, and w'n joined by the other of our Forces, now on their March, You will be enabled to improve Your Success. I doubt not your continuing to act with Prudence and resolution, and You may depend on my duely representing Y'r Merit [and] that of Y'r Officers and faithful Soldiers to His M'y and our next Gen'l Assembly to consider of. I have sent you some Medals¹³⁰ for Y'r Self, Colo. Fry, the Half-King, Monacatoocha,

¹³⁰ As a distinction for the Indians in amity with the whites, medals or badges were early provided. It was enacted March 1661-2, "that badges (vizt), silver plates, and copper plates with the names of the towne graven upon them, be given to all the adjacent Kings within our

the Chiefs of the Delawares and Shawnesse, to wear as Tokens of His Majesty's Fav'r. Colo. Fairfax, Colo. Corbin, Colo. Ludwell¹³¹ and myself being alike adorn'd. You will also receive from Capt. Montour a Belt and String of Wampum—4,000 Black and 4,000 White Wampum to be dispos'd as You may have occasion to make Speeches. The Goods you desire for the Ind's, and three b'ls of Rum, will be sent off To-morrow, and order'd to be carried with the utmost Dispatch. I have likewise sent a Present of 4,000 Wampum for, and a Speech to the Half-King, whose reasons for not meeting me here at this Time are very allowable, and I must hope for on some more favourable Occasion, for I am most desirous of taking him by the Hand, and assuring Him of my grateful Thanks for his firm and unshaken F'dship to the faithful Subjects of the British King, his gracious Father and good Ally. I wish You, the Officers and Soldiers, perfect Health to overcome all Obstacles and the Hon'r of vanquishing all opponent Enemies, and am,

Sir, Y'r assur'd h'ble Serv't,

P. S.—The Speech is as enclosed, w'ch you will deliver.

protection." (*Hening* ii, page 142.) An example of these badges is in the cabinet of the Virginia Historical Society. It is of silver, oblong in shape, measuring one-and-a-half inches one way, by two the other, engraved with floral designs, and inscribed "Ye King of Patomecke." A similar example, one presented "Ye King of Pamunkie," is pictured and described in *Willis's Current Notes*, London, December, 1852, and in the *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*, Second Series, plate xxxix, is presented an engraving of a silver frontlet, with the British arms, etc., which once adorned the brow of the "Queene of Pamunkey." The French and Spanish were also in the habit of presenting these tokens of friendship to their Indian allies—and the custom was continued by the United States Government at all treaties, certainly until a recent period, if it be not still in practice.

¹³¹ Colonel Philip Ludwell, of "Green Spring," County Lieutenant of James City. His daughter, Hannah, married Thomas Lee, and was the mother of the patriot brothers Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot, Thomas Ludwell, William, and Arthur Lee.

COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR
DINWIDDIE.

HONORABLE SIR :

The Half-King, with about 25 Familys, cont'g near 80 persons, including women and children, arriv'd here last night. He has given me some acc't of the Twigtwees, Wyandotts and several other Nations of Indians, which I have transmitted to your Honour by an express, as you enquir'd circumstantially in your last, and I was then unable to give any acc't at all of them.

The French, early in the spring, sent a speech to the Wayandotts, Twigtwees and their Allies, and desir'd them to take up the Hatchet and start to Ohio, and their cut of[f] the Inhabitants with all the English thereon. This the big Kettle acquainted the Half-King with, and at the same time assur'd him with their good intentions of assisting the 6 Nations and their Brothers, the English, ag't the French, and that they only waited to see us begin. I have enclosed the speech of the Chiefs, to which was added another from the Warriors, informing that they were busy in counselling with the Chippeways, Ottoways, &c., and striving to bring all into the same mind with themselves. They desire the 6 Nations, Virginians and Pennsylvanians, not to doubt but that they shall accomplish their designs in this, and when they do, [I] will send word thereof.

Monacatoocha was sent by the Half-King ab't 5 nights ago to the Logs Town, with 4 French scalps, two of which was to be sent to the Wyandotts, &c., and the other two to the 6 Nations, telling them that the French had tricked them out of their lands, for which, with their Brothers, the English, who joyn'd hand in hand, they had let them feel the wait of their Hatchet, which was but trifling yet, as it only lay'd on 30, for that they int'd, with their Brothers, to drive the French beyond the Lakes. Monacatoocha has orders to draw all the Indians from Ohio, and then repair to our Camp.

I proposed to the Half-King sending their women and children into the Inhabitants, for, as they must be supported by us, it may be done at less expense there than here; beside this, there may another good attend it, their children may imbibe the principles of love and friendship in a stronger degree, which, if

taken when young, is generally more firm and lasting. He told me he would consider of it and give answer when Monacatoocha arrived. I hope this will be agreeable to your Honour, who I wrote to before on this head without receiv'g an answer. We find it very difficult procuring provisions for them, as they, [share] equally with our own men, which is unavoidable witho't turning them adrift entirely.

Montour would be of singular use to me here at this moment, in conversing with the Indians, for I have no Person's that I can put any dependence in. I make use of all the influence I can to engage them warmly on our side, and flatter myself that I am not unsuccessful, but for want of a better acquaintance with their customs, I am often at a loss how to behave, and should be relieved from many anxious fears of offend'g them if Montour was here to assist me; and as he is in the governm't's employ't, I hope your Hon'r will think with me, his services cannot be apply'd to so g't advantage as here upon this occasion.

There was 3 French Deserters, met a few days [ago] (one an Englishman) at Loyal henning, going to Virg'a, by one Crawford, a Man of veracity, who was assur'd by them that there was two Major Traders confined in Irons at the Fort when Sieur De Jumonville was Detach'd; and at the same time that he departed for this, another Party of 50 was sent down Ohio to Kill or take Prisoners of all the English they'd meet with. They also assure us that Jumonville has all chosen Men fixed upon for this Enterprise. They likewise confirm the report the Prisoners gave, that 1,100 men were now in the Fort, and Reinforce'ts expected.

If the whole Detach't of the French behave with no more Resolution than this chosen Party did, I flatter myself we shall have no g't trouble in driving them to the d—— Montreal. Tho' I took 40 men under my com'd when I marched out, yet the darkness of the night was so great, that by wandering a Little from the main body 7 were lost, and but 33 ingag'd. There was also but 7 Indians with arms, two of which were Boys—one Dinwiddie,¹³² Y'r Hon'r's God Son, who behav'd well in action. There were 5 or 6 other Indians, who served to knock the poor, unhappy wounded in the head, and bereiv'd them of their scalps. So that we had but 40 men, with which we tried and took 32 or 3

¹³² The Half-King.

men, besides others, who may have escaped. One, we have certain acc't did.

We have just finish'd a small palisado'd Fort. in which, with my small numbers, I shall not fear the attack of 500 men.

There is three separate strings of Wampum, which the Half-King has desir'd me to send. One is from the Wyandott Chiefs, to confirm what they said; another from the Warriors, to confirm theirs; and the other (white) is from Monachatoochee; and since writing the above, there has arrived two Indians from Moskingam, who inform [me] that the Wyandotts, &c., are ready to strike so soon as they hear the 6 Nation's and English have.

I am Y'r Hono's most Ob't and most Hu'bl. Ser.,

G°. WASHINGTON.

From our Camp, &c.,

June ye 3d, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

WIN'R, June 4th, 1754.

SIR:

On the Death of Colo. Fry, I have tho. it proper to send You the enclos'd Com'o. to Com'd the Virg'a regiment, and another for Maj'r Muse, to be Lieut. Colo. The oldest Capt. to be Major, and the eldest Lieut. to be Capt.; the eldest Ensign to be Lieut., unless You sh'd have Object'n to them. I think You will want two Ensigns; if so, I recomend Mr. Perroney, if he has behav'd so as to merit it; the other I leave to you. I have no Com'o. now here, but send the Names of the Persons to succeed as above, and I will send up Com'o's to bear equal date with Y'rs, so that they may Act by Y'r orders 'till that Time. Colo. James Innes, an old experienc'd Officer, is daily expected, who is appointed Com'd'r in Chief of all the Forces, w'ch I am very sensible will be very agreeable to You and the other officers. The Capt's and Officers of the Independ't Compa's having their Com'o's signed by His M'y, imagine they claim a distinguish'd rank, and being long trained in Arms expect suitable regards. You will therefore consult and agree with Y'r Officers to shew

them particular marks of Esteem, w^{ch} will avoid such Causes of Uneasiness as otherwise might obstruct His M^y's Service, wherein all are alike engag'd, and must answer for any ill Consequences of an unhappy Disagreement. You cannot believe the Uneasiness and Anxiety I have had for the Tardiness of the Detachm^t under Colo. Fry's Com'd in not joining You some Time since, as all the Delay in the Provisions and Amunition; however, I have given strong Instruct's on both these Heads, and hope you will soon be joined with proper Numbers to give the French a total Defeat. Continue in good Spirits, and prosecute Y^r usual Conduct and Prudence, w^{ch} must recomend You to the favo. of His M^y and Y^r Country. My F^dship and respect I hope you do not doubt. I therefore rem'n with great Truth,

S^r,

Your real Friend.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S COMMISSION TO COLONEL
JAMES INNES.

His Majesty George, the Second of G. B. F^r. and I. King, having been graciously pleas'd to Order and Com'd Me to raise Forces, build Fortresses on the river Ohio, and to protect his Lands on the s^d River; also to prevent any foreign Power whatsoever to settle on the s^d Lands, as His M^y has an undoubted right thereto, And I repos'g especial Trust and Confidence in the known Loyalty, Courage and Conduct in You, the s^d James Innes, have, by Virtue of the Power and Authority given me by His s^d M^y, constituted and appointed, And do hereby constitute and appoint You, the s^d Jas. Innes, to be Com'd'r in Chief of all the Forces already rais'd and destin'd, or that shall hereafter be rais'd, design'd and ordered on the Service of the s^d Expedit'n. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a Com'd'r in Chief agreeable to the Instruct's herewith given You; And I accordingly hereby Order and Com'd all the Officers and Soldiers to give due Obedience to such Orders and Direct's as from Time to Time You may think proper and necessary to direct and Com'd. And You are to

follow all such further Instruct's and Orders as You may receive from me in discharge of the Duty of Y'r s'd Com'd, for all w'ch this shall be Y'r Warr't and Com'o. Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony at Winchester this 4th day of June, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO COLONEL
INNES.

All the Forces appointed and by me directed and order'd to the Gen'l Rendezvous being joined, You are on the first convenient day [to] cause a Muster roll of the whole to be taken, and all such of the Articles of War to be publicly read as may relate to Mutiny, Desertion and the keeping up a proper Discipline among the Officers and Soldiers under Y'r Com'd, whereby each Officer may know and perform their respective Duties. And that I may be acquainted with the Exact Number of the Forces, You are once in every two Months [to] cause a Gen'l Muster to be made and a List or Muster roll sent me by the first Opp'ty or Courier, and the s'd Articles of War, at such Musters to be as publicly read. You are, before You enter on any Action of Attack or extraordinary Enterprize to annoy or circumvent the Enemy, [to] call a Council of War, to consist of the Field Officers and Capt's of the Independ't Compa's; in w'ch Council You are to form a Plan of Operations and issue Your Orders accordingly. The Capt's and Officers of the Independ't Compa's having their Com'ds sign'd by His M'y imagine they claim a distinguish'd rank, and being long train'd in Arms, expect suitable regards.

You will, therefore, consult and agree with Y'r Officers to shew them particular marks of Esteem, w'ch will avoid such Causes of Uneasiness as otherwise might obstruct His M'y's Service, wherein all are alike engag'd and must answer for any ill Consequences of an unhappy Disagreement. You are to appoint and hold Courts Martial as often as the same shall be thought necessary, to proceed and give Sentence according to the rules and Articles of War, of w'ch You are to give me Advice. The French having unjustly invaded the King of G. B. Lands on the river Ohio and taken Possession of a Fort that was begun to be

built by my Order for his s'd M'y and the Territory around the same. You are hereby order'd and directed, as soon as Your united Forces shall be sufficient, to repair thither, and summons the French possessing it, to surrender the Fort and evacuate the King of G. B. Lands. And in Case of refusal, You are to use Your utmost Efforts to compell and force them, and if You have the desired Success, You are to take especial Care of the Prisoners by sending them down to W'mburg. Or if You sh'd think the sparing of Men to guard them thither w'd too much weaken Y'r small Army, then, You may give them some Canoes to go down the river Ohio; by no means leting them go up that river to Canada or returning. If, in Y'r Council of War, the taking the above na'd Fort sh'd be judged impracticable, You are to build another Fort on the s'd river Ohio, in some proper Place, for the better security of Your Men, Arms, Stores, Provis's, &c., And prevention of any Supplies being carried to the French Garrison, whereby, in all probability, They will be reduced to the Necessity of Capitulating and accept'g such Terms as the Situation and Circumstance of Y'r Affairs may require and You may reasonably admit of. If any of the French Army sh'd desert to You, take proper notice of them, but not to give them too much Liberty, and w'n convenient, it may be proper to send them down the Country.

The Ohio Ind's having discover'd their Inclinations to join the English, being now convinced of their Intent's to defend and protect the Ind's ag'st the late Invasion and Encroachm'ts of the French on the Ohio Lands, And particularly the Half King who has greatly distinguish'd Himself as our hearty Friend, and appears to me a Man of good Sense and great resolution, I therefore recomend him in the Kindest maner to Y'r F'dship and good Offices and let him and the other Ind's know that we come to aid and assist them and to protect their Lands from the ruinous Excursions of the French and their Ind's, and so order it that Y'r Soldiers behave to them with great Decency and Brotherly Affect'n. If any of Y'r Officers sh'd die or unfortunately [be] slain in Battle, You are to supply their Places by the most deserving, hav'g regard to seniority in Com'o, And give me Advice thereof for my Approbat'n and Confirmation. Whilst it may be tho't unnecessary for His M'y's Service to keep his Forces on the river Ohio, a Courier will be appointed that

I may be frequently advised of the Occurrences; You will therefore embrace such Opp'tys. As I have hitherto exerted my utmost Endeavours to hasten the several Corps to their appointed rendezvous, purchas'd and sent the necessary Provisions and Stores, tho' attended with extraordinary and great Delays, I am determin'd to continue my resolutions to have Your army supplied in future, trusting that His M'y and myself will have the pleasing Acc't of Y'r well doing. As many Occurrences and Accidents may happen that cannot be fore-known, You are to act in such Cases in the best manner advisable, as may conduce to His M'y's Service, for the doing of w'ch You have my full Power and Instruct'n. Wishing You and the whole Corps good Health and Success, I am Sir,

Y'r loving Friend.

Additional Instruct's.

To preserve regularity and Order, to keep up Discipline, and enforce Obedience, I do hereby further authorize and empower You to suspend any Officer who shall misbehave himself or be refractory as You shall see Cause, and appoint another in his room, Giving me imediate Notice thereof.

June 25th, [1754], W'msburg.—The Independ't Compa's are also under Y'r Com'd. You are, therefore, to receive them in a particular manner, and give them Y'r Orders from Time to Time as You do the other regim'ts, they having my Orders to obey Y'r Com'ds, and to receive their Orders from You. I wish for Unanimity and good Conduct in defeating the Designs of the French. I wish You Health and Success.

I am S'r, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

10th June 1752.

HON'BLE SIR:

Your's of the 1st, 2nd and 4th Ult'o I received by the Post, and return your Honour my hearty thanks for your

kind congratulation on our late success, which I hope to improve without risking the imputation of rashness or hazarding what a prudent conduct wou'd forbid. I rejoice that I am likely to be happy under the command of an experienced Officer and man of Sense, it is what I have ardently wish'd for. I shall here beg leave to return my grateful thanks for your favour in promoting me to the Command of the Regiment, believe me, Hon'ble Sir, when I assure you my Breast is warm'd with every generous sentiment that your goodness can inspire; I want nothing but opportunity to testify my sincere regard for your person, to whom I stand indebted for so many unmerited favours.

Your Honour may depend I shall myself, and will endeavour to make my officers shew Capt. McKay all the respect due to his Rank and merit, but should have been particularly oblig'd if your Honour had declar'd whether he was under my Command or Independent of it; however, I shall be studious to avoid all disputes that may tend to publick prejudice, but as far as I am able, I will inculcate harmony and unanimity. I hope Capt. McKay will have more sense than to insist upon any unreasonable distinction, tho' he and His have Com'ns from his Majesty; let him consider tho' we are greatly inferior in respect to profitable advantages, yet we have the same Spirit to serve our Gracious King as they have, and are as ready and willing to sacrifice our lives for our Country's as them; and here once more and for the last time, I must say this Will be a cancer that will grate some Officers of this Regiment beyond all measure, to serve upon such different terms, when their Lives, their Fortunes, and their Characters are equally, and I dare say as effectually expos'd as those who are happy enough to have King's Commissions. I have been solicitous on this head, have earnestly endeavour'd to reconcile the Officers to their appointment, and flatter myself I have succeeded, having heard no mention thereof latterly. I consider'd the pernicious consequences that would have attended a disunion, therefore, was too much attach'd to my Country's Interest to suffer it to ripen after I rec'd your advising Letters, [and have been] particularly careful of discovering no foolish desire of com[mandin]g him, neither have I intermeddled with his C[ompany] in the least, or given any directions concerning it, only those General. The Word, Counter-Sign—and place to repair to in case of an Alarm, none of which

he thinks he sh'd receive. I have testified to him in the most serious manner the pleasure I sh'd take in consulting and advising with him upon all occasions, and I am very sensible, with him we shall never differ when your Honour decides this, which I am convinc'd your own just discernment and consideration will make appear, the impossibility of a Med'm, the Nature of the thing will not allow of it.

It must be known who is to Command before Orders will be observ'd, and I am very confident your Honour will see the absurdity and consider the Effects of Capt. McKay's having the direction of the Regiment, for it would certainly be the hardest thing in Life if we are to do double and trible duty, and neither be entitled to the Pay or Rank of Soldiers. That the first Column of the Virginia Regiment has done more for the Interest of the Expedition than any Company or Corps that will hereafter arrive, will be obvious to them all. This Hon'ble Sir, Capt. McKay, did not hesitate one moment to allow since he has seen ye work we have done upon the Roads, &c. We shall part tomorrow. I shall continue my March to Red Stone, while the Company remains here, but this Sir I found absolutely necessary for the Publick Interest. Capt. McKay says, that it is not in his power to oblige his Men to work upon the Road, unless he will engage them a Shilling Sterling a Day, which I w'd not choose to do, and to suffer them to March at their ease, whilst our faithful Soldiers are laboriously employ'd, carry's an Air of such distinction that it is not to be wonder'd at if the poor fellows were to declare the hardship of it. He also declares to me that this is not particular to his Company only, but that no Soldiers subject to martial law can be oblig'd to do it for less. I, therefore, shall continue to endeavour to compleat the work we have begun, with my poor fellows; we shall have the whole credit, as none others have assisted. I hope from what has been said, your honour will see the necessity of giving your speedy orders on this head, and I am sensible you will consider the Evil tendency that will accompany Capt'n McKay's com'g, for I am sorry to observe this is what we always hop'd to enjoy—the Rank of Officers, which to me Sir, is much dearer than the Pay.

Capt'n McKay brought none of the Cannon, very little Ammunition, ab't 5 Days allowance of Flower, and 60 Beeves. Since I have spun a Letter to this enormous size, I must go a little fur-

ther and beg your Honour's patience to peruse it. I am much griev'd to find our Stores so slow advancing. God knows when we shall [be] able to do anything for to deserve better of our Country. I am, Hon'ble Sir, with the most sincere and unfeign'd Regard,

Y'r Honour's most Ob't and most H'ble Serv't.

G°. WASHINGTON.

The Contents of this Letter is a profound Secret.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL FAIRFAX.

June 17th, 1754.

SIR:

On my arrival here, I was Inform'd the two Independ't Compa's from N. York were at Hampton. Capt. Clark, who comands one of them, was with me last Night, and they propose sailing in the Man-of-War To-morrow for Alex'a. I told him You was to review them, and wish they may be a better Body of Men than I expect. I desire you will be particular in the Review, and send me Word. My kind Service to Y'r two Sons, and I am sincerely, S'r, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

June 17th, 1754.

S'R:

Mr. Harrison call'd at the Speakers, and, as usual, he had no Money. Mr. Prentis has supplied him with £400 and odd on the Speaker's Acc't. I also send you 200 £, for w'ch I have taken Mr. Harrison's receipt, and hope You had the desir'd Success at Phil'a. The two Compa's from N. York are arriv'd, but have bro't no Provisions. You must, therefore, provide for them. They will also want some Blankets and Camp Kettles, w'ch I hope You have ready. Take Capt. Clark's receipt for the

Supplies. They propose sailing from Hampton To-morrow.
My kind respects to Mrs. Carlyle, and I am,

S'r, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

Pray if any Thing Extraordinary from the Camp [arrives]
give me Notice of it.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.¹³³

June 18th, 1754.

R'T HON.:

Last Night I was hon'd with Y'r Let'r of the 26th of Mar., w'ch gave me Acc't of his M'y having appointed You Sec'y of State for the So'ern Departm't in the room of the Earl of Holdernessee, on w'ch I beg leave most sincerely to congratulate You, and shall take the necessary Care of addressing my Let'rs to You on all Occasions relating to His M'y's Service for the future. My last Let'r to the Earl of Holdernessee was the 10th of May, therein I acquainted His Lordship of the Plan of my Operations ag'st the French, who had Invaded His M'y's Lands on the Ohio, and taken a Fort I had order'd to be built by Orders from His M'y on that River. I further acquainted his L'ds, of my going for Winchester, a Town on the Frontiers of this Dom'n, to deliver a Present His M'y was pleas'd to send to the Chiefs of the different Nations of Ind's in amity with his M'y and his Colonies on this Cont't. I waited in

¹³³ Sir Thomas Robinson, son of Sir William and Mary (Aislachie) Robinson, was ambassador to the Court of Venice in 1734, and during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. In 1747 he acted as one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of Aix la Chapelle; was one of the Lords of Trade, 1748-9; a privy councillor in 1750. He was also Master of the Wardrobe; a leader in the House of Commons, he was, in 1754, appointed Secretary of State. When George II. went to Hanover, in March, 1752, he was made one of the Lords Justices. In 1755 he was displaced by Henry Fox as Secretary, and became again Master of the Wardrobe, with a pension of £2,000 a year on the Irish establishment. He declined the Secretaryship of State in 1757, on the score of ill health. He was created, April 7, 1761, Baron Grantham, of Grantham, county of Lincoln. He died April 30, 1770. *O'Callaghan's Colonial Doc. of N. Y.*, vol. vi, p. 844.

that Town 16 days, in expectation of the Ind's, agreeable to their Promise. I rec'd a Message from the Chiefs of some of their Tribes, acquaint'g me that they could not come to W. at that Time, because the French had invaded and taken Possession of their Lands, and that they c'd not properly leave their People, but that they had joined our Forces under the Com'd of Colo. Geo. Washington, but desir'd me to send them some of the Present sent them from their Father, the King of G. B., w'ch I accordingly did to Colo. W., to be dispos'd properly among them in His M'y's Name. During my continuance at Win'r, I rec'd an Express from Colo. W., to inform me that on the 27th of May he rec'd a Message from the Half-King, with Intelligence of a Party of French y't was lurking about his Camp, on w'ch he march'd with a Detachm't of 40 Men, and having join'd the Ind's, proceeded together with the Half-King, and having form'd a Disposition to attack the Enemy on all Sides, the Indians and he did it so effectually that after a short Engagem't the whole Party of 33 Men were killed or taken Prisoners, except 1 onely, who soon after fell into the Hands of the Ind's, and was killed by them. We lost one Man and two were wounded. These insidious People finding their Purposes of destruction rendered ineffectual, endeavour'd to Shift the Character and pretended they were Embassadors coming without any hostile Designs, but to prevent them, and had the Assurance to claim the rights of such. However, this Absurdity was even the Derision of the Ind's, and Colo. Washington had very properly sent them down to me under an Escort, and they are now in Confinem't here. The Com'o. and Instructions, Copy thereof here enclos'd, they had from Mr. Contrecoeur, who comands the French Forces, will sufficiently demonstrate to You w't sort of Embassadors these were and for w't Embassy intended. Instead of coming openly and in a public manner as they w'd have done had they been Messengers of Peace, they lurk'd about our Camp for several Daies to reconoitre it and then sought out one of the most secret retirements to hide in, and dispatch'd two runners to their Comand't to inform him of w't they had observed. Had their Message been w't they pretend, it is hard to believe they w'd have acted so inconsistently as to skulk within 5 Miles of Us so long, and send out from Time to Times their Spyes, by whose Tract they were at last discovered. I have

before observ'd to You that the weakness of this Fallacy was derided even by the Ind's, the Half-King was greatly exasperated at it and declar'd to Colo. Washington that if he suffer'd himself to be prevail'd on by the fair Speeches of the French, so far as to dismiss them, he w'd withdraw his Assistance. The Consequence of this Action has been the determining the Ind's, who having now struck the French, (as they express it) cannot recede and so are secur'd on our Part. I do assure You, I have acted with all possible Precaution in this Affair, that no Rupture might be chargeable on Britain as the Agressor, the Indians having begun the Action, and we were as Auxillaries. I sent a Gent. last Winter to desire the French to forbear their Depradations on His M'y's Territory and Subjects, and for the Security of both, in obedience to His M'y's Comands, I was building a Fort on Lands expressly granted to the K. of G. B. by the Ind's; the French came, summoned the People who were at work and compell'd them to quit the Fort, w'ch they took Possess'n of and are making as strong as they can. From thence, this Party was sent, on w't design You will be fully Satisfied by the enclos'd Summons, and Instruct's. In Consequence of these hostile Proceedings I tho't it became my Duty to repell Force by Force, agreeable to my Instruct's, and for that Purpose I took those Steps, of w'ch I have from Time to Time had the hon'r to apprize His Lordship. And I am perswaded had His Majesty's Com'ds to the other Colonies been duely obey'd, and the necessary Assistance given by them, the French wou'd have long ago have been oblig'd entirely to have evacuated their usurp'd Possession of the King's Lands, instead of w'ch they are daily becoming more formidable, whilst every Gov't except No. Caro. has amus'd me with Expectations that have proved fruitless, and at length refuse to give any Supply, unless in such a manner as must render it ineffectual. The French too justly observe the want of connection in the Colonies, and from thence conclude (as they declare without reserve) that altho' we are vastly superiour to them in Numbers, yet they can take and secure the Co't'y before we can agree to hinder them. Now w't, Sir, must be the result of this? Virg'a alone is unable to support the whole Burthen, and if some Method is not found to take away these destructive Denials of Assistance from the other Colonies, w'h it is judg'd proper to be demanded by His M'y for the comon Good, as now,

The Consequ'ce must be the present loss of one of the finest and most fertile Countries in America and the future Destruction of all the British Dom's on this Cont't. With Y'r Permission, I w'd beg leave to lay before You w't I conceive w'd be the most effectual [recourse] to remedy this Evil. If it were tho't proper by Act of Parliament to oblige each Colony to raise by a Pole tax of 1s. St'g, or otherways, a proportionate Quota of a Gen'l Sum, to be applied to the pres't Exigency, and p'd as the Legislature in G. B. sh'd think fit to appoint, I humbly conceive we sh'd be able to prevent or defeat the Projects of the French, and if the King w'd be graciously pleased to send over a regiment at this Time, I am much perswaded that the Consequence w'd be little less than the Preservation of His Dom's in this Part of America. My Endeavours to engage all the Ind's in our Int't have been incessant, and I rec'd with great Pleasure, just before I left Winchester, three Strings of Wampum; one from the Wyondott Chiefs, to confirm their Promises of Alliance; another from their Warriors, in Assurance of their Fidelity; and the third is [from] an ancient Fr'd, call'd Manacatoocha, to shew his Perseverance and Attachm't. These were accompanied with Assurances that they will both be steadfast to our Interest, and strive to bring over the Ottaways, Chippeways, and many other Ind'n Nat's, who are now engag'd with the French. These are fair Prospects, and promise well; but still, Sir, these are Ind's, Subject to their Barberism and Situat'n to be cajoled or awed by the French unless properly inform'd and duly supported by the Engl. Sh'd the French continue to be reinforced, whilst we diminish for want of Assistance, we must retire, the fatal Consequence of y't w'd unavoidably be the total Loss of all the Ind's, whome we sh'd leave, under a necessity of throwing themselves into the arms of the French, and becoming subservient to the destructive purposes that they are perpetually meditating ag'st His M'y's Int't and his American Dom's. The two Compa's from N. York arrived only four Days ago. The reason of their long Delay I cannot Acc't for. Enclosed You have their Muster rolls. I have order'd one of the Council to review them, and shall hereafter acqu't You with their Condition. I have order'd them out to join the other Forces. The Compa. from So. Caro. has joined Colo. W., and the Forces from No. Caro. are on their March. The Gov'r of N. York informs me that 30 Batteaus, with Colours

flying, past by Fort Oswego¹³⁴ lately, in their way to reinforce their Army at Ohio. Thus, Sir, our Enemies increase in Powers and Numbers, whilst my Hands are restrained for want of Money, and consequently Men to strengthen and support His M'y's Troops, who, by a shameful Neglect of their Countrymen and fellow Subjects of the neighbouring Colonies, must be left to rely for succour and reinforcements on the Ind's, or quit the very important Service they w'd otherwise be enabled to maintain. I beg of Y'r Goodness, Sir, to consider my Situation, the Urgency of w'ch has compell'd me to be so explicite on this interesting Subject, and to Hon'r me with Your Favour and Assistance, w'ch I am the more readily induced to request by the Zeal and Wisdom with w'ch His L'ds. of Holdernesse pleased to patronize and direct this essential Part of His M'y's Service. I shall, with great Assiduity and Care, continue my Endeavours to support our Forces (with Provisions, &c.,) w'ch, w'n join'd together, will not exceed 900 Men, besides our friendly Ind's. Their Numbers are very uncertain; whereas, they compute the French and their Ind's to be at least 1,500 Men. I shall wait with great Impatience for Y'r Answer to this, and beg leave with great Deference and in great Truth to assure You that I am,

R't Hon. Sir,

Y'r most obed't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

18TH JUNE, [1754].

R'T HON.:

I arrived here from Winchester two Days ago. I went there to deliver His M'y's Presents to the Chiefs of the different Nat's of Ind's on the Ohio. They sent me a Message that as the French had Invaded and taken Possession of their Lands, they did not think it proper to meet me at Win'r for fear their People w'd not rem'n steady. That they had joined our Forces under the Comand of Colo. Washington, and pray'd me to send

¹³⁴ Fort Oswego was established in 1727.

them some of the Present sent by their Father, the King of G. B., w^{ch} I did, to the Care of Colo. Washington, to be divided amongst them. I rec^d an Express from Colo. Washington, acquainting me that a Party of French (from the Fort they took some time ago) came to reconnoitre our Forces. The Half-King sent Colo. Washington notice thereof, and desired him to come with a Party of Men, and he w^d assist to defeat their Designs. He accordingly march^d with forty Men and joined the Half-King, Monacatoocha, and some other Ind's. One of the Ind'n runners tract their Feet and came to their Lodgment. On the 27th May they saw our People ab't 100 Yards of[f], flew to their Arms and immediately a Skirmish ensued. We lost one Man, and two wounded; we Killed 12, and took 21 Prisoners, w^{ch} Mr. W. sent down to me, and are now in Confinem't. They pretended they were coming Embassadors to our Camp; the contrary thereof, Y^r L^d's will observe by the enclosed Copy of their Instruct's and Sumons. If come on peaceful Terms, they w^d not have hanker'd about our Camp two or three Days successively. The Breach was begun by the French in taking our Fort, and this little Skirmish was by the Half-King and their Ind's. We were as Auxillaries to them, as my Order to the Com^d'r of our Forces [was] to be on the Defensive, but now these Ceremonies are to be laid aside, and Endeavours to be made to repell Force by Force till they leave His M^y's Lands, so unjustly Invaded. In order to effect this our Forces have erected a Stockade Fort near the Monongahela for a retreat on Occasion. The Independ't Compa. from So. Caro. have joined them. The two Compa's from N. York arrived here only four Days ago, tho' My Lord Holdernes's Letter was forwarded to the Gov^r of N. York the 1st of Mar. The Supply from No. Caro. of 400 Men are on their March; wⁿ they are all collected together they will scarcely amo. to 900 Men, and it's reported the French Forces will consist of 1,500, that, I think, we are not of Strength sufficient, however all in my Power shall be done with great Assiduity. I have been for some Month flatter'd with a mutual Assistance from the neighbouring Colonies agreeable to His M^y's Com^ds to them, and tho' the Assemblies have met several Times, they have done nothing, or can I have any Dependence of Aid from any of them. I beg leave to give my humble Opinion that the Progress of the French in Possessing themselves of His Majesty's Lands will never

be effectually opposed but by means of an Act of Parliament to compell the Colonies to contribute to the comon Cause, independently of Assemblies, who, in these Parts, are either ignorant or do not foresee Danger at a Distance, or at least, [are] so Obstinate as to pay little regard to it. I have wrote to S'r Thos. Robinson on this Head, and the Necessity and Urgency thereof, I need [not] press to Y'r L'd's. I was ordered to conduct this Expedition, w'ch I chearfully undertook, but having only a few Men and no Money, You may easily consider the Situat'n I am in. The Perverseness of our neighbouring Colonies gives me much Concern, however, for all these difficulties, I shall continue to act to the utmost of my Capacity and Power. If our Assembly had granted Money in Nov'r last, w'n I applied to them agreeable to His M'y's Orders, I think I sh'd have got a Fort finish'd, and a Number of Forces in it before the French came down the river Ohio, but they were so obstinate that I c'd not prevail with them to believe or attend to the Designs of the French. My endeavours to obtain the F'dship of the Indians has been constant, and I had the Pleasure at Winchester to receive three Strings of Wampum from the Wyandotts and other Tribes of Ind's, with their Promises to endeavour to bring over the Ottaways and other Tribes that were in the French Interest; however, we must not depend on these Promises, as they are often drawn away by fair Speeches. Sh'd the French continue to be reinforced, whilst we diminish for want of a mutual Supply from our neighbouring Colonies, W't a Situation must we be in? In that Case we run the risque of loosing the Indians, and [of being] Invaded in our present Settlem'ts. I beg Y'r L'd's Goodness to consider my present Situation and the Urgency thereof, w'ch compells me to give You so explicite an Acc't of the Expedition, on this so interesting a Subject, and hon'r me with Your favo. and Assistance. I shall, with Assiduity and Care prosecute w't is begun in supplying our Forces with Provisions, &c. The Hon'r of a Letter, in answer to this will greatly oblige,

R't Hon., Y'r L'ds. most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF ALBERMARLE.¹³⁵

18th June, [1754.]

R'T HON:

I acknowledge the receipt of Y'r Letters from Paris of the 8th Mar. and 3d Apr. The Pistole Fee for Sealing and Signing Patents for Land, is, I believe, before the King and Council. I am obliged to Y'r L'ds. in writing to London in my Favo. on that Head. I sent Y'r L'ds. Acc't of Mr. Washington's Message to the French Com'd't, and his Answer. In obedience to His M'y's Com'ds, in Feb'ry last I sent from this a Compa. of Men to the Ohio to build a Fort to ascertain His M'y's undoubted right to the Lands on

¹³⁵ William Anne Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle, born at Whitehall in 1702, and received his second Christian name from her Majesty Queen Anne, who in person graced his baptism. He succeeded George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney, as Governor of Virginia, September 6, 1737. Appointed August 25, 1717, Captain, by George I, he was continuously promoted, and on February 20, 1743 was made a Lieutenant-General and distinguished himself, June 27, at the battle of Dettingen in the Netherlands. He made the Campaign in 1744, with Marshall Wade, and in 1745, under the Duke of Cumberland at the battle of Fontenoy, was wounded. On April 16, 1746, he commanded the right wing at the battle of Culloden, and succeeded to the command, as General, August 23; distinguished himself July 2, 1747, in the battle of Vall; ambassador to France in 1748; created a Knight of the Garter, July 12, 1750; made a Privy Councillor, July 12, 1751, and March 30, 1752, one of the Lords Justices during the absence of the King in his German dominions. He married in 1722, Anne, daughter of Charles, first Duke of Richmond, one of the ladies of the bed-chamber of Queen Caroline, and by whom he had issue, eight sons and seven daughters. The portrait of Lord Albemarle, with those of Sir Charles Wager; Charles Montague, first Earl of Halifax; Colonel Daniel Parke, Governor of the Leeward Islands, whose daughter Lucy was the wife of the second William Byrd; the third Earl of Orrery; the Earl of Egremont; the second Duke of Argyll; Peggy Blount, the favorite of the poet Pope; Sir Robert Walpole, Lady Betty Cromwell, Sir Wilfred Lawson, Sir Robert Southwell, and others, of Colonial distinction, with those of the second William Byrd and of members of his family, in a gallery formerly at "Westover," are now preserved at the hospitable seat, "Lower Brandon," on James river. The Earl died at Paris, December 22, 1754, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George, third Earl. Commodore Augustus Keppel, of the text, was his second son.

that river; in the Mo. of Apr. the French came down that river in 300 Canoes, with near 1,000 Men; they immediately march'd up to the Fort I ordered to be built, and sumoned them to deliver the Fort to them; as it was not finished and but few men, they were obliged to surrender, and thereon returned to the Inhabitants. I then had 300 Men on their march to join those that were building the Fort, and were within 75 Miles of them w'n they surrendered. A detachm't of 150 marched out within 35 Miles of the Fort. where they entrench'd themselves. On the 26th of May the French sent out a Party of about 40 Men to reconnoitre and discover our Strength; one of the Chiefs of the Ind's sent to our Small Camp an Acc't of the French Party, and said if they w'd join the Ind's with him they c'd cut them off. Colo. Washington, with forty Men, march'd out that Night, and about six next morning joined the Ind's and march'd out. One of the Ind'n runners tract the Feet of the French and came up to their Lodgment about nine. The French seeing our People, got under Arms, a Skirmish ensued, w'n we lost one Man and had two wounded; the French had 12 killed on the Spot and 21 taken Prisoners, w'ch I have in Prison in this City. After they were taken Prisoners, they pretended they were sent Ambassadors from the Com'd'r to the English Camp, w'ch must appear an Idle Story, from their hankering round our small Camp for three or four Daies, and their Intentions will appear more plain from their Instruct's from their Com'd'r, w'ch I have in my Hands, and a Copy, I have sent to S'r Thos. Robinson. His M'y was pleas'd to order an Independ't Compa. from So. Caro., w'ch have now joined our Forces, and two Independ't Compa's from N. York, who are on their way to join them. The Colony of No. Caro. have rais'd about 400 Men, who are also on their march. W'n all collected together, they will not make above 900 Men; the other Colonies have granted no Supplies, tho' His M'y distinctly ordered them. The Proprietary Gov'ts of M'yl'd and Pensylv'a have been very obstinate, and afford Us no Assistance; their disobedience to His M'y's Comands will be properly noticed at Home. With our small Army I am determin'd to keep up to my Orders, and w'n join'd together to summons the French to deliver up our Fort, w'ch contrary to Law, in tranquil Peace with the Crown of France, they took from us. Y'r L'ds. will observe we are now in a State of War, begun very unjustly by the French

Forces, w'ch I am inform'd consist of near 1,500 Men. We have always acted on the defensive, and the commanding officer had my Orders accordingly; and the last Skirmish was begun by the Ind's supported by our Men; that now all these ceremonies subside, and we must endeavour to repel Force by Force. But I am in a poor situation—few Men and very little Money. I have wrote home on this Subject and desired Assistance and hope to receive it, for it will be a Pitty to give Possession of these Lands to the French, w'ch are the just right of the Crown of G. B., and probably the richest soil on this Cont't, and the French have not the least Shadow of right, but w't they assume by Numbers and their Sword. I thought it my Duty to give Y'r L'ds. a detail of the whole, and I doubt not You will give Your Interest to support me in an Affair of so much Consequence to the Nation and these Colonies, for if the French are allowed to settle so near our Frontiers, in case of War, all these Colonies will be exposed to their Invasions and Depredations. Mr. Peter Leheup, who was Agent for the Council here, being under the Frowns of the Ministry, I believe is turned out of all his Office[s]. I intend to recommend Jas. Abercrombie, Esq'r, to succeed him, and I hope this will meet with Y'r L'd's Approbation. The Hon'r of a Letter from Y'r L'ds., in answer to this, will be very acceptable, and I desire to assure You that I am, with great deference and due respect,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's most ob. h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

June 18th, [1754].

DEAR SIR:

Y'r several Letters I have duely rec'd, and observe the Steps taken in regard to the Pistole Fee, w'ch I approve of, and as it is in a proper Channel, I rem'n mighty easy on that Head. An Affair of much more Consequence enhances my thoughts and time: the French have invaded His M'y's Lands on the Ohio; they took from us a Fort I ordered to be built in his M'y's Name, and are re-inforc'd with a large Number of Men.

I am endeavouring to repel them by Force, and am in hopes soon to have 900 Men nigh to the Fort they took from us last Mo. They sent out a small Party to reconnoitre our Forces. Colo. Washington, who com'ds our Forces, march'd out with 40 Men and join'd some Ind's, who discover'd their Lo'gm't; a Skirmish ensued, we had 1 Man kill'd and two wounded; we killed 12 of the French and took 21 Prisoners, who are now in Goal here. My Heart is set on this Expedition, but [I am] very poorly assisted by our neighbouring Colonies. No. Car. has behav'd well by giving Us a Supply of Men. M'yl'd and Pensyl'a, two Proprietary Gov'ts, do nothing, tho' equally concern'd and more exposed than this Dominion. I have wrote fully to S'r Thos. Robinson, and the B'd of Trade, on this Head, and have desired Assistance from Home. This is an Affair of the greatest Consequence to the Nation and the Colonies on this Cont't. My Endeavours shall be very sanguine to dispossess them of the Fort they have most unjustly taken from Us. I shall recomend You strongly to the Council to succeed Mr. Leheup, but it's monstrous that You sh'd agree to give that Man any Money; he has no Int't here to recomend any Person, and Y'r giving him Money for a Place he c'd have no Pretentions to name to, and under his present Disgrace, is surely very inconsiderately done. Or sh'd You have mention'd anything of it to Lord Albermarle till You was appointed, and then I w'd have wrote to him, however, I shall now desire his concurrence if [you are] appointed, and I shall soon have a Council, w'n the Affair will be settled. I shall desire You to write me fully of the Pistole Affair. Write more plain, for really some of your Letters I cannot well read;¹³⁶ and as I conceive that Affair will be finish'd before this reaches You, I rem'n easy in whatever the Council thinks proper, as I am convinc'd they will not find that I have done anything contrary to Instruct's, or in the least tending to Arbitrariness. I have not Time to write fully, as the King's Ship sails this Day, and the publick Letters

¹³⁶ Though the chirography of the Governor himself, in the latter part of his life, from a stroke of paralysis, was most crabbed and vague in its presentment, that of his London Agent, as evidenced by the volume of his letters, before referred to, and by testy observations in print of those plagued by it, was exasperatingly and wantonly undecipherable—certainly infinitely worse than that of Rufus Choate or Horace Greeley.

has inhanc'd my Time both Night and Day, for I arriv'd here but three Days ago from a long Journey to Win., above 500 Miles going and coming. My next will be more full, but be assur'd, I always am, with Sincerity,

Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

June 20th, 1754.

SIR:

I hope you got well to Annapolis with't much rain. Agreeable to my Promise, I enclose You a Copy from our Records of the whole Papers relating to Colo. Geo. Talbot for the murder of Mr. Christo. Rousley. You will observe that after the Sentence of Death was pronounc'd ag'st him he pleaded his Maj'y's Pardon. I cannot say whether it re-possess'd him of his Lands w'ch were forfeited on his Condemnation.

Capt. Legg, of His M'y's Ship, Shoreham, bro't here as Prisoners, Jno. Wright. Jno. Smith and And'w Lewis who were comitted to Goal in So. Carolina for the Murder of Capt. William Curtis on board [the] Sloop Hopewell; he also bro't Jas. Manshore, and Geo. Cook, a Negro Man, who were decoy'd on board said Sloop after the Murder was comitted. I have order'd them into the public Prison in this City, but as I conceive the Murder was comitted on the narrow Seas in Y'r Gov't, I think they ought accordingly to be tried in M'yl'd, and therefore desire You will please to Order a Vessell with a proper Guard to York Town on York river, where I shall deliver them to Y'r Order, and I have also the Affidavits and Confessions seal'd up, w'ch I shall transmit to Y'r Excell'y with the Prisoners. I am further to inform You that Jno. Smith having made the first discovery of the Murder, he had assurances of Mercy and Favo. at Cha's Town, and [I] therefore hope he will be admitted King's Evidence, to encourage others in such Cases to declare the Truth; the sooner you are pleas'd to send for them, the better. I herewith send a Letter to Mr. Creah, I suppose the Owner of the Sloop, w'ch probably may be information to him in regard to the Vessell. The two Inde-

pendent Compa's from N. Y. are gone up to Alex'a in the King's Ship, Capt. Whitwell, Com'd'r. I c'd not review them here, but have order'd Colo. Fairfax to review them and give me a distinct Acc't. I fear they are not so good Compa's as I c'd wish; however, they have my Orders to march directly to join our Camp. The No. Car. Forces are on their March, w'n collected together, they will be few in Comparison with the French. The Gov'r of N. York writes me 30 large Canoes have passed Oswego Fort, full of Men, supposed to re-inforce those on the Ohio. It's cruel our neighboring Colonies are so backw'd in granting Supplies, and I find I shall be much straiten'd for Money to furnish Provisions, &c. I therefore still have a dependence on some Assistance from your Province, being thorowly convinc'd of your hearty Inclinations; and [I] hope Your Endeavours will be attended with Success. To quell the great Feud subsisting between the Independ't Compa's and our Forces in regard to rank, I have formed the following regulation: Colo. Innes to Com'd in Chief, Colo. Washington to have the second Com'd, Capt. Clark, of the N. Y. Compa's, to have my Com'o., a Lieut. Colo., to be the third in Com'd; Capt. McKay, of the So. Caro. Compa., to have a Lieut. Colo.'s Com'o., and to be fourth in Com'd on the Expedition. This Expedient was agreed to by Capt. Clark, and was the only Method I c'd think of to keep up Harmony amongst them. Pray give me your Opinion thereon. A Distraction or Confusion among our Forces w'd be ruining to the Expedition, and give the Enemy Advantages on our Divisions. [I] therefore hope the above will thorowly reconcile all Disputes. I shall be glad to hear frequently from You. With my Complim'ts to Messrs Tasker¹³⁷ and Calvert,¹³⁸ I am most sincerely, and with great Truth,

Y'r Exc's most obed't, h'ble Serv't.

¹³⁷ Benjamin Tasker, then President of the Council.

¹³⁸ Charles Calvert, a member of the Council.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON, OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

June 18th, 1754.

SIR :

Y'r Favo. of 22d May, I rec'd on my return from Winchester. The Chiefs of the Ind's did not meet me at W.; they sent an Express that in their pres't Situation they c'd not leave their young People, but intended to join our Forces under the Com'd of Colo. Washington, and desired me to send them some of the Pres't, w'ch was done. On the 27th May the Half-King sent Colo. W——n Notice that a Party from the French Army were harkening about his Camp; if he w'd march some of his People to join him, he did not doubt to cut them off. Colo. W——n march'd that Night, and came up to the Ind's; one of their runners tract the Frenchmen's Feet, and came up to their Lodgment; they discover'd our People ab't 100 Yards distant, flew to their Arms, and a small Engagement ensued; we lost one Man and another wounded; the French had 12 killed and 21 taken Prisoners, who are now in our Prison; the Ind's scalp'd many of the dead French, took up the Hatchet ag'st them, sent their Scalps and String of black Wampum to several other Tribes of Ind's, with desire that they sh'd also take up the Hatchet ag'st the French, w'ch I hope they have done. Before I left Win. I rec'd three Strings of Wampum from the Wyandotts, and some other Tribes, assuring me they w'd not only take up the Hatchet, but were in hopes of bringing over those Ind's that had joined the French. Therefore, if y'r Colony and the others had granted Supplies, it's probable by this Time we sh'd have been able to dislodge them from that Fort I order'd to be built and [which] they unjustly took from Us. As my Orders to our Com'd'r in Chief was to be on the Defensive, this small Skirmish was begun by the Ind's and supported by our Men. I am sorry Y'r Assembly is so obstinate and disobedient to the royal Comands, as I had a thorow dependence on You for a Supply of Bread, the want of w'ch puts me to great difficulties. I wish the Bill of [£]10,000 Supply had passed Y'r Upper House in any Shape, as the Exigency of our Affairs so much wanted it; but You are the best judge of the Cloggs in the Bill and the Inconveniency thereof, in reg'd to Your Instructions, w'ch, if possible, You c'd

have got pass'd at this Time, with a saving Clause to prevent its being a Precedent for the Future, w'd have been of Infinite Service. I hope you have represented the Affair properly Home, that they may see w't little Dependence there is on Assemblies in this Part of the World, and really I hope the Ministry will take some proper Course to bring all the Colonies into a proper Sense of their Duty. The Acc'ts you have in Y'r Place is without Foundat'n. We have rais'd Money on the Credit of our Funds, but the small Sum given is but a Trifle to the Duty to be performed; but my great Dependence was on you for a Supply of Flour. I see Mr. Croghan, at Win., who told me that he had Your Orders to purchase a large Qu'ty of Flour, w'ch I was in hopes was for the Expedit'n, till I rec'd y'r Letter. I employ'd him to go to our Camp to be Interpreter, and I gave Mr. Montour a Capt's Com'o. to head a Select Compa. of friendly Ind's as Scouts from our Small Army. I am surpriz'd that any Person sh'd report that I had given up the Expedition and disbanded the Men; it's undertaken by the King's Com'd, and I will not give it up till the last Extremity, w'ch I hope will not happen. Two Independ't Compa's arriv'd from N. York, one from So. Caro.; the No. Car. Forces are on their march. W'n all are collected in a Body, I think we shall have 900 Men, besides our friendly Ind's; and if our neighboring Colonies had, consistent with their Duty to the King and their own Preservation, given Us a proper Supply, I think it w'd have been an easy matter to have dislodged the French from that Fort and built some others to take full Possession of the Ohio river and prevented their Encroachments for the future. All I c'd wish from you at present is a Supply of Flour, to be carried out to our Camp at the Meadows, near red Stone Creek. I shall be glad to hear the result of the Meeting at Albany, and hope the Six Nat's have taken up the Hatchet ag'st the French, w'ch will put Spirits into all the other Nat's of Ind's. With the little I have, I am determined with vigour to prosecute the Plan of Operations already begun. I shall be glad to know on the return of this Express if You can supply some Flour as above.

I am, with very great respect,
S'r, y'r most obed't serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DeLANCEY.

June 20th, [1754].

SIR:

Y^r Letters of the 9th, 17th, and 25th May, I duely rec'd. I hope this will find You safely arrived from the Treaty at Albany. I shall be glad to know w^t was done there, and if the Six Nat's have taken up the Hatchet ag^{'st} the French. The Ind'n Chiefs on the Ohio, Twightwees, &c., did not meet me at Win. as expected, they sent me Strings of Wampum, with a Speech, that as the French had invaded their Lands, they c'd not at this Time leave their young Men, but that they were march'g to join our Forces under Colo. Washington's Com'd. I sent them some Goods to encourage them to our Int't. On the 27th of May the Half-King sent a runner to our Camp to acqu't them y^t a detachment of the French from the Fort were hankering about our Camp; if they w'd join them with some of our Forces they believ'd they c'd cut them off. Colo. W——n immediately march'd in the Night with Forty Men; being dark and rainy, they lost Seven of their Men in the Woods; in the morning they join'd the Half-King with their Ind's; one of the Ind's tract the Feet of the French and came in Sight of their Lodgm't. They discover'd our People at a Distance, flew to their Guns, and a small Engagem't ensued; we had one man kill'd and one man wounded; we kill'd 12 of the French, and took 21 Prisoners, who are now in Goal in this Town. The Ind's scalp'd the French that were kill'd, and took up the Hatchet ag^{'st} them. Sent Scalps to the Six Nat's and the other Tribes, assuring them they w'd not only take up the Hatchet, but were in hopes of bringing over the Ind's that had join'd the French, and if the Six Nat's have declar'd ag^{'st} the French, it will give proper Spirit to the other Nat's of Ind's. If y^r Colony and the other neighbouring ones had granted proper Supplies according to His M^{'y}'s Com'ds, I think we sh'd [have] be[en] able to dislodge the French from the Fort, and clear'd the Ohio river of these bad Neighbours. Y^r two Compa's are at last arrived, after ten Weeks daily expectat'n of them, but they are not agreeable to the Order from Home, w^{'ch} was to be two compleat

Compa's w^{ch} sh^d have been drafted out of y^r four Compa's on so extraordinary Duty; agreeable to the Compa. from So. Caro., contrary to that, they are not Compleat in Numbers; many of them old that cannot undergo a March of 200 Miles from Alexa., and burthen'd with thirty Women and Children; and to compleat the Whole, no Provisions, w^{ch} Y^r former Letters gave me reason to expect; no Tents, w^{ch} obliges me to make new Tents; or any Blankets, &c.; in short, much worse than new rais'd Forces. This Conduct, I acknowledge I am surpriz'd at; it appears to be throwing all possible Inconveniences and Hindrances on the Expedition so earnestly recomended by His M^y at Home. The want of Provisions puts me to much Difficulty, as I had taken no Care for them, fully depending on six Months [supply] of all kinds being sent with them from You. I know not the great difficulty of passing the resolve of Y^r House for £10,000; it was not so regular as it sh^d have been; but on this Emergency I think You w^d have been excused. And w^t You have Acc^t of the many Forces passing Oswego Fort to re-enforce the French, and still to remain easy without assisting Us in protecting his M^y's Lands, is, I think, very unaccountable Conduct. I cannot lay this to you, as I suppose you are very earnest for a Supply, but w^t can be said to Y^r Assembly to be so obstinate and undutiful to His M^y's Com^{'ds}? As in Duty bound by my Orders, I am determin'd, with the few Men I have, and the little Money, to carry on the Expedition with all the Vigour our small Forces will admit of, still hoping that Y^r Assembly will consider the necessity of our present Situation and grant a handsom[e] Supply. Suppose the French remain'd undisturb'd on the Ohio, w^t will the Consequence be to the British Colonies on this Cont^{'t}? as undoubtedly they will make depredations on our present Settlem^{'t}, and You may bid farewell to the Furr and Skin Trade. This Dom^{'n} has very little trade with the Ind^{'s}. I think Y^{'rs} in very considerable, but laying aside all these Observat^{'s}, and consider His M^y's Com^{'ds} for a mutual Supply. I hope, if they will seriously consider Things as they really are, they cannot shun to shew themselves good Subjects by giving due Obedience to the royal Mandat[e]. The Compa's from You are to be review'd properly at Alexa. by one of my Council, and [I] shall be oblig'd to send my Observat^{'s} on them Home. I shall be glad to hear

from You on return of this Express, if I can have any dependence on a Supply from Y'r Colony.

I am, with great Esteem,

Y'r Hon'r's most obed't humble Serv't.

P. S.—I c'd raise Men here if I had a Supply of Money.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

June 25, [1754.]

SIR :

This will, I hope, be deliver'd You by Colo. James Innes, who has my Com'o. to Com'd in Chief on the Expedition, w'ch I dare say will be very agreeable to You, and [I] am in hopes w'n all the Forces are collected together in a Body You will be able to turn the Tables on the French and dislodge them from the Fort, and in Time to take full possession of the Ohio river. As I am affraid of Disputes from the Officers of the Independ't Companies, to prevent that, I have order'd Colo. Innes to Com'd in Chief, and You are to be second in Com'd; have sent a Brivate Com'o. of Lieut. Colo. to Capt. Clarke to be third in Com'd, and the same to Capt. McKay to be fourth in Com'd on this Expedit'n, and have desir'd Colo. Innes to allow their Lieut's to ranks with our Capt's; this is only Feathers in their Caps to prevent any ill Blood in regard to rank, as Unanimity is the only Step towards Success in Y'r Exped'n, and I doubt not all the Officers will perceive my meaning in this regulat'n. I have directed His M'y's Present to be sent out to be given among the Ind's, as Colo. Innes may think proper, with Y'r Advice. I have given orders to keep You duely supplied with Provisions, and I am in great Hopes w'n joined in a Body You will be a proper Match for the French, as I am in Hopes You will have a good number of our friendly Ind's to Y'r Assistance. I have no more to add, but recommending You to the Protect'n of God and wishing Success to attend all Your Undertakings, I rem'n in Truth,

S'r, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

25 June, [1754.]

SIR:

This will probably be deliver'd You by Colo. Innes, Com'd'r in Chief on the Expedition, he will acq't You how his reg'im't comes to join the Forces. I think there went up last Friday in a Schooner, 130 Men and Officers. Thirty odd comes this Week for Alex'a with 100 small Arms, some Bullets, and 4 bls. Gun Powder, all w'ch please forward to the Camp, and I think in a Week's Time all the Forces may be at Winchester on their way to join those with Colo. Washington. I hope you met with Success at Phila'a in geting some Money, and w'n You come down, w'ch I think is to be in a Fortnight, You may expect some Money here, and pray take a great Care that the Army be duely supplied with Flour, &c., that no delay may be laid to Y'r Charge. You have now a large Family to maintain, so I desire You w'd be very assiduous in sending out to them the necessary Supplies. Colo. Innes will probably want some of the present, let him have what he may want, taking his receipt for it. This I ment'n in case Colo. Fairfax is not at Winchester. I wish You Health; my Comple'ts to all F'ds at Alex'a. I am sincerely,

S'r, Y'r most humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

June 27th, [1754].

SIR:

I rec'd Y'rs of the 21st Curr't. The Mo. sent by Mr. Harrison¹³⁹ was all that c'd be got then, and hope You had Success in Phil'a and with Mr. Loyd;¹⁴⁰ if disappointed there, I can promise You 1,000 or 1,500 in a Fortnight. I do not think the Messenger You sent, proper to carry any Money up to You. The N. Y. Forces, and three Compa's of N. Car. Forces, I hope arrived at

¹³⁹ Presumed to be Henry Harrison, at the time a Lieutenant in the Virginia regiment.

¹⁴⁰ Probably Edward Lloyd of Maryland; a name distinguished in its annals in successive generations.

Alex'a, and [are] on their Mar. to Win., where Colo. Innes will be next Sunday, in his way to the Camp. I have a Let'r from Colo. Washington, full of Complaints of ill Usage from Y'r deputies. They have been six days Without Flower, and they hear of none on the road to them; such Neglect will ruin the Exped'n. The Men must have proper Supplies, I therefore desire You w'd [not] trust to Promises, but be certain of the Purchase and of its being properly convey'd to them. He says they have not Provisions of any sort for two days, tho' he has wrote You frequently thereof, and luckily purchas'd a little from a Trader at 21s. 8d. ^{per} Hhd; he also complains for want of Ammunition, and Capt. Mackay complains that the Waggoners did not appear. These Complaints give me great uneasiness, I therefore desire You will prevent them for the Future, and be sure to keep them well supplied with Flower, and if You sh'd be disappointed from M'yl'd or Phil'a in getting Cash, send a proper Person here and I will endeavour to send You 1,000£. Croghan has deceived Us, but pray put it out of the Power of any to do so for the Future. The Soldiers, to be sure, sh'd be supplied with Cash, and hope You will be able to do it; if any disappointm'ts as above, send here for a Supply. If Colo. Fairfax is not in immediate want of the Money I hope he will stay a little longer. I doubt if Mr. Loyd will send the Money without the Speaker's giving satisfactory Security. Y'r Messenger says he has lost the Letter to Mr. Nelson,¹⁴¹ if so, he will expect You 10th July, w'ch if You c'd conveniently come, You may be assured of 1,500£; and surely no Person will refuse a month's Credit, I have done all in my Power to supply You with Cash. Pray send out immediately such Amunition as they want. I fear the Waggoners, &c., trifle with You, and do not perform their Duties. Send out two Hhds. of rum, to give the People w'n on Extraordinary Duty, and more as it may be wanted; draw it off into portable Casks. I think with the Stores that went with the Can'n there was some Cartredge Paper; none to be had here, but have sent by the Bearer 6 Quires of thick brown Paper, w'ch may do for Swivell Guns, but

¹⁴¹ This was probably William Nelson, (father of General and Governor Thomas Nelson, Jr.), a member of the Council, and later, its President.

if You can buy any with You, pray send some. My kind respects to Mrs. Carlyle. I am sincerely,

S'r, Y'r Friend and h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN MACKAY.

June 27th, [1754].

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Lett'r of the 10th June, from Wills's Creek. I am sorry You were detain'd there for want of Flower, but hope this will find You joined with Colo. Washington's Forces, and I doubt not before this reaches You, Colo. Innes is with You, who has my full Instruct's for conducting the Expedition, and I doubt not You and the other Officers will lay aside any little Punctilios in rank. I have done all in my Power to reconcile these Things, therefore, hope You will be unanimous in doing Every Thing for the Service, and as Y'r Corps are maintain'd by this Colony, I think that they will assist in clearing the roads and building the Forts, as occasion may require. The Conduct of each Corps will be represented [at] Home, and I have not the least doubt of Capt. Mackay's exerting himself on this Occasion. W't you heard from Hands about the Cherokees is without Foundation. Capt. Legg has been here, and does not mention one Sylable thereof. They had taken a Canoe, with four French Men, going up the Ohio; they killed one and took two Prisoners. As this Expedit'n is [by] the imediate Order from His M'y, and the Conduct thereof left with me, I have nothing more at Heart than that it may meet with Success, w'ch greatly depends on the resolution and unanimity of the Forces. I wish You Health, and am Sincerely,

S'r, Y'r F'd and humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

June 27th, [1754.]

SIR :

Y'r Let'r without date I rec'd ; am sorry You have occasion to compl'n for want of Flower, &c., it gives me much Uneasiness, and [I] have wrote strongly to Mr. C[arlyle] to prevent any such Complaints for the Future, and I hope You will have no room to complain for the want of Provisions or Amunition ; having desir'd that the last may be imediately sent out. Before this reaches You I doubt not Colo. Innes will be with You, who has my full Instruct's for conducting the Expedition, and a regulat'n in regard to the Com'ds of the Independ't Compa's, w'ch, I hope will prevent any murmuring in regard to rank. I wish You had suspended Y'r going to red-stone Creek till You was join'd by the other Forces, being much afraid of a surprize. You know the French act with great Secrecy and Cunning, and therefore I do not doubt You will be on Y'r Guard. I shall be glad Mr. Perroney be appointed Adjut't. I have left all Appointm'ts to Colo. I., and on Y'r Applicat'n, I dare say he will appoint him, and regulate the Affairs in regard to the regulars working on the roads, building Forts, &c. I am excessively hurried with Affairs of great Consequence, that I cannot answer Y'r Let'r fully, but be always assur'd that I have a true regard for Y'r Merit and Conduct, and I shall be very careful in representing the same w'n I have the Opp'ty of Serving You. I refer You to Colo. I., who, no doubt, will consult with You in most Things. I have order'd two Hhds. of rum¹⁴² out, and w'n in want [you will] desire Colo. I. to write to Mr. C. for more. I am, with Esteem and respect,
S'r, Y'r friend and h'ble serv't.

P. S.—The Frenchman You recomended, does not appear. Let Capt. Trent and his Lieut. be dormant for some Time. I am well pleas'd to have the Half-King my Name Sake ;¹⁴³ my Service to him.

¹⁴² The cost of rum at this period was 3s. 6d. per gallon.

¹⁴³ The exchange by an Indian, of his name with a white man, was in token of his respect, and was attended with much ceremony. It was a seal of friendship and deemed to create a degree of relationship be-

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

27th June, [1754.]

SIR :

I hope this will meet You safe arrived at the Camp, and that most of the Forces will be very soon be joined in a Body, after w'ch a Council of War will be necessary to consult a Plan of Operations. If it sh'd be judged necessary to summons the Fort to surrender, will it not be proper to mention it as the King of England's Fort, taken by them w'n directed to be built for His M'y's Service, and on His M'y's Lands? however proper this may be, must be left to Y'r Council. The Independ't Compa's probably m[a]y complain in clearing the roads, building Forts, &c., as being Extra duty. You must argue they are maintain'd by this Colony so they save all their Pay, and w'n on any such Duty they sh'd be allow'd a little Rum. I have order'd out two Hhds. and You may send for more as wanted. There is one Mr. Perroney that the[y] say has behaved well and [who is] a good Officer; he is recommended to be Adjut't, but as I leave these Appointm'ts to You, I only recomend him if You think him proper. I shall be glad to have a Line from You that the Independ't Compa's shew a good Example to the others and are not rusty. You may at proper Times let the Officers know You have Power to suspend if they refuse Y'r Comands. I recomend You to the Protect'n of God. Wishing You Health and Success to our just Designs, I am in Truth,

Sir, Y'r friend and h'ble serv't.

P. S. Ask Capt. Mackey if he thinks on this Expedition My Powers from the King does not enable me to give a Com'o. superiour to [his, and] which he must obey, and [say that] he and his Compa. is immediately recommended to be under my Com'd, and in Course, whoever I may appoint.

tween the parties. Washington had conferred on him the name of *Connotaucarius*, and Governor Dinwiddie bore that of *Assaragoa*, but this last was not personal, but appertained to the office, each successive Governor being designated by the same name.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL FAIRFAX.

June 27th, [1754.]

SIR:

I am very glad Capt. Whitwell is arrived at Alex'a. I shall be glad if I am disappoint'd in the N. Y. Compa's, but suspend my Opinion till I have Y'r review and remarks. I am of opinion 150 of N. Car. Forces must be with You the day after the M[an] of War, and ab't 40 more will be up in a few days, w'ch, I think, are the last y't go by water. Colo. Innes left this on Tuesday, and I suppose will be at Win[chester] on Sunday or Monday, and I am in Hopes w'n he arrives at the Camp, he will reconcile all differences in regard to rank, working on the roads, &c. The want of Money is a great Loss and Hindrance to Maj'r Carlyle; the Council agreed on my Applicat'n to borrow [£]2,000 out of the 2s. Fund; 1,000 or 1,500 will be at com'd soon, so if M[ajor] C. sends or comes down, he shall have 1,000 or 1,500, on the C'r thereof he may venture to send Flower, &c. that the Soldiers may not want Provisions. I fear he is ill used by the Waggoners; the Great Guns and Amunition were not at the Camp as might [have] reasonably been expected. I am heartily fatigued in managing Affairs for the Service, but the disappointm't of Money is a great Loss; however, if Mr. C. have [success] in M'yl'd or Pensylva'a with w't is here, we shall be easy for some Time. I am sorry John Gladden has been so stupid as not to take proper Care of his register, &c., as she is under seizure I can not interfere; if I can hereafter be of Service [I] shall be glad. As registered here, recourse may be had to the records in [the] Secretary's Office, but what can be done for want of Clearances I cannot tell, but all the Indulgence the Law can allow sh'd be given to the owners, to whom I have a proper regard. My Complim'ts to Y'r Sons and all F'ds.

I am, in great Truth, Worthy Friend,

Y'r affect'o. h'ble serv't.

MONSIEUR DRUILLON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

SIR:

As I am apprehensive that w't I had the Hon'r to offer to You, w'n I appear'd before You last, was not interpreted so exactly as it sh'd have been, I beg Y'r Hon'r's Permiss'n to repeat my representat'n of the Hardship it appear'd to me, to be attack'd by those to whom Mr. Jumonville and I went on an Embassy. The Sieur Jumonville, who was killed, being an older Officer than me, had the written Order w'ch Mr. Washington ought to have sent You. Mr. Washington said that he w'd have treated Us in the same maner that he was treated w'n You were pleas'd to send him on an Embassy to Us, if, like him, we had come in a smaller Number. The Kind treatment of the Ind's to all the English on the Belle reviere (Ohio) was an assurance to him of the same kindness from them, and from Us he c'd not apprehend any danger in coming without Forces to a French Fort. On the contrary, our Situation was quite different; the Ind's had assured Us that the English Troops were on their March to attack Us; whereupon our Comand'r did all in his Power to engage them to conduct Us to their Camp, that we might inform ourselves of your Intent's, and those of Y'r King; but none of them c'd be prevailed on to be our Guides. Last Year two of our Couriers were killed by these same Ind's, and the Letters lost; and lest we might meet with the same Fate, he thought proper to give Us the small Compa. y't we had, as You know Sir. Mr. Washington might have taken Notice w'n he attacked Us at about 7 or 8 o'Clock in the Morning, y't neither we nor our own Men took to our arms: he might have heard our Interpreter, who desir'd him to come to our Cabbin, y't we might confer together, instead of taking that Opp'ty to fire upon Us. Had he come and given Us the reason on w'ch the King of Eng'd founds his Present's to the Belle reviere (Ohio), we sh'd have imediately born his Answer to our Com'd'r, who then might have withdrawn his Troops. We were encamp'd within one or two Miles of the Road. This Officer w'd not have reproach'd Us with this, if he had observ'd, that being compelled by the Rain to encamp in an extremely mountainous Country, we were obliged to fix on the rivulet where he found Us, for the Conveniency of Water. He

adds that he c'd not refuse the Solicitations of the Ind's to attack Us. If this reason were sufficient to authorize his violating the Law of Nat's, yet after the Action was over, and he came to read the Order and Instruct's we were charged with, I sh'd have flatter'd myself, Sir, y't instead of sending Us to You, he w'd have sent Us back to our Camp. We had continued a day in the Place where we were attack'd; we were encamp'd there; and we were not above 7 miles from the Eng. Camp. We were so far from knowing this, y't we had only the most uncertain Acc'ts that the Eng. were at all in those Parts. We knew indeed that we follow'd a plain road, but we were ignorant y't it w'd carry Us to the Eng., whom we only knew to be approaching by the Acc'ts of the Ind's, w'ch we always consider as very uncertain. As therefore we were ignorant of our nearness to the Eng. Camp, it was incumbent on us to preserve our Provisions, w'ch consisted in Bread only, as he might have seen, in order that w'n the rain ceas'd we might be in a Condit'n to comply with our Instruct's. These, Sir, are the only Pretences Mr. Washington has for detaining me, and to justifie his sending me to You. I flatter'd myself at Winchester, that I sh'd have the Hon'r to present You there with this request, and the Interpreter You had there, and whom I had charg'd with my Solicitat'n to You for a quarter of an Hour's Audience, continually gave me Hopes y't You wou'd condescend to come to the Tavern where You had placed me. The next Morning they signified to me Y'r Pleasure that I sh'd set out, and this obliged me to defer till now to address myself to You, as I now do, Sir, considering and hoping in Y'r Justice that Y'r Hon'r will be pleas'd to remit me and my People to our Camp, and that I may carry our Comand't the Answer y't he desires to have from You.

I have the Hon'r to be with the most profound respect,
Sir, Y'r Hon'r's most h'ble and most obed't Serv't,

DRUILLON.

MONSIEUR DRUILLON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

June 17th, [1754.]

SIR:

The first Favo. y't I sh'd ask, w'd be to have the Hon'r of pay'g my respects to you and present'g You with our People, but the Pillage w'ch ensued Mr. Washington's Attack, and the meanness of our Cloths, w'ch we have been obliged to accept from one and another, leaves me only the permission to beseech You to accept in Writing the Assurances of our regard. Be pleas'd I intreat You to give a favorable reception to the request that accompanies this, [in] w'ch I refute all the Pretences that Mr. Washington has used to induce Y'r Hon'r's Approbat'n of His Conduct in siezing Us and send'g us Prisoners to You. If he has added any y't I am not acquainted with, I beg the Favo. of you Sir to impart them to me, and I do assure You y't I can without any Difficulty confute them. But S'r, if, regardless of my representat's, You do not think proper to return us to the French Fort, and lest You sh'd determine to continue our stay for some Time in this Town; I pray y't you w'd be pleas'd to appoint some Merch't to furnish us with the necessaries we want, y't w'n we are supplied with decent Clothing we may have the Hon'r to pay our Complim'ts to You and the other Persons of distinction, who have done us the Hon'r of their Visits. I beg leave Sir, further to observe, y't there is only one small room in this Prison, w'ch we are extremely incomoded in. We await the result of Y'r Goodness; and I have the Hon'r to be with the most profound respect.

S'r, y'r Hon'r's most h'ble and most obed't Serv't,

DRUILLON.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S REPLY TO MONS'R DRUILLON.

June 19th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r Letter and the request that accompanied it were presented to me, to w'ch I give You the Civility of an Answer, tho' I am perswaded You cannot, Y'r Self, think it deserves one.

The Protect'n due to Messengers of Peace is so universally acknowledged, and the Sacredness of their Characters is so inviolably preserved y't even amongst the most barbarous Nat's their Persons are always safe and unhurt. You cannot be ignorant how much all the various Tribes of Ind's revere the Calumet, and You must know y't a Flag of Truce w'd have sooner induced our Protect'n and Regard, than a Body of Men arm'd with the Instruments of destruction.

Thus, I think the Inconsistency of Your Appearance with Y'r Pretent's, obliges me to consider You in no other Light than y't in w'ch You presented Yourself. You rem'd several days ab't our Camp with't telling Y'r Message, nor w'd not, till You were prepared for our destruct'n. You had neither a right to dem'd, nor Colo. Washington to discuss, the King my Master's Title to the Lands on the Ohio river; such a disquisition lay only with Y'r Superiours: but it was his duty to preserve His Majesty's dominions in Peace and protect His subjects, and those who attempted the Violat'n of either must acknowledge the Justice of their Fate if they meet with destruct'n. Colo. Washington assures me of the contrary to w't you represent regarding the Circumstances of the Action, and after it, the Paper of Sumons and Instruct's to Sieur Jumonville are incontestible Proofs and Justifications of his Conduct, and laid him under a Necessity of continuing to act as he since did. I conceive Your dresses the same in w'ch You were found by Colo. Washington, and therefore it was of Y'r own Choice; however, I shall not hinder, but be glad if any of our Merch'ts are inclinable to give You proper C's, altho' the severities with w'ch many of His Majesty's Subjects, whose Persons and Effects You have unwarrantably seiz'd, have been, and as I am inform'd at this Time, are treated by Y'r Forces on the Ohio, and in other Parts of this Dom'n, w'd justify a retaliative Usage; yet, more attentive to the Sentiments of Humanity than the Suggestions of revenge, I shall cause Y'r Confinement, w'ch I find it my duty to continue, to be made as easy to You, on receiving proper Engagem'ts for Y'r suitable Behaviour, as the nature of it will admit.

I am, S'r, Y'r H'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

I rec'd Y'r Letter of June 3d, and I am very glad to know by it y't the Half-K'g, with 80 Persons, is arriv'd at Y'r Camp. I have given all necessary Orders for a proper Supply for Y'r R't, and Y'r [self?] not doubting but by this Time Muse has joined You. The barbarous Intent's of the French surprizes me, and Y'r Speech to the Wayandotts, Twightwees, &c., and it gives me Pleasure y't those Nat's have declared Y'r Inclinations in our Favo., and Y'r endeavouring to get the Chippaways and Ottaways to our Int't, w'ch, at this Time, will be of very great Service, as we have begun, not doubting but they will take up the Hatchet ag'st the French. I hope the Half-King's Message by Monacatoocha will have its proper Effect by drawing these Nat's to our Int't. I approve of Y'r Proposal to the Half-King, of sending the Women and Children into the Inhabit's; if he agrees to send them, they will be taken proper Care of, having given Orders Accordingly.

I thorowly consider'd the great Use Montour w'd be to You, and was uneasy y't You had no Interp'r. I therefore gave him a Com'o. to select [a] N. of Ind's on this Expedition, and hope he is with You before this. I further engag'd Mr. Croghan to repair to Y'r Camp, and there to rem'n as Y'r Interpreter. I firmly believe w't the deserters mention in regard to the Master Traders being confined at the Fr. Fort, and of the Party sent down the Ohio to kill and take Prisoners all the English, w'ch I beg You will make proper Use of in being on Y'r Guard from any Surprize. From the Appearance of the Prisoners, I judge that the Party under Jumonville was of chosen Men, but I hope their Numb's at the Fort cannot be 1,100. However, act with Caution as if they were so; tho' it gives me Pleasure to find Y'r resolut'n not to be Shaken by the apprehension of Superiour Numbers, as appear'd by the late Action, w'ch was conducted with good Sense and Bravery. My God Son's Behaviour gives me Pleasure, and I desire, w'n the Goods come out, You may equip [him] agreeable to his Merit and his being my God Son. I have order'd the remainder of the Goods to be kept at Win[chester] till the So'ern Ind's arrive there. They are to have some of them, and the remainder to be sent to the Camp to be distributed

to the Ind's occasionally, agreeable to Y'r former Proposal. I am glad You have finished Y'r Pallisadoed Fort, and hope the Independent't Compa. from So. Car. will join You this Night. The two Compa's from N. Y. are every Minute expected, having been embark'd above a Fortnight, and they shall have my Orders to march immediately, w'ch, with the Forces from N. Car., the So'th'n Ind's and our friendly Ind's on [the] Ohio, w'n collected in a Body, will make a good Figure ag'st any Number the Fr. can bring ag'st Us. I have, with great Pleasure, rec'd the 3 Strings of Wam. from the Wyandotts and the other Warriors. I desire You will make a Speech in my Name, and give 3 Strings properly in return. Y'r Conduct gives me great Satisfact'n and Pleasure, and

I am, S'r, Y'r real Friend.

P. S.—If the Women and Children come into the Inhabit's, I think they'll be taken the best care of at Win[chester], w'ch You may propose to the Half-King. I am in my way to W'msburg, but I have order'd Maj'r Carlyle to send me immediately any Message and Informat'n y't You find necessary to send.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN CLARKE, OF THE
NEW YORK INDEPENDENT COMPANIES.

SIR:

The great delay in Your not coming sooner to this Gov't, agreeable to His M'y's Com'd, has been of very great Prejudice to the Expedit'n to the Ohio; y't I am directed to prosecute the reasons for this You are best able to answer. I have directed Colo. Fairfax, one of His M'y's Council, in my absence to review Y'r two Compa's, and transmit me a perfect and exact Muster roll, to qualifie me to write to Eng. After he has review'd Y'r Compa's, I order You with all possible Dispatch to march to our Camp near to the Ohio river and join the other Forces, of w'ch Colo. J. Innes is appointed by me Com'd'r in Chief, and has my Instruct's for conducting the same, and he will give You Orders from Time to Time, and I expect You will make some amends

for Y'r long Delay by a quick March. Maj'r Jno. Carlyle is appointed Commissary of Stores and Provisions, to whom You are to apply for Waggon, &c. I wish You a happy Junction with the other Forces, and am,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

July 5th, 1754, Capt. Cock's, Winchester.

SIR:

Deliver the Bearer hereof, Mr. Ab'm Smith, 12, $\frac{1}{2}$ bls. Gun Powder, 1,000 lb w't of Lead, and two of the Medals; take his receipt for them, to be deliver'd to the Cherokees and Catawbis; keep 6 of the Medals and 6 of the best Guns to be sent down to me by the first proper Opp'ty; the rest of the Goods are to be at the Disposal of Colo. Wm. Fairfax. I wish You Health, and am,

S'r, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO ABRAHAM SMITH.

July 5th, [1754.]

SIR:

You are to deliver the Blankets and Check Linen to the Cherokees and Catawbis (now at Petersburg) [*sic*] as a Pres't from this Gov't as also the b'l of Powder and Lead to serve them in their March to their own Co't'y. You have a Let'r to Capt. Wm. Cocke at Win'r for 12 half bls. of Powder and 1,000 lb of Lead, w'th two Medals. You are to deliver 8 of the half bls. of Powder and 700 lb of the Lead to the Cherokees, 4 bls. Powder and 300 lb Lead to the Catawbis, as a Pres't from their Father the King of G. B. Give one of the Medals to the Emperor of the Cherokees and the other to the King of the Catawbis. They are to receive these Things from You on the back Part of this Dom'n. Give my Service to them and tell them I shall be glad if they will

hunt this next Winter near the Ohio, in case the French sh'd disturb our People there, I hope they will in that Case assist Us.

I am, S'r, Y'r h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

July 20, [1754.]

SIR :

I rec'd Y'r two Letters of the 8th and 11th, and [you] refer me to one enclos'd, w'ch You forgot. The Misfortune attending our Expedit'n is entirely owing to the delay of Your Forces, and more particularly the two Ind't Compa's from N. Y.; how they can answer their disobedience to His Majesty's Com'ds I know not, and w'n You have review'd them, give me a particular Acc't. As to Y'r regim't I can say little to, as You are talking of disbanding them before they join the other Forces. I sh'd think the [£]12,000 has been ill managed, if expended already, or can I tell the Pay and Cha's attending them till this Time; they have been very dillatory and keep dropping in one after another. Maj'r Rowan's Compa. took Shipping on Tuesday last for Alex'a; they all have call'd on me for Money to pay their Arrears, to buy Cloths, &c. The arrears, I think, should have been p'd in No. Car. in Y'r Paper Curr'cy.¹⁴⁴ You gave me no Orders to advance Money, or can I do it; our own regim't has got all the Money I can spare, and that's attended with heavy Cha's to this Co't'y, and each Colony is to subsist, &c., their own Forces. The Pork gives but a poor Prospect of rais'g Money from its Condition, [as to] w'ch [I] refer You to my former

¹⁴⁴ An act was passed February 19, 1754. by the Assembly of North Carolina, authorizing and commissioning John Swann, Lewis DeRosset, Sam'l Swann and John Starkey "to Stamp and make out, or cause to be stamped with copper plates and signed with their hands, Public Bills of Credit," to the amount of £40,000 "at the rate of Proclamation Money" [four shillings for three of sterling] in various denominations, from four pence to thirty shillings. *Davis's Revisal of Laws of N. C., Newbern, 1773*, pp. 155-8.

Letter, and y't Comodity is now sold at a large Credit,¹⁴⁵ y't You can have no dependence on it for Cash, unless You order it to be sold at public Vendue. Colo. Hunter, Maj'r Carlyle and Self, are in Advance to Y'r regim't, and expect Paym't from the Produce of the Pork. I think if You can State the Acc't of Y'r Disbursem'ts and Cha's, You sh'd transmit the same to Mr. Dobbs (who is daily expected) and have his determinat'n w't You are to do for the Future, and it's probable he will find some Method of keeping Y'r regim't together for 8 Mo's longer. As for Y'r Operat's now, I desire You will call a Council of Y'r field Officers and consult a proper Place for building a Log Fort, and erecting a Magazine to receive 6 mo's Provisions for 12 or 14 [*sic?*] men, as I think it's not prudent to march out to the Ohio till You have a sufficient Force to attack the Enemy, and y't You be properly provided with every thing for y't purpose. The Independ't Compa's, I think, sh'd remain there, and w't of Y'r regim't You may think proper; the other You may order to Alexa. and Win[chester] for some Time, and y't they may be ready at a Call. I am told You can, from the Forces, hire workmen sufficient to build the Fort and Magazine. Maj'r Carlyle will agree with them to pay so much a day for their Labour, and supply Tools, Nails, &c.; this, I think is w't is proper to be done at present. The French Prisoners are to be ret'd by the Articles agreed on by our People and the French, and [I] shall, therefore, send them up to You soon, to be sent by a proper Escort, and to have the two Hostages¹⁴⁶ ret'd. Capt. Clark has wrote me for leave to go Home. He, nor those Compa's deserve any Indulgence, from their unaccountable delays, w'ch they must answer to higher Powers; however, as You are Com'd'r in Chief, if You see proper, You may give him a Furlow for some Months. I promised Capt. McKay leave to go Home to his Family, You may some Time hence give him leave, but to return again in Jan'ry next. Colo. Muse desires leave to resign his Com'd; as he is not very agreeable to the other Officers, I am well pleas'd at his resignat'n, and have now sent You ten blank Com'o. to be filled up properly, take the advice of Colo. W. in

¹⁴⁵ The price of pork at this period was 30 shillings per barrel.

¹⁴⁶ Captains Van Braam and Stobo, who were surrendered at the affair of the Little Meadows.

this affair as they must be fill'd up from their own Corps. The late unlucky Engagm't gives me Concern, however, we must look forwards in hopes of turning the tables on the Enemy; w'ch I am not willing to venture till You have a sufficient Force and proper Supplies. I sent up the Small Arms, Bayonets, Powder, and Shott for Y'r People, w'ch Maj'r Carlyle tells me arriv'd safe at Alexa'a, and I doubt not You have properly disposed of, as before. I can give no Orders for entertaining Y'r regim't, as this Dom'n will maintain none but their own Forces, You must, therefore, write to Mr. Dobbs on the affair, and the sooner the better. Enclosed I send You a Let'r and Deposit'n, to w'ch I refer You. After Y'r Fort and Magazine is built, I suppose the Independ't Compa's may expect a little Recess in coming to proper Places down the Co't'y, tho' to be at call; in that case You must always take care to have a proper [force] at the Fort and Magazine, so that two Compa's at least be there. If leave be given to one Compa. for a Mo., on their return another [is] to have the same Leave, but this or any other Affairs y't be necessary, I desire may be settled at Y'r Council of War. Write how the Officers of the Independ't Compa's and those of our Forces are likely to agree, w'ch I expect You will by Y'r Authority Endeav'r to promote, y't everything may be conducted with Order for the benefit of the Service. I am quite weary, must therefore leave off, expecting soon to hear from You, and

I am, S'r, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

Maj'r Carlyle will receive Y'r Orders for supplying Y'r regim't for the Pres't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

July [24, 1754].¹⁴⁷

SIR:

Agreeable to Y'r Desire, I have deliver'd the Prisoners to Capt. Strahan. The Cha[rge]s in bringing them from the King's Ship, and keeping them in Prison here, I think sh'd be paid by

¹⁴⁷ Mentioned in a previous letter, p. 212.

Your Treasurer. You have the Acc't enclosed. I wish You an agreeable Meeting with Your Assembly, and [I] hope they will now be convinc'd of the Necessity of granting a Supply for conducting the Expedition ag'st the comon Enemy, and more so as the Property of every Individual in those Colonies are so much concern'd, and in danger. I thank You for Y'r Advice in regard to the rank of the Officers. The Com'o's I proposed to Capt. Clark, who is next to Colo. Innes, he then seem'd well pleas'd with the Method I propos'd. I hope they will agree so not as to hurt the Expedition. I shall be glad to hear the result of Y'r Assembly, and I am with very great Esteem and regard,

Y'r Exc'y's most h'ble Serv't.

P. S. The Bearer brings the Examinat'n of the Prisoners in So. Carolina. Penman's Acc't, £16, 7.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

July 24th, [1754].

D'R SIR:

I wrote to You the 18th Ult. by His M'y's Ship Centaur, w'ch [I] hope came safe to Y'r Hands, and desire to be refer'd thereto. The Council retracting from their former unanimous Opinion, doth not appear to me w'n at the Board, or can it be suppos'd here, w'n You see their Address to His M'y in support of my Administrat'n. I know some of them from Consanguinity, Some of [them] my Opponents, and out of [a desire for] Popularity, have not acted properly out of doors; but w't can be s'd in vindicat'n of any Person y't on the two above Heads sh'd resign their Hon'r and Trust? Surely they must give a Holy-day to their Senses if they appear ag'st me at Home, and [I] shall be glad to know who are the Persons. I am well convinc'd w'n the resolves of the Ho. of Burgesses are properly consider'd, will occasion more reflections on them y'n any Foundat'n of a Complaint ag'st me on acc't of the Fee w'ch was so circumspectly establish'd. I cannot tell who You mean by Doct'r M., whoever he is, His Arguments are both Superficial and inconsistent. If any of my Predecessors suffer'd by Addresses and Ap-

plicat's from this [Dominion] Home, very likely they deserved their Fate, and I shall always think myself Subject to the same Treatm't w'n I trespass from my Instruct's, or [am] guilty of any Arbitrary Actions in my Administration; and, on the other Hand, I doubt not of proper Support at Home when I act consistently on my Duty, and in support of His M'y's revenue of quit rents. As I presume the Affair has had a proper Hearing before the King and Council, I daily wait in Expectat'n to hear the Determinat'n. The People here are too much on a republican Spirit. The Ho. of B. making resolves in dispos'g of the King's Money without the Concurrence of the other Branches of the Legislature, is without Precedent, and I shall be on my Guard not to allow any sum to be paid but agreeable to my Instruct. I send you by the rev. Mr. Hotchkis¹⁴⁸ our Laws bound and those of the two last Sessions. The Act for the Encouragem't and Protection of the Settlers on the Waters of the Mississippi, you will please observe, it's clogg'd with many Things not regular, or w'd I have given my Assent to it, if it had not been the Emergency of our present Affairs; without the Money given by that Act, I c'd not have carried on the Expedition, for w'ch reason, I hope I shall stand excus'd. Pray write me the Opinions of the Lords for Trade on this Act, for I was very averse to the Passing of it, but they were determin'd to give no Money in any other Shape, and if I had not assented to it, the French must have quietly possess'd His Majesty's Lands on the Ohio. Whereas now I have a prospect of retaking the Fort and driving them from that river, w'ch w'd have been done before this, if our neighbouring Colonies had shown a due obedience to His M'y's Commands and consider'd truly the Support of their own Properties. I think we are now upwards of 800 strong, and Jas. Innes, who Com'ds in Chief, has my Orders to summons them to deliver up the Fort, to take it by Storm, or to Starve them to a Compliance. I have been greatly fatigu'd in this Affair, and greatly in want of Money

¹⁴⁸ The editor has been unable to trace this clergyman, but his friend, Major Jed. Hotchkiss, (whose ancestor, Martial Hotchkiss, from Scotland, was High Sheriff of New Haven, Connecticut,) surmises that it may have been the Rev. Frederick W. Hotchkiss, who was stationed in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1754, and died there in 1820.

and Men. I have therefore wrote for Assistance from G. B., and I shall be mighty Glad if my Fatigue and Conduct meet with the desired Effect, trusting in God for Success in our just and Equitable Expedition in support of His M'y's undoubted right to the Lands on the Ohio river. I can do no more, than with Vigour and resolut'n, conduct the whole with Oeconomy and Spirit. Enclos'd You have Copy of a resolve of the Council appointing You Agent in the room of Mr. Leheup; his Salary was £100 p^a Ann. Y'rs is the same, and will be p'd every six mo's by Bills of Excha. Your Agency comences the 20th April last, and this is all I c'd [do] for you. I c'd not propose Augment'g the Salary; if hereafter the H. of B. can be prevail'd on to appoint You, it will be d[ou]ble the above sum, but y't Ho. is so diffident and jealous of the Council, y't they never c'd be prevail'd on to have the same Agent. I am now much hurried, must therefore make an end of this long Letter, with my Wife and two Girls' kind Complim'ts to You, I am in great Sincerity,

Sir, Y'r affect., h'ble Serv't.

[P. S.]—Write me more frequently; at least four Ships from Londo. without a Line from You.

[N. B.]—Sir: Since writing the above we have had an Acc't of an Engagem't between our Small Number of Forces and 900 of the French. The enclos'd Paper will give You the Particulars deliver'd me by two of our Officers. This Misfortune is occasion'd by the dillatoriness of the two Independ't Compa's from N. Y. and the Forces rais'd in No. Car. not having join'd the Forces rais'd here, and the Independ't Compa's from So. Car. The two last bore the whole brunt of the Action, and considering their few Numbers, they behav'd with great resolut'n, and indeed, I think they acquir'd much Hon'r, tho' the French had the Victory. I expected Assistance from the Catawbias and Cherokees, [and] Creeks or Chickasaws, for they belong to this Gov't. There is an Infatuation that too much prevails on this Cont't, by the Gov'ts ascerting seperate Int'ts and not acting as Subjects to one Prince, w'ch occasions many unreasonable Disputes with the Ind's. I always look on these People as Fr'ds and Allies to the Subjects of G. B. in general, without any private Views, and this Co't'y has very little of the Ind'n Trade, the support of w'ch to Carol., I suppose is Mr. Glen's View; but this sh'd be laid aside, w'n the French

appear so strenuous to possess themselves of the King's Land; that Gent. further desires me to return the Independ't Compa. sent me by His M'y's Orders, but he sh'd consider they are not to be ret'd without His M'y's Orders, in short, his Letters are in so dictatorial a Style, y't I shall not answer them; or do I complain Home, as I hear he is superceeded in his Gov't. The three Ind't Compa's are supplied by me with all Necessaries, except their Pay, viz: Tents, Blankets, Kettles, Knapsacks, Spatterdashes,¹⁴⁹ Waggons and Provisions. I have wrote to S'r Thos. Robinson, and Sec'ty of War for Orders to draw for my reimbursement. Speak to Mr. H[anbury?] and endeavour to have this settled in a proper manner, y't I may not suffer, I have also wrote for a regim't or two of Men, and sundry Necessaries from the B'd of Ordnance. You are to apply to S'r Thos. Robinson on this Head, and as by the late Action we are now in open War with the French in this Part of the World. I presume there will be Application to that Court to know the reasons of this Behaviour of the French in invading the Lands, the just Property of His M'y of G. B., [to] w'ch I am convinc'd they can deduce no right, but by the force of Arms. I have had the Expedit'n much at Heart, and I may venture to say, witho't Vanity, y't no Person in my Situat'n c'd do more, considering how I have been supported, without any Aid from the neighbouring Colonies. The two Proprietary Gov'ts of M'yl'd and Pensy. have been very obstinate and refractory; their Assemblies, tho' often call'd, have granted no Supplies. I have propos'd [to] S'r T. R. an Act of Parliament for a general Poll Tax over all this Cont't, of 2s. 6d. St'g, w'ch I think, (if eligible), will answer the Expenses of this Expedit'n in regard to the Forces rais'd, or to be rais'd, in the different Colonies. If this meets with Approbat'n pray write me, and take pains to procure me a Liberty to draw for my Advance, for w'ch Sums I shall transmit proper Vouchers. I doubt not the Ministry will agree that no Time is to be lost in obliging the French, by Force, to retire from His M'y's Lands. If I be properly inform'd, this Scheme of theirs has been forming for above Seven years, and y't they expect Forces from France to support them. The Ind's, I observe, are to lie neutre till they see who

¹⁴⁹ Spatterdashes were leggings of cloth or waxed linen for soldiers, for protection from wet; now called long gaiters.

Conquers; with them, they join, and [I] dare say [this] is a settled rule with them; and I am convinc'd, if in any subsequent Action we sh'd prevail, all the Ind's now with the French will join our Forces. As I have wrote to [the] Sec'y of State, and B'd of Trade pretty fully on these Affairs, give Y'r Attendance also to the Sec'y of War, and know their determinat's. I keep the Forces in Pay and have order'd a Fort, [and] a Magazine for Stores and Provisions, to be built at Wills's Creek, about 70 Miles nigher the Inhabitants than the Place where the Engagem't was, till I hear from Home. You may believe I shall be uneasy till I hear w't is determin'd to be done, and receive His M'y's Com'ds, w'ch shall be duely put in Execution.

I am with great regards,

S'r, Y'r affec. h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

[July 24th, 1754.]

R'T HON.:

Inclos'd You have Copy of my last, to w'ch please be refer'd. A few Days ago arriv'd here Colo. W., Com'd'r of the Forces, rais'd in this Dom'n, and Capt. McKay, of the Ind't Compa. from So. Car., from our Camp at the Meadows, near the Ohio river, who gave the following melancholy Acc't of an Engagem't between our Forces and the French. On the 3d of this Mo. they had Intelligence y't the French were re-inforc'd (at the Fort they took from Us, in May last, near the Ohio,) with 700 Men, and y't they were in full March with 900 Men to attack our small Camp, w'ch consisted of few more than 300 Men besides Officers. They imediately connected and prepared to make the best Defence their small Numbers w'd admit of, by throw'g up a small Intrenchm't, which they had not Time to compleat, before their out Centry gave the Alarm, by firing his Gun, of the approach of the Enemy. Imediately they appear'd in Sight of our Camp, and fir'd at our People at a great Distance, w'ch did no harm. Our small Forces were drawn up in good Order to receive them before their Intrenchm'ts, but did not return their

First Fire, reserving it till they came nigher. The enemy advanc'd irregularly within 60 Yards of our Forces, and y'n made a second Discharge, and observing they did not intend to attack them in open Field, they retir'd within their Trenches, and reserv'd their Fire, thinking, from their Numbers, they w'd force their Trenches, but finding they made no Attempt of this kind, the Colo. gave Orders to our People to fire on the Enemy, w'ch they did with great Briskness, and the officers declare y's Engagem't continue[d] from 11 o'clock till 8 O'Clock at Night, they being without Shelter, rainy weather, and their Trenches to the knee in Water, whereas the French were shelter'd all round our Camp by Trees; from thence they gall'd our People all the Time as above. About 8 O'Clock at Night the French call'd out to Parley; our People mistrusting their Sincerity, from their Numbers, and other Advantages, refused it. At last they desir'd [us] to send an Officer y't c'd speak French, and they gave their Parole for his safe ret'n to them, on w'ch the Comd'r sent two Officers, to whom they gave their Proposals, copy of w'ch I send You here enclos'd. From our few Numbers, and our bad Situation, they [our forces] were glad to accept of them; otherways, were determin'd to loose their Lives rather than be taken Prisoners. The next morning a Party from the French came and took Possession of our Encampm't, and our People march'd off with Colours flying and beat of Drum, but there appear'd a fresh Party of 100 Ind's to join the French, who gall'd our People much, and with difficulty were restrain'd from attacking them; however, they pilf'r'd our People's Baggage, and at the Beginn'g of the Engagem't the French killed all the Horses, Cattle and live Creatures they saw, so y't our Forces were oblig'd to carry off the wounded Men on their Backs to some Distance from the Place of the Engagem't, where they left them with a Guard; the Scarcity of Provisions made them make quick Marches to get among the Inhabit's, w'ch was about 60 Miles of bad road. The Surgeon's¹⁵⁰ Chest was destroy'd, w'ch was a great Loss to the Wounded. The Number of the Enemy killed in this Action is uncertain, but by Acc't from some Dutch in their Service, they say were 300, and many wounded. From their great Superiority of Numbers at the Beginning of the Engagem't, it may be pre-

¹⁵⁰ This officer, as appears later, was Dr. Anderson.

sum'd they lost many Men, or some other Disaster y't they desired to parley, so much contrary to the Expectat's of our Forces, who were determin'd to sell their Lives dear rather than be taken Prisoners. The Number of our People kill'd in the Action were 30, and 70 wounded. Our few Forces have behav'd with great Intrepidity and resolution in this Action. I beg leave to observe to Y'r L'ds. the Misfortunes attending thro' [the] Expedit'n. His M'y's orders for two of His Independ't Compa's at N. Y. was transmitted me by the E. of H., the latter end of Feb'ry last; I enclos'd the Order to the Gov'r of N. Y. by Express the 1st of Mar. They delay'd com'g here till late in June, and were the 12th of this Mo., only at Winchester, in their way to our Camp. They were unprovided with anything for a March; they had no Tents, Blankets, Knapsacks, Spatterdashes or Kettles, nay only one bl. of Gun Powder quite spoiled, and the Companies not Compleat. The Muster roll and the Capt's Certificate for the deficiency of Men, I have transmitted to the Sec'ry of War, and have given them a proper Supply of every Necessary and directed the supplying them and the other Compa. from So. Car. with Provisions, and hope You will please give Orders how I am to draw for re-imbursement. If these two Compa's had joined our Forces at the Time they sh'd, the French w'd not have attack'd Us, or if they had, if these Compa's had behav'd with the Valour and Resolution of the others, in all probability we sh'd have defeated them. The Aid given by No. Car., are in their March, but [have] not as yet join'd the other Forces; their delay is greatly misfortunate. The other Colonies have not given any Assistance, and I fear do not intend to do anything, unless oblig'd by an Act of Parliam't for a general Poll Tax of half a Crown St'g for conducting this Expedit'n; one Shill'g, by computation, will be two little. I forgot to mention some of the Ind's rem'n with our People, but generally speaking these People side with the Conquerors. The French had pretty many Ind's they bro't from Canada, and high up the river Ohio, who were in the Engagem't and I suspect many of our friendly Ind's on the Ohio, &c., will join them out of fear, and if the French are allow'd a quiet Settlem't on y't river, its more than probable they will ext'd their Incursions into our pres't Settlem'ts; indeed we had several Families settled within a few miles of the Fort they took from Us. I shall comply with the Articles agreed on, by

returning the Prisoners, in order to recover our two Capt's who are Hostages for the Performance thereof. Under these Misfortunes I thought proper to order the building of a Fort near Wills's Creek, about seventy Miles from the Place of Action, and to build a large Magazine for Provisions and to keep the People in Pay till I hear from B. and have Orders w't to do hereafter in regard to the Expedition. For the forementioned reasons I fear we shall not be able to dislodge the French from the Fort without Assistance from B[ritain]. This Dom'n has always been in Peace and not accustom'd to War, therefore, their Magazines are quite empty, no Bombs, Coehorns, or Granade Shells, without them [we] cannot carry on a Siege against a Fort; no Ingineer in this Co't'y, w'ch is much wanted, and in my private Opinion, with't a regim't or two from Home, and proper Supplies of the above Articles, we shall not be able to force them from His M'y's Fort and Lands. And, as the Money granted by our Assembly is now near expended, I have by Proclamat'n called them to meet the 22d of next Mo., w'n I hope to prevail with them for a further Supply; but this, if obtain'd, will be of little Service if the other Colonies do not join in a mutual Supply, and then, with't assistance of Forces, &c., from Home, I shall fear [want of] Success, as I think it will not be proper to march out any Forces, till we can send such a Number as may be able to defeat them. My Orders to Colo. W. were not to attack the Enemy 'till the other Forces had join'd him, but the suddenness of the Informat'n of the French marching to attack them, oblig'd our Forces to stand on the defensive. This small Engagem't, conducted with Judgm't by the Officers, and great Bravery by our few Forces, gives them Hon'r, and at [the] same Time sh'd open the Eyes of our neighbouring Colonies, [and] rouse them from their Infatuation, w'n they see their Properties so much Expos'd to a merciless Enemy, but I fear nothing but an Act of Parliam't will oblige them to their Duty. The French (as I am inform'd) have been perpetrating and laying the Foundation of their unjust Encroachment for upwards of seven years past, and if not imediately repell'd, will be of the greatest Prejudice to the Nat'n and to all His M'y's Colonies on this Cont't w'ch I submit to Y'r superiour Judgm't and pray for proper Orders and Direct's, w'ch shall be punctually put in Execution to the outmost of my Power and Capacity.

If His M'y shall think proper to send out the Supplies mention'd, the Officers at the B'd of Ordnance will direct the proper sorts for this Expedit'n, w'ch must be carried 300 Miles by Land over some high Mountains. I cannot conceive w't the Court of France can advance in support of this unjustifiable Encroachm't and Invasion of His M'y's Lands, and taking a Fort built by His M'y's Comands, in the Time of Tranquil Peace between the two Crowns. I now send You by the Rev. Mr. Hotchkis, a Passenger in the Ship, a Plate of Copper with an Inscription on it, w'ch the French fix on Trees, lodge in the Earth and sink in rivers, w'ch they conceive is sufficient Marks of Possess'n and y't this piece of Copper is sufficient to vindicate their Invasions. Y'r Ld's. will observe y't the Inscript'n mention'g the Treaties are actually against them, for these Treaties confirming the Six Nations to be our Allies and Friends, those Lands they Invade belong to them and was by several Treaties here given to the King of G. B.; indeed I cannot see any pretence of right they can set up, but by Force of Arms, to Invade and take Possession of His Majesty's Lands. I shall wait with great Impatience for Orders how to proceed for the Future, and I doubt not Y'r L'ds. will think no Time is to be lost in forcing the French from the Ohio. Any Com'ds I may have, shall be executed with diligence and Care. I beg leave to assure You, I rem'n with great Truth,

R't Hon.,

Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SECRETARY ROBINSON.

July 24th, [1754.]

S'R:

Inclos'd You have Copy of my last Letter, to w'ch please be referr'd. A few Days ago arriv'd here from our Camp at the Meadows, near the Ohio river, Colo. W., Com'd'r of the Forces rais'd in this Dom'n, and Capt. McKay, Com'd'r of His M'y's Independ't Compa. from So. Caro., who gave me the following

melancholy Acc't.¹⁵¹ These Affairs I think myself in Duty to transmit to You, to lay before His M'y for His Com'ds, w'ch shall be dutifully obey'd. I remain, with great Deference and due respect,

R't Hon., Y'r most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO HENRY FOX,¹⁵² SECRETARY
AT WAR.

24 July, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

In the Mo. of Feb'ry last the Earl of Holderness, Sec'y of State, transmitted me His M'y's Orders for two of his Independ't Compa's at N. Y., and one from So. Carolina, [which] sh'd come to this Dom'n, to be under my Com'd, and to be employ'd in an Expedit'n to the river Ohio, by His M'y's Com'ds; in Consequence thereof, I enclos'd His M'y's Order to the Gov'r of N. Y., and sent it by Express the 1st of Mar. last, and the other to the Gov'r of Caro. the 6th of [the] same Mo. The Carolina Compa., under the Com'd of Capt. Jas. McKay, had a long Passage, but

¹⁵¹ Reference is here made to the preceding letter to the Lords of Trade (pp. 239-243), the language of which from "On the 3d of this Mo.," etc., to "tranquil peace between the two Crowns," inclusive, it is indicated, was repeated.

¹⁵² Henry Fox, first Lord Holland, was the second son by a second marriage of Sir Stephen Fox, the founder of a famous family; was born in 1715; died July 1, 1774, after several years in Parliament, where he acquired distinction as a subtle debator. He was, in 1743, constituted a Commissioner of the Treasury; in 1746 appointed Secretary of War, and in the same year a Member of the Privy Council; April 26, 1755, one of the Lords Justices during the absence of the King, and November 14th, the same year, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, which office he held until 1756, when he was succeeded by the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham. He was appointed Paymaster General July 5, 1757, and amassed a stupendous fortune from the office. Created April 16, 1763, Lord Holland, Baron of Foxley county, Wilts; married May 2, 1744, Lady Georgina Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Richmond. The third son of this marriage was the brilliant Charles James Fox.

arriv'd in good Time, the 1st of May, and join'd the Forces rais'd in this Dom'n. They were Compleat in Number, and a very good Compa., wanting Tents, Blankets, Provisions and Waggons, all w'ch I immediately order'd them. The two Compa's from N. Y. did not arrive here till the middle of June, and were in want of almost every Thing, not compleat as to Numbers, and otherways but indifferent Men. As they came to Alexandria, about 170 Miles from this [place], I order'd one of my Council to review them, and inclos'd I send You the muster rolls for both Compa's, signed by Capt. Thos. Clark, and Wm. Ogilvie, Lieut. to Capt. Jno. Rutherford's Compa., and the only Officer belonging to that Compa. I also send the Certificates for the deficiencies of their Men, w'ch, if Customary, it will meet with Y'r Approbat'n; if otherways, You will Order accordingly. These two Compa's had nothing fit for a March or an Engagem't; had only one b'l. of Powder, very old and not fit for Use. I have order'd them Tents, Blankets, Knapsacks, Kettles, Provisions, Waggons and other necessaries, and I hope You will give me Orders to draw for my re-imbursement. The long delay of these Companies [in] coming here has been a very great Loss to His M'y's Service, and to this Expedition in particular, w'ch You will please observe from a just Detail given me of an Engagem't at the Great Meadows, near the Ohio, ag'st 900 French, as in the enclos'd News Paper. If these two Compa's had come here as might reasonably [have] been expected, and join'd our other Forces, I think the French w'd not have ventured to attack Us, and if they had behav'd as well as those that were engaged, it's more than probable we sh'd have obtain'd the Victory. How they came to delay coming, where the distance is not near so far as Carolina, they must acc't for, tho' they cannot make up the Loss His M'y's Service has suffer'd by this monstrous delay, for if I had wrote the 1st of Mar. to Eng. for Forces, and His M'y had thought proper to send them, they w'd [have] been here as soon as these Compa's from N. Y. I enclose You a Memorial of Alex'r Colhoun's,¹⁵³ the Doct'r, to the Ind't Compa's at N. Y. Sir, this is an Affair y't I must intreat Y'r Opinion and direction in. His M'y having order'd this Expedition to the Ohio to ascertain his

¹⁵³ Dr. Alexander Colhoun was Deputy Secretary of Indian Affairs in New York in 1753.

just right to these Lands, and to prevent any Foreigners settling there, by Virtue of this Com'd I appointed Officers and rais'd Men, and gave the Chief Com'd to Jas. Innes, Esq'r, who was a Capt. in the American regim't on the Expedit'n to Carthegena, and is an experienc'd Officer. There was also a Colo. and Lieut. Colo. to the regim't rais'd here and in No. Car. The Officers of these Ind't Compa's refuse doing duty with, or receiving orders from the Officers appointed by me; they are not Militia, but properly enlisted, and paid out of His M'y's revenues rais'd in this Colony. There can be but one Com'd'r in Chief. A mixt Com'd may hurt any Expedit'n, and I think the Officers of the Independ't Compa's will submit to your Determinat'n on this Affair, w'ch I hope you will furnish me with as soon as possible. I have wrote to the Sec'ry of State for one or two regim'ts for this Exped'n, for our neighboring Colonies are very backw'd; nay, have actually refus'd their Assist'ce. I know no Method to compel them to their Duty to the King, and for the Preservat'n of these Colonies, and in Course their Properties, but by Act of Parliam't for a general Poll Tax of 2s. 6d. ¾ Head from all the Colonies on this Cont't, if tho't eligible. I think it may answer all the Expences of all the Forces rais'd, or to be rais'd, in this Part of the World on the present Expedition. I hope, Sir, You will please give me Direct's how to draw for repaym't of my Advance for Supply of the three Ind't Compa's now here and engag'd on the Expedit'n. I have order'd a Fort to be built, and a Magazine for Stores and Provis's at a Place call'd Will's Creek, upwards of 300 Miles from this, and propose keeping the Forces rais'd here in Pay till I receive his M'y's Com'ds. As this Affair relates to the Nation and these Colonies, I hope You will excuse the length of this Let'r, and [I] beg leave to assure You, I rem'n with great deference and respect,

R't Hon., Y'r most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

July 24th, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

The enclos'd is [a] Copy of my last, to w^{ch} please be refer'd. The 3d of this Mo. our small Forces at the Great Meadows near the river Ohio, had Intelligence that the French at the Fort taken from Us in May last, were re-inforc'd with 700 Men from Canada, and that they were in their March with 900 Men to attack our small Camp, they accordingly appeared y^t Morning in sight and an Engagem^t ensued, the Particulars thereof is incerted from our Officers in the enclos'd News Paper, w^{ch} I beg to refer you, and enclos'd I send You a Copy of the Capitulatⁿ made. As the French desired a Parley, it's to be suppos'd their Loss in the Engagem^t must be great, or some other considerable Affair occurr'd, as their Numbers and Situatⁿ gave them great Advantages over Us; it's certain our few People behav'd with great resolution, and altho' the French obtain'd the Advantage by the Capitulatⁿ, yet much Hon'r is due to our Forces for their Courage and good Behav'r in this Actⁿ. The Misfortunes attending this Engagem^t is greatly owing to the Delay of two Independ^t Compa's from N. Y., order'd by His M'y to this Place to be under my Direction in this Expedⁿ. His M'y's Com'ds were forward'd to me the end of last Feb'y by the Earl of Holderness. The 1st of Mar. I sent them by Express to the Gov'r of N. Y., desiring him to forw'd them immediately, but they were so backw'd they did not come here till late in June. If they had come to the Time they might [have] reasonably been expected, they w'd have join'd our Forces long before the Engagem^t and probably the French w'd not have attack'd Us, and if they had, and these Compa's had behav'd with the same resolutⁿ as the others, it's likely we might have got the Victory; however that might be, I cannot see w^t excuse can be made for their not punctually comply'g with His M'y's Com'ds. This Affair gives me much Concern and my Situatⁿ is very disagreeable, as our neighbouring Colonies afford Us no Assistance. No. Carolina propos'd Six Compa's but they have been so slow in their March y^t they have not yet join'd the others. The Independ^t Compa's wanted Tents, Blankets, Knap-

sacks, Waggon, Provisions, &c., w^{ch} I supply them with and have wrote home for Liberty to draw Bills for my re-imbursem^t, w^{ch} I pray Y^r Interest in procuring, y^t I may not suffer in my readiness to forw^d the Service. As I am now convinc^d this Expeditⁿ cannot be conducted by any Dependence on our neighbouring Colonies, [I] have therefore desir^d Assistance from Home, and I have wrote the Sec^{ry} of State, and B^d of Trade to that Purpose. And as this Domⁿ has always been in a peaceful State we have no Mortars, Coehorns¹⁵⁴ or Granade Shells, w^{ch} Y^r L^{ds}. knows is necessary in besieging of Forts. [I] have, therefore desired a Supply from the Ordnance, and hope You will be so kind to this Co^ty as to strengthen this dem^d with Y^r Int^t. If the French are allow^d a quiet Settlem^t on the Ohio, it will be a monstrous Loss to the Natⁿ and to all these Colonies. They can offer no pretext of right but by their Arms, w^{ch} in Time of Peace is contrary to the Law of Nat^s, but they are now invading His M^y's Lands from the Northw^d to the So^wd, and surrounding all our pres^t Settlem^{ts}, and if not an imediate [stop is] put to their unjust Designs, I fear in two Years they may be too strongly settled to be dislodged. I therefore hope the Ministry will think no Time is to be lost. I think it my Duty to acqu^t Y^r L^{ds}. of the State of Affairs here, and I order^d a Fort and Magazine for Stores and Provisions to be built near Wills's Creek, about 300 Miles West of this Place, and to keep them in Pay till I have His M^y's Com^{ds} for my future Proceeding, w^{ch} shall be obey^d and comply^d with to the utmost of my Power and Capacity. The Council have appointed Jas. Abercrombie, Esq^r, to be their Agent in the room of Mr. Leheip, w^{ch} I hope will meet with Y^r Approbatⁿ. I beg leave to assure You, that I remⁿ with great deference and due respect,

R^t Hon.,

Y^r L^{ds}. most obed^t h^{ble} Serv^t.

¹⁵⁴ Cohorn, a small mortar, (which took its name from the celebrated Engineer) the bore of which appears to have been fixed at 4 and $\frac{6}{10}$ of an inch in diameter.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO EARL GRANVILLE.

July 24th, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

Inclos'd You have a Let'r from Y'r Agent, Mr. Corbin, who sent me £555. 7. 6. [in] this [Colony's] Mo[n]ey, or currency] for w'ch I send you my Draft on Messrs. J. & C. H[anbury] for £427. 4, w'ch at 30 $\frac{p}{c}$ C't excha. is equal to the above Sum. I desire to inform Y'r L'ds. that I have been very assiduous in conducting the Expedition to the Ohio, and to prevent the French making any Settlem'ts on those Lands belonging to His M'y. In order thereto, I directed [the] building a Fort on y't river, w'ch the French in a large Body sumon'd [to surrender] and took from our People, in March last. I have endeavor'd ever since [to prevail] with our neighbouring Colonies to assist Us, but none of them gave [me] any reason to expect their Aid but No. Car., and they have been so very tardy that their Forces have not yet join'd our Camp. At a place call'd the Meadows near the Ohio river, the Forces from this Domin'n, and an Ind't Compa. from So. Car. to the number of 300 Men, besides Officers, were encamp'd. The French at the Fort they took from Us, were re-inforc'd with 700 Men, and on the 3d of this Mo. they march'd with 900 Men to attack our Camp. Our People had but a very short Notice thereof, however they endeavour'd to entrench themselves, but before [the works were] compleated, their out Centry gave them the Alarm of the Enemy's approach, on w'ch they had their Men drawn up in proper Order, w'n the Enemy appear'd in Sight, and discharg'd a Volley at a great Distance. Our People kept their fire 'till they came nearer; w'n within 60 yards, they discharg'd another Volley with't any Prejudice to Us. Our Forces finding they w'd not attack us in open Field, retired to their Trenches, w'n they say the Engagem't begun at 11 o'Clock and continued till 8 o'Clock at Night, w'n the French desired a Parley. Our Officers believing they were not in earnest, but had some Design, refus'd it. They then desir'd an Officer to come to them and gave Parole of being safely return'd. They sent two Officers, w'n they gave Proposals for our Forces to march off with the Hon'rs of War, to carry off their Baggage, &c., and give up the Encampm't to the French and return [to them] some

Prisoners that were formerly taken by us. Our Forces march'd accordingly next Morning, and are ret'd to the Inhabitants, where I have order'd a small Fort and Magazine for Stores and Provis's to be built, and to keep the Soldiers in Pay till I hear from Home. I have wrote fully to the Sec'ry of State, and B'd of Trade on this unlucky Affair. We lost in the Engagem't 30 killed, and 70 Wounded. They report the Loss of the French, 300 killed, and many wounded. There is no probability of prevailing with the different Assemblies on this Continent to contribute their Aid for the Preservation from the Invasi'ns of the French. I therefore believe an Act of Parliam't for a general Poll Tax of 2s. 6d. $\frac{2}{3}$ Head will raise a considerable Sum for conducting this Expedit'n; without some such Thing, these obstinate People will grant Nothing. I have further desired one or two regim'ts of Men to be sent out here, with several other Necessaries from the Ordinance, w'ch I have mention'd to the Sec'ry of State, but in my humble Opinion, no Time is to be lost, for if left in quiet Possession one Year, they will put it out of our Power, (I fear), to compell them to leave His Majesty's Fort and Lands. As I am well assur'd [of] Y'r L'd's regard for these Colonies, and the interior parts of this Cont't, I give You the Trouble of this Let'r, and I hope soon to receive Orders how to conduct the Expedition for the future, w'ch I have much at Heart. I have hitherto been earnest and indefatigable in directing and conducting it, and shall continue in puting in due execution any Com'ds I may receive, but think no Time sh'd be lost. The Hon'r of a Line from Y'r L'ds. will very much oblige,

R't Hon., Y'r most obed't, h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD HALIFAX.

July 24th, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

As I am thorowly convinc'd of Y'r L'ds. regard for the Colonies in America, and Y'r desire to support the British rights to the interior parts of this Cont't, is the reason of troubling You with this Let'r. The Expedit'n for erecting Forts,

and making Settlement's on the river Ohio, and particularly recommended by His M'y to me, was accordingly undertaken and promoted by me to the utmost of my Power and Capacity; but contrary to His M'y's Com'ds, and my sanguine Expectat's, our neighbouring Colonies have afforded Us no supply or Assistance whatever, except No. Carolina, who engag'd Six Compa's, but [these have been] so dillatory in their Marches, y't they have not yet join'd the other Forces. And the two Ind't Compa's, by His M'y's Order, from N. Y., sh'd have been here in April, [but] did not arrive till late in June, w'ch being known to the French, they took the Advantage of those Delays and attack'd our small Forces at the Great Meadows, near the Ohio; the particulars thereof, is from our Com'd'r's report inserted in the within News Paper, to w'ch I beg to be refer'd. My Situation is bad in discharge of a Duty I had so much at Heart, and enter'd on with great Inclinat'n and resolution to support and conduct it with Spirit to the outmost of my Power. I have wrote many Letters to the different Gov'ts, endeavouring to rouse them from their Lethargic Stupidity, to obey the Com'ds of their Prince, and to support Y'r private Properties from the Insults of the comon Enemy. The Gov'r's write me they continue obstinate, and cannot bring them to reason, and I am of Opinion, with't an Act of Parliam't to lay a general Poll Tax of half a Crown St'g for the Support of the Ohio Expedit'n, that not the least dependence can be had on the Assemblies here. Y't Tax, I conceive moderate, and [it] will be sufficient for the Expences, Pay, &c., of Forces now rais'd, and hereafter to be raised, for that Service. The Money given by our Ho. of Burgesses is near exhausted, y't I am oblig'd, contrary to my Inclinat'n, to call them together for a further Supply, w'ch I have good reason to expect, and nothing but the pres't Emergency c'd have prevail'd with me to call them, till I heard from Home in regard to the extraordinary resolves they made last Nov'r. I am also of Opinion, y't without some regular Forces from Home, we shall hardly be able to dislodge the French from the Fort they took from us last May, and indeed as this has always been a Pacifick Co't'y, so y't we have no Arms fit for Siege. I have now wrote to the Secr'y of State for a Supply from the Ordnance and an Engineer, for there is no such Person in this Co't'y. I can answer to my God and my King, y't every Thing in my Power has been done for this Expedition. Having but few Men, and very little Money, no

great Things c'd be expected. My Orders to the Com'd'r in Chief of our Forces, was to remain in the Camp until the Junction of all the Forces, but the Enemy knowing the slowness of our Motions, took the Advantage of attacking Us w'n but weak, tho' our People's Conduct and Defence is to be remark'd to their Credit. I hope if the Ministry think proper to send out some Men and other Supplies, it will be soon, for I think no Time sh'd be lost, and very early in the Spring to be ready for Action. If the French have two Years quiet Settlem't, I fear it will be difficult to dislodge them. I wait with Impatience till I receive my Orders for future Conduct, w'ch I shall dutifully obey to the utmost of my Capacity. I hope Y'r L'ds. will excuse my troubling You with my Letters. The Patronage and Counten'ce I rec'd w'n at Home, and Y'r distinguish'd regard for the American Settlem'ts, prevail'd with me to trouble You with this, and at [the] same Time to assure You I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of Y'r Frequent Marks of Friendship, and am with great Deference and dutiful regards,

R't Hon., Y'r L'ds most obed't and very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO J. & C. HANBURY.

July 24th, [1754]

GENT.:

I wrote You last Mar. in regard to the Ind't Compa's his M'y was pleas'd to order here under my Com'd; on their arrival here, I found each had their Agent at Home to receive their Pay, so You need take no Trouble on y't Head, but as they wanted Tents, Blankets, Kettles, Waggons and Provisions, I am oblig'd to give them the proper Supplies of all these Things, w'ch amounts to large Sums; [I] therefore must beg You to apply to the Sec'ry of State and Sec'ry of War, to qualifie me to draw for re-imbursem't. I have wrote to them on the head, and therefore desire You will be earnest in Y'r Applicat'n; if they sh'd say that this Co't'y sh'd pay it, pray let them know y't it's with Difficulty I can get the Subsistance, &c., for the Forces rais'd here for the Expedition, and the Carriage of Provisions has been monstrously

high. So that on the whole, I am very considerably in Advance, and must continue to be so. Therefore, I entreat You will take some Trouble in this, y't I may be qualified to draw for my reimbursem't, for I am sure I have had a monstrous deal of Trouble and Vexation, promot'g and conducting this Expedit'n. A few Days ago Colo. W., Com'd'r of our Forces, and Capt. McKay, of the So. Caro. Ind't Compa., came here from our Camp, gave an Acc't of an Engagem't the 3d of this Mo. between them and 900 French, the Particulars of w'ch You have in the enclos'd News Paper, distinctly, as they related it to me. The few People we had, behav'd with great resolut'n, and tho' the French got the Victory, yet the Engagem't gives great Hon'r to our Forces. What a poor Situat'n am I in, in executing the Com'ds of His M'y; no Assistance from the neighbouring Colonies; M'yl'd and Pensylv'a so obstinate as not to grant any Supply whatever. No. Car'o. had order'd Six Compa's to be rais'd, but [they have been] so very backw'd y't they are not yet join'd the other Forces. The two Ind't Compa's from N. Y. have been equally remiss; tho' I sent His M'y's order the 1st of Mar. last, to the Gov'r of N. Y. to send these two Compa's immediately, to be under my Com'd to assist on this Expedit'n, they did not arrive till late in June, and as yet have not join'd our Forces. This delay has been the Loss of the late Engagem't, for if they had come to the Time they might reasonably have been expected, and join'd the other Forces, it's likely the French w'd not have attack'd Us. or if they had, if they had behav'd equal to those that were engag'd, it's more than probable we sh'd have obtain'd the Victory, and likely taken Possess'n of the Fort. The French are now about 1,000 or 1,200 strong, so y't I do not think it prudent to march out any Forces against them till we have a sufficient Number to carry the Point. [I] have therefore order'd a Fort to be built near Wills's Creek, and a Magazine for Stores and Provisions, there to rem'n till I have Orders from Home. I have wrote accordingly, to the Sec'ry of State for one or two regim'ts and a Supply of necessaries from the Ordnance. You know this Co't'y has always been at Peace, and [we] have nothing in the Magazine for conducting a Seige. This Affair gives me very great Concern, but w't can be done after such monstrous Delays, few Men and no Money? It's of great Consequence to the Nation and these Colonies, that I think no Time is to be lost, for

if they have a quiet Settlement for two Years, we shall never be able to root them out. I therefore hope the Ministry will do something essential, by Strengthening my hands, y't we may be in Action early in the Spring. I think I may ascertain, with't Vanity, y't no Person in my Situation c'd do more than I have done, but the intolerable obstinacy of our neighbouring Colonies and their disobedience to His M'y's Com'ds, and great Neglect in preserving their private Properties, is not to be parralleled in History; if they had enter'd heartily into the Affair, I am assur'd the French at this Day w'd have been drove off the Ohio, and I am of Opinion, nothing will bring them to their duty but a general Poll Tax of 2s. 6d. St'g, by a British Act of Parliam't, w'ch I have propos'd to the Sec'ry of State and B'd of Trade. I have advanc'd all the Money I c'd comand, and am ready with my Life to support an Expedit'n of so much Consequence to the Nat'n and to the Colonies on this Cont't, but I cannot com'd the Assistance so absolutely necessary for an Affair of this Consequence. Mr. Abercrombie will call on you for Advice in regard to my drawing Bills for my re-imbursem't, w'ch I desire You will assist him [in]. I shall rem'n uneasy till I hear from the Ministry, and [will be] glad if made able to show a proper resentm't of the French Insults. I am with great regard and Esteem,

Gent., Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO PETER WRAXALL, ESQUIRE,¹⁵⁵
SECRETARY TO THE CONGRESS AT ALBANY.

July 31st, [1754.]

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Letter of the 18th Curr't, and thank You for a copy of the Plan for an Union of the different Colonies on this Cont't. I desire You will furnish me with the whole Proceedings of the Congress at Albany, and the Six Pistoles I shall very

¹⁵⁵ Colonel Peter Wraxall, long the Agent of Indian Affairs for the province of New York, and in 1755, Aid de Camp of General Wm. Johnson.

readily pay to Y'r Order. As I have no Occasion to send an Express, I know not how to convey the Money, but, if suitable, shall pay it here to Y'r Order. You may send the Copy by Post if You have no other good Opp'ty. I thank You for Y'r Wishes for Success on my Undertaking. I sh'd have a better Prospect if the neighbouring Colonies wou'd grant their Assistance. I am,
S'r, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

July 31st, 1754.

SIR:

Y'rs of the 21st Curr't I rec'd the 29th. The late Act'n with the French gave me much Concern; my Orders to the Com'd'g Officer were by no means to attack the Enemy, till all the Forces were join'd in a Body. They were surpriz'd, and had no Acc't of their March till the Morning before the Act'n, w'ch oblig'd them to be on the defensive, and indeed consider'g the few Numbers of our Forces, the Enemy have nothing to vaunt of, but w't they got by the Capitulat'n; Copy of w'ch I now send You. The French, no doubt, will fortify themselves as strong as they possibly can; their Numbers, from the best Informat'n I can procure, does not exceed 1,100 Men, Ind's included. By the Advice of my Council, I give Orders to the Com'd'r in Chief to collect all his Forces together at Wills's Creek, and to march over the Allegany Mount's. If he find it impossible to dispossess the French of the Fort, he is to build a Fort at red Stone Creek, the Crossing Place, or any other Place proper that may be determin'd by a Council of War. The Numbers of our Forces, you have below. I shall be glad if they were augmented by two or three Compa's from Y'r Province. I think the sooner we endeavour to make a Settlem't and build a Fort the other side the Allegany¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ The *Commercial Gazette*, (Pittsburg, Pa.,) December 1, 1882, has an interesting article by Isaac Craig, Esq., Alleghany, Pa., on the proper orthography of this name, which, it will be observed in the text, is uniformly spelled Allegany. By distinction, the mountain range is ren-

Mount's, the better; for if we allow them a quiet Settlem't, their Numbers will greatly increase in the Spring; we have now 3 Mos. [of weather] fit for marching and Action. I w'd fain hope our Forces will be at Wills's Creek before the 20th of next Mo., and shall be glad if [they are] re-inforc'd from Y'r Colony. If You send some Compa's, they may safely march after our Forces over the Mount's. The Gov'r of M'yld proposes building a large Magazine for Provisions, near Wills's Creek; it will be very convenient for You (if Y'r Assembly proves generous) to help to fill it, and really absolutely necessary, as the want of a proper Supply of Provisions has been much complain'd of by our Men. I never the least doubted Y'r earnest Endeavours and firm good Wishes for this necessary Expedition, and I hope Y'r Assembly will strengthen Y'r Hands and put it in Y'r Power to serve His M'y and protect the private Property of the People You preside over, and I dare say they now must think y't a proper Assistance and a mutual Supply is absolutely necessary, and y't they will not clogg their Bill with any Thing unreasonable or unconstitutional. Y'r Observation is very just, if the People here, do force the Parliam't of Britain to interfere with the Legislatures of America, w'ch undoubtedly must be the Case if they continue obstinate to His M'y's Com'ds, and the Preservat'n of his Colonies on this Continent, [it] will prove of very great Loss to them, and curtail the Powers [the] Assemblies in these Colonies unjustly assume. Mr. Washington had many of the Indians with him, but I observe these People remain inactive till they see how Affairs go, and, generally speaking, side with the Conquerors; y't in my private Opinion, little dependence is to be put in them; however, the Half-King and several other Ind's are now in the back Settlem'ts of this, or Y'r Gov't. I hear of no Invasion on No. Car. All their Forces by this Time are on Wills's Creek. The Article of Capitulation in regard to making no Settlem'ts for one Year, the Officers say it was only in regard to the Forces left with their Baggage and Sick; they gave no Parole for themselves, and are now ready to proceed with the other Forces. I doubt

dered Alleghany, whilst the city of the name in Pennsylvania, is spelled Allegheny. Mr. Craig insists that the first mode should be used in both instances.

not w't Y'r Assembly observes how earnest we are in supporting and prosecuting this Expedition, they will cordially and with Unanimity grant proper Supplies, and more so, as the Danger appears so near to them. The Albany Treaty, I have not rec'd, but have, a Plan for an Union among all the Colonies on this Cont't. As it's an extraordinary Piece, and some new Positions in it not before ventur'd on, I do not care to give any Opinion on it till I hear how it is rec'd at Home. It is most certain if the neighbouring Colonies had given due Assistance, the last unlucky Affair w'd not have happened; to the Contrary, it's more than probable by this Time we sh'd have forc'd the Enemy from the Ohio and had Possess'n of these Lands Ourselves. If Y'r Assembly can be bro't to reason, to their Duty to the King and for their own Preservat'n, I hope they will give at least 10,000[£]; in ye Case You Succeed with them, I pray You to send a large Qu'ty of Flour to Wills's Creek, and I am perswaded You will have no great Difficulty in raising some Compa's of Men to join our Forces. As the Money rais'd here is very near exhausted, I have call'd the Assembly to meet next Mo., having very strong Assurances y't they will give me a pretty generous Supply, and they will be the more engaged to do so, if they find Y'r People in earnest, and grant a suitable assistance. I hope this will be with You in a suitable Time, having dispatch'd this Express with all the Expedit'n I possibly c'd; pray write me by him what they are likely to do, and [I] beg You will forw'd the enclos'd by the Post.

I rem'n, with very great reg'd and Esteem,

S'r, Y'r most obed't most h'ble Serv't,

The Number of Forces, Vizt:

So. Car. Ind't Compa's,	. . .	100
N. York, 2 do.,	. . .	160
Virg'a regim't,	. . .	300
No. Car. do.,	. . .	350
M'yl'd Compa.,	. . .	100

1,010 Men.

I believe I shall add 200 more to our regim't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

July 31st, [1754].

SIR:

Colo. W's Orders from me, were by no means to attack the Enemy till the whole Forces were join'd in a Body, and they knew no Intent'n of the Enemy till the very Morn'g they engag'd; and if the Misfortune attending our Forces has arous'd the Spirits of our neighbour'g Colonies, as You justly observe, [it] has done more y'n probably a Victory w'd have effected. And I desire to congratulate You, y't after Y'r indefatigable Trouble Y'r Legislature have engag'd to grant 6,000[£] for His M'y's Service. The Wom'n and Children belonging to our friendly Ind's are gone into [the] Pensylv'a Gov't, where no doubt proper Care will be taken of them. I call'd my Council this Day and laid before them Y'r Let'r; they are of Opinion, if agreeable to You, y't You sh'd send 100 Men to join our Forces. Colo. Innes, the Com'd'r in Chief, will have my Orders to march all the Forces he can collect together, over the Allegany Mount's, and if he cannot dispossess the Enemy of the Fort, he is to build a Fort at red Stone Creek, the Crossing Place, or any other Place most convenient, as may be determin'd by a Council of War. It will be very Agreeable, if Y'r Excell'cy will, with the rest of Y'r Men, order the building of a Magazine for Provis's any where near Wills's Creek, large enough to receive Provis's for 1,500 Men for one Year, w'ch as You justly observe, is absolutely necessary; and the Comissary of our Stores being disappointed, was much complain'd of for want of proper Supplys. The Pay and Allowance for our Forces are as follows: Capt's, 8s. 6 Day; Lieut's, 4s.; Engineers, 3s. [sic]¹⁵⁷, Sergeants, 1s. 6d.; Corporals, 1s.; and every private Man, 8d., with Provis's, that is to say, Flour, Pork or Beef, one Pistole Entrance or listing Money, and 2s. 6d. to buy them a Coat and Breech's. I fear 6d. a Week for Corn will not be a proper Allowance, as they do expect either Pork or Beef. The road You are pleas'd to mention from rock Creek to red Stone Creek will be of very great Use and Advantage, and [I] therefore desire You will please give Y'r Orders to execute it imediately. I send You a copy of

¹⁵⁷ Ensigns, was doubtless intended.

the Capitulat'n, w'ch, from the small Number of our Troops, they were oblig'd to accept of. Y't Article of not Settling in y't Part for a twelve mo. is conceiv'd only to restrain these Persons, y't were left with the Baggage, so the Officers interpret it, tho' probably the French intended to extend it further; however, we are now going to prevent the French from Settling. I am in hopes all our Troops will all be at Wills's Creek by the 20th of next Month, and below I send You an Acc't of their Numbers, and I doubt not You will be able to raise 100 Men to join them by y't Time (or to march after them, as they will be between the Enemy and Wills's Creek), w'ch is included in the Calculat'n below. The Gov'r of Pennsylv'a has call[ed] his Assembly to meet the 5th, and desires Answer to some Queries, w'ch I now send him. I shall be glad if You will please order the Messenger fresh Horses, y't he may be there in Time. Excuse Brevity and Scra[w]ls, being much hurried, but believe me to be with great Truth,

Y'r Excell's most obed't h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—I have order'd the different Compa's to be compleated; pray give me Y'r Opinion, if You think I am right in endeavouring to build a Fort the other side of Allegany Mount's. If it's delay'd till Spring, I fear the Enemy will be re-inforc'd.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DELANCEY.

July 31st, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r favo. of 16th Curr't I rec'd the 29th, and observe its Contents. As to Y'r two Compa's I have represented them to the Secr'y of War in a true Light. Their tedious delays in coming here has given the French an advantage over us, w'ch You may observe by the enclos'd News Paper, w'ch is the true report given me by our Officers. If Y'r two Compa's had come in Time, the French, in all probability, w'd not have attack'd us, or, if they had, if they had behav'd with the same Spirit the others did, they w'd not have obtained the Advantage, and, indeed, con-

sidering the few Forces we had, they have nothing to vaunt of. I have now about 1,000 Men, w^{ch} I have order'd to meet at Wills's Creek; they are to march over the Allegany Mount's, and if not able to dispossess the Enemy of the Fort, they have my orders to build a Fort in a proper Place y^t may be pitch'd on by a Council of War. If we delay to the Spring, I fear the Enemy will be greatly re-inforc'd. It's very odd that, on so emergent an occasion, Y^r Assembly cannot be brought to their Duty, to His Majesty's Com'ds, to grant a mutual Supply, but I am in hopes on their meeting, and seriously considering our Situat'n and the designs of the Enemy, You will be able to prevail with them. As the money rais'd here is very near exhausted, I have called our Assembly to meet next Mo., wⁿ I have no doubt they will grant a further Supply, and I shall be very glad [if] you can write me y^t Y^r Assembly is bro't to reason, and y^t they will strengthen Y^r hands in the Com'n Cause to defeat the unjust Invasions of the French. I have read the Plan for an Union of the different Colonies on this Cont't; as it contains several new Things not agreeable to the British Constitu'n, I do not care to give my Opin'n on it till I hear how it is rec'd at Home; but a Junction and a mutual Supply from each Colony is by all means necessary and proper. I agree with You y^t a Fort in the Seneca's Co't'y w^d be very proper for protecting the Women and Children of the Ind's wⁿ they go to War. I thank You for the Extracts of the Conferences at Albany, and have wrote Mr. Wraxall to send [me] the whole Proceedings. I doubt not wⁿ Y^r Ho'r observes the great Danger His M'y's Colonies is expos'd to, they, [the New York Assembly,] will chearfully contribute their Assistance in so imminent Danger, and hope You will see the Necessity of calling them soon together. I remain with very great regard and Esteem,

Y^r Hon^{rs} most obed^t humble Serv^t.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Aug'st 1st, [1754.]

SIR:

I detain'd Y'r Messenger till I consulted with my Council; they advis'd me, and I hereby order You to give proper Direct's for the 3 Ind't Compa's, to recruit them to the Numbers on the Establishm't; the same orders to Colo. Washington to compleat His regim't to 300 Men, and I hope Y'r regim't consists of 400. You are to order the general rendezvous to be with all Expedition at Wills's Creek, and w'n in a Body, You are to march them over the Allegany Mount's, and if You shall think it impracticable to dispossess the French of the Fort they now Possess, You are to build a Fort at the Crossing Place, red Stone Creek, or any other Place y't may be fix'd on by a Council of War, w'ch You are to call for y't Purpose. The Gov'r of M'yl'd undertakes the ordering a Magazine for Provis's to be built at Wills's Creek, and I shall give the necessary Orders y't y'r Forces shall be duely and properly supply'd with Provis's and any other Thing wanted, y'ts in my Power. You have now three Mo's for Action, in w'ch Time, I hope You will be able to do something Essential. I presume Maj'r Carlyle must have a good deal of Powder and Lead, but write me w't may be wanted, and I shall send a proper Supply of every Thing I have. I suppose You will take the Swivel Guns and some of the Cannon with You, w'ch You are to order as You shall see proper. For Tools, apply to Mr. Carlyle, who, undoubtedly, will supply You with w't You may want. If he has them not, he must purchase them for You.

The disorder and mutinous Behaviour of the Virg'a regim't, I am sorry for; they have been greatly fatigued and not properly paid, but as Money is order'd for them, I hope they will proceed with Spirit; and as some Officers may be wanting in y't regim't, consult with Colo. Washington and Colo. Stephens¹⁵⁸ on y't head. One Wm. Wright¹⁵⁹ is strongly recomended to me; if You see

¹⁵⁸ Colonel Adam Stephen, whose name here and elsewhere, is incorrectly rendered.

¹⁵⁹ William Wright, commissioned Lieutenant, November 18, 1754; killed at the defeat of Braddock. His heirs received 2,500 acres of land in 1771.

proper, I recomend him to You, and let the Com'o. be among their own Corps. As Officers are wanted in the Independ't Compa's from N. York, I think there sh'd be some appointed. I recomend Doct'r Colhoun and another Gent. (his Let'r mislaid), who came from N. York as a Volunteer or Cadet. You know the Season of the Year requires great Expedit'n; I therefore-desire You to exert Y'rself accordingly. Capt. Clark's going to Phil'a to head their troops is idle, for as yet they have not voted any Supply; he and all other Affairs, I entirely leave to You, tho' it's probable his Inclinat's and state of Health will not admit of any Fatigue. As You do not want the Small Arms Mr. Sharp sent You, let them be given to the Virg'a regim't, w'ch will prevent the delay of sending some from this [place]. I have sent from this [place] since the comencement of the Expedit'n, 400 Small Arms, 3,800 lb Ball, 2,800 Flints, and I think, 30 lb Gun Powder from Hampton. However, what further Supplies may be wanted, shall be sent as soon as I have notice of it. As the Conducting this Expedit'n is now entirely with You, I have no doubt of Y'r Care and Diligence in executing the Scheme propos'd as above. That Health and Success to our Arms may attend You, is the sincere Wish of,

Sir, Y'r Friend and h'ble Serv't.

Write me w't You have used of the Ind's Pres'ts.

P. S.—I have order'd And'w Montour with a Compa. of Ind's to You; if they come, shew him and them a regard.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

1st Aug'st, [1754.]

SIR:

The Council met Yesterday, and considering the pres't State of our Forces and [having] reason to think the French will be strongly re-inforced next Spring, It was resolv'd y't the Forces sh'd immediately march over the Allegany Mount's, either to disposess the French of their Fort, or build a Fort in a proper Place y't may be fix'd on by a Council of War. Colo. Innes has my

Orders for the executing the above Affair. I am, therefore, now to order You to get Y'r regim't compleated to 300 Men, and have no doubt but You will be able to enlist w't You are deficient of Y'r Numbers very soon, and march directly to Wills's Creek to join the other Forces. And y't there may be no delay, I order You to march w't Compa's You have compleat, and leave orders with the Officers remaining, to follow You as soon as they have enlisted Men sufficient to make up their Compa's. You know the Season of the Year calls for Dispatch; I depend on Y'r former and usual diligence and Spirit to encourage Y'r People to be active on this Occasion. Consult with Maj'r Carlyle w't Amunit'n may be wanting, y't I may send it up immediately. I trust much on Y'r Diligence and dispatch in getting Y'r regim't to Wills's Creek as soon as possible. Colo. Innes will consult You in the appointing officers in Y'r regim't. Pray consider if [it is] possible or practicable to send a party of Ind's, &c., to destroy the Corn at the Fort and Logstown. This w'd be of great Service, and a very great disappointm't to the Enemy. I can say no more but to press Dispatch of Y'r regim't to Wills's Creek and y't Success may attend our arms, and just Expedition, is the sincere desire of Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

Inclos'd You have Y'r Com'o.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

1st Aug'st, [1754].

SIR:

As Colo. Muse wrote me his desire to resign his Com'o., I suppose You, in course, succeed him. I have, with advice of my Council, given Colo. Innes Orders to collect all the Forces together at Wills's Creek; from thence to execute the Scheme of Operation I have sent him, and I have order'd Y'r Regim't to be recruited and compleated to 300 Men; I therefore expect You will be very assiduous in having them in readiness to march to Wills's Creek, with all possible Expedition, as You know the Season of the Year requires it; and as I can see no difficulty in raising Men, I expect You will soon be on Y'r March. What

Officers may be wanted in Y'r regim't, I have desir'd Colo. Innes to consult with Colo. Washington and Yourself, to have them from Y'r own Corps. Is it not possible to send a Party of Indians, &c., to destroy the Corn the French have sown near the Fort and at Logstown? This w'd be an essential Service. I shall be glad if You can get some of the back Settlers to go Volunteers, w'ch may be of great Service by increasing the Numbers of our small Army. I hope Y'r regim't will shew their usual Spirit and resolut'n by marching imedately, to return the ill Usage they met with. I wish Success to our Army and just Designs, and I am,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

1st Aug'st, 1754.

SIR:

The Council having Complaints of y'r not having discharg'd y'r duty as Commiss'y of Stores and Provis's, with the Exactness and Dispatch expected, particularly in supply'g the Forces regularly with Provis's, w'ch has occasioned a great deal of Clamour, I am therefore to order You to be more exact for the future, y't no such Compl't may subsist. The whole Forces are now order'd to Wills's Creek, from thence to march over the Alle-gany Mount's to execute a Scheme propos'd and approv'd by the Council. You are therefore diligently and expeditiously [to] provide imedately, Provis's of all kinds for 1200 Men for four Mo's, and have them all at Wills's Creek, to be sent out to the Army as they may be wanted, and I hope no delay will be laid to y'r Charge. Send me an Acc't [of] w't Powder and Lead You have remaining, and Consult with Colo. W. w't may be wanting to send from this [place]; all sorts of Tools will be wanting, w'ch You must endeavour to purchase. The Cannon are not yet at W's Creek or the Carriages—many of the Linch Pins lost. I cannot help saying, there has been great Neglect in this Affair. The Gov'r of M'yl'd proposes building a large Magazine at Wills's Creek and to open a road from rock Creek to Wills's

Creek, which we have earnestly desired his ordering it, as I think [it] will be of great Service in carrying Necessaries to y't Place. You are immediately to purchase Provis's as above, and be sure to have [them] in such readiness y't no delay may be given to the Forces. My most sincere respects to Colo. Fairfax and Family. I am in Truth,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble Serv't,

Please forw'd the enclos'd immediately.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN ANDREW MONTOUR.

1st August, [1754].

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 17th, last Mo., and have consider'd w't You write. I now order You to go to Wills's Creek, and carry with You as many Young Warriors of the Ind's as You can. Tend our Forces, and receive w't Orders Colo. Innes, the Com'd'g Officer, shall see proper to give You from Time to Time. The Ind's, whether In this Gov't or Pennsylv'a, will be taken proper care of; if they had come to Winchester, I sh'd have order'd them all proper Supplies, as I shall always have a great regard for them. Colo. Innes will take proper Notice of You and the Ind's, if You join him and his Forces.

I wish You very well, and am,

S'r, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO BENJAMIN GRYMES,¹⁶⁰ ESQ'R.

1st Aug'st, [1754].

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r, and much approve of Y'r Spirit and Love of Y'r Co't'y. I have order'd all our Forces to Wills's Creek;

¹⁶⁰ Benjamin Grymes, son of John Grymes, Receiver General of Virginia, and grandson of John Grymes, who died about 1708, was County

from thence to proceed over the Allegany Mount's, to execute a Scheme propos'd by me and approv'd by the Council. If you can raise any proper Number of Volunteers to join the other Forces, I shall be ready to give You a Com'o. and all the Assistance in my Power. You know the Season of the Year calls for Dispatch, therefore, if you can raise a Number of Men, as You proposed, it must be immediately, for the Forces have my Orders to be at the above Place with all possible Dispatch, and I doubt not, any Service You may do, will be properly consider'd by the Legislature and [it will be] sincerely recommended by,

Sir, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO RICHARD PEARIS.¹⁶¹

Aug'st 2nd, [1754.]

SIR:

Y'r two Let'rs of 17th July, I rec'd, with one from the Heads of the Cherokees, all w'ch I duely notice. As for the long Island in Holston's river, if not already taken up, I have no objection to Y'r having it, but You know you must go throw the Forms of the Office here, as it's not in my Power to grant any Lands; but consistent and agreeable to Law and His M'y's Orders. I have no Objection to Y'r People's trading with the Catawbias and Cherokees. You may obtain a License, by complying with the stated rules and giving proper Security. I am surpriz'd the Cherokees, who constantly declare themselves brothers to the English, sh'd have any conferences with the French, and to enter into Peace with these perfidious People, who have nothing in View but to delude them, and by Force to take

Lieutenant of Spotsylvania county, and a Member of the House of Burgesses, 1767-9. The late Rt. Rev. William Meade was a grandson of his by his first wife, Betty, sister of William Fitzhugh, of "Chatham." Colonel Grymes conducted an iron forge prior to the Revolution.

¹⁶¹ An Indian trader, located on Holston river, who acted as interpreter, and was afterwards commissioned a Captain to command a company of Indians. The name is rendered in other instances, Paris, which has respected representatives in Augusta county at the present day.

their hunting grounds from them. You did well to get the Carpenter¹⁶² to break the Peace. The Chickesaw of Choto behav'd like a brave Warrior and a good Bro'r, in resent'g the Murder of one of our People; pray return him my kind Thanks for this brave Action; he is a brave Man, and You are much oblig'd to him for his Safeguard. I cannot think the French can supply them with goods; I shall be glad we w'd, but You must know I am a great Stranger to their Trade, or w't is suitable for them. Let the Chickesaw know I greatly approve of his Conduct, and have a real Esteem for him. I hope the Cherokees and Catawbas will prevent the French building any Forts at Choto or Holstein's River; we never build any Forts but by the Consent and Approbat'n of the Ind'n Nat'ns, for if they allow them, [the French] it's giving them leave to take their Lands by Force of Arms. The one building so near Choto, they sh'd imediately destroy. They are two brave Nat's, and they can, if they will, prevent, or destroy it if built. I am surpriz'd the Inhabit's on Holstein's [*sic*] river sh'd submit to be robb'd by a few Ind's. Surely, Nature directs Self Preservat'n, and as they come as Enemies, they sh'd meet in a Body and repell Force by Force. I had a Visit from the King of the Catawbas and some Cherokees. I rec'd them as Bro's, and entertain'd them well, gave them some Pres'ts, and order'd them some Powder and Lead. I was a Stranger to Smith's Character, and as I now know it, I shall be on my Guard hereafter; but the Ind's will not now say I am worse than my Promise. I always (till now) understood the Emperor was their Chief Man. If Old Hop is a greater Man, I shall hereafter notice him as such. I shall be glad if you can spirit them up with resentm't ag'st the French, who are now endeavouring by Force of Arms to take all their Lands from them, the back of our Settlem'ts, and if they w'd take a Hunt the end of this Mo., or beginning of next, towards the Ohio, where probably they will meet a great Number of our Forces. The French Slaves y't are in the Nat'n, if the Ind's see proper of sending them this Way, I shall take the proper Care of them, but I do not care to interfere so far as to ask for them. I shall be glad to have the Frenchman in Pos-

¹⁶² Attakullakulla, "King or Emperor" of the Cherokees, also called Little Carpenter, was a staunch friend of the English.

sess'n, that threaten'd our People, and to take Colo. Buchanan's¹⁶³ Life. I agree with [you] y't the carrying Liquor out to the Ind's is prejudicial to them and hurtful to Trade, but I do not know how [to] redress it at pres't, till the Trade is bro't into a better regulat'n, w'ch I hope in Time will be done. Watts is a rascal for giving a wrong Interpret'n to my Let'r, but [I] hope You gave it the proper Meaning. I have rec'd the Pipe and Pouch, and am much oblig'd to the Carpenter for it. Present my Service to him and make a Speech to him in my Name. I have no Object'n to You, or Nath'l Gist¹⁶⁴ having a License, but it must be agreeable to Law and as practic'd in So. Carolina. I am with regard,

S'r, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

3d August, [1754.]

SIR:

I rec'd y'rs of the 28th Ultó. The Bearer brings You £600, w'ch is all can be got, and hope it will answer for the pres't. I have no doubt w'n the Assembly meets they will grant a Supply in such manner as to Com'd Money, the want thereof, I know has been a great Loss to the Expedit'n. I am sorry Y'r regim't have behav'd so very refractory; tho' they have a right to their Pay, they sh'd have been easy till You ret'd. It's strange the Officers sh'd have allow'd them to desert with their Guns. I hope he sent a Party after them, and an Example sh'd be made of the ringleaders; at this distance, I cannot conceive the reason,

¹⁶³ John Buchanan, Colonel of militia of Augusta county, was the son of Colonel James and Jane (Sayers) Buchanan, of Northumberland county, Pa., (from whom also, the late President James Buchanan is said to have descended). He married Margaret, daughter of Colonel James Patton, was associated with him in all of his exploring expeditions, and was a man of courage, energy and ability. The town of Buchanan, Va., was named in his honor.

¹⁶⁴ Presumably the Nathaniel Gist who served subsequently as Colonel in the Revolution.

but appears to me, the want of proper Com'd. Muse wrote me, and I answer'd, he was welcome to resign, and I suppose Maj'r Stephens succeeds him. I sent You Orders to recruit Y'r regim't with all possible Diligence, y't You may be ready to join the other Forces at Wills's Creek, to execute the Scheme sent by Colo. Innes. I repeat my Orders now, and am in hopes You will meet with little difficulty in Complying therewith, and y't with Expedit'n, as the season of the Year calls for it, and I am convinc'd of Y'r hearty Inclinat's, w'ch I desire You will now exert. I have [done], and will do all in my Power, in prosecut'g the Affair in hand, and I hope in a short Time we shall have our hands better strengthened with Money, and I expect to hear Y'r regim't is compleated and [that it] will soon march for Wills's Creek. I send You the Warr't with [£]600 indors'd on it, the other [£]500, if any Person with You will advance it, they will have 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent. Int't, which, shall be glad if You can procure it. I cannot end Without repeating Dispatch, w'ch will be very agreeable to,

S'r, Y'r friend, &c.

P. S. I send You a Let'r to Maj'r Clark, w'ch deliver. It came to my hands a few days ago.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Aug'st, [1754.]

DEAR JAMES:

Y'r long Letter by Mr. Dalrimple, I answer'd by y't Gent., who left this [place] yesterday. I wish You had rec'd my Letter by Mr. Splitdolph, w'ch I am surpriz'd You had not before the 10th of this Mo.; his delay is something unexpected. I wrote to Mr. Carlyle to provide all Tools You wanted; he has also my Orders to supply You with Provisions, and to keep Y'r Supply seperate by itself; the charging for a Guard Ho., I think wrong, as also [£]47 6[s] for Pork; indeed I told him I believ'd You w'd only want Bread as You proposed only driving Steers, w'ch w'd have answer'd if

drove in the Spring or Fall, but the Weather is now too hot for driving them, but I fear some People concern'd, thinks more of gain y'n the public Service, but w'n the Acc'ts come to be liquidated, You may then make Y'r Objections. I wish some of Y'r own Pork had been ordered up with Y'r People. I have wrote home particularly in regard to the Com'd, but I presume there will be now no Dispute, as You Com'd in Chief. I doubt not, You will be able to hire Pensylv'a Waggons for transport'g Y'r Guns, if not, they must be bought, or built. There are six swivels at Wills's Creek belonging to the Ohio Compa., w'ch is all we have. You must make use of them and make Partridge Shot for them.¹⁶⁵ I refer You to my former Letters in regard to building a Magazine, &c. I believe the Gov'r of M'y'l'd will order the building of the first either at Wills's, Patterson's, or George's Creek. All the Forces from Carolina continued Mutinous during their March. Capt. Bryan's, Mutinied at Augusta C't Ho., and w'd march no further, till a Friend of mine advanced £40, w'ch is charg'd to Y'r Co't'y, and You sh'd call on the Capt. for it. All their mutinies is occasioned for want of proper Officers, for I verily think the People were not Kept under due Discipline, and I think You sh'd have made an Example of some of the ringleaders. Y'r Com'o., and the Articles of War, give You sufficient Power. I have ordered them to be incerted in our Gazettes, but as their Persons are not described, such Villains will soon change their Names. I find Mutiny is general in Y'r regim't, w'ch is owing to the first seting out. I sent by Mr. Ash, the Establishm't of our Officers and Men, w'ch if it had been put in practice in No. Car, at first, there w'd have been no Complaints; they will debauch the rest of the Forces, and I now wish we had none from Y'r Colony but Y'r Self, for I forsee nothing but Confusion among them. They cannot have ye Impudence to expect more y'n 8d. ♂ day, as the other Forces have, and if You cannot compell them to serve for y't, I think they had better be disbanded. I wish their Officers may not countenance them in their Mutinies. I fear none of the officers are acquainted With the Business

¹⁶⁵ A Partridge mortar was one with thirteen smaller bores in its circumference. It was loaded respectively with a shell and with grenades. The French used them in 1701.

they are appointed to. Y'r Gov't must not order higher Pay y'n the other Forces have, otherways, it will make the Mutiny general, as all the People will expect equal Pay. As for w't Mr. Wood,¹⁶⁶ Carlyle's Deputy, might have s'd, is wrong, for he has Orders to supply Y'r People equal with the others. You are in a bad Situat'n in regard to Y'r People, or can I tell w't to say, as I know not the Terms they were enlisted [under], but by no means can they have more pay y'n 8d. 7^p Day. I fear You will meet with little Success in enlisting, as Washington has Orders to compleat his regim't. You forgot to send Capt. Cock's¹⁶⁷ receipt on the Number of Arms, &c., left with him. I gave Orders for 12 half bls. of Powder and 1,000 lb Lead as a Pres't to the Catawbas and Cherokees. Capt. Montour has my Orders to meet You at Wills's Creek with as many Ind's as he can collect, y't if You proceed over the Allegany Mount's, they will be of Service. I differ from You in regard to the Affair at the Meadows. Our Forces were daily in hopes of a reinforcement, and if Capt. Clark's dillatoryness had not prevented, they might have joined them. He was sick, and kept his Compa. to attend him, whereas he sh'd have directed them to march, and he might have followed, when recovered. And, if our officers reported truly, they knew nothing of the reinforcem't of the French till the Day before they was taken on a Surprize. However, I sh'd be glad we c'd retrieve that Loss. Pray let me know the Number of Y'r regim't; it's monstrous ill Conduct y't the 2,000£ raised by Y'r Colony, sh'd be expended before they came to the Place of Act'n. As before, their Delay in their March must be charged to the bad Oeconomy of their Officers. The more I think of it, the more am [I] surpriz'd. I must leave it to Y'r own Prudence to extricate Y'r Self from Y'r present Embarrassm't, intirely owing to the first seting out. I rem'n, with very great Esteem and regard, and Sincere wishes for Success to our just Proceedings, [and] am in Truth,
D'r S'r, Y'r affec. humble serv't,

¹⁶⁶ Probably Colonel James Wood, the founder of Winchester, Va., and the father of Colonel James Wood, Governor of Va., etc.

¹⁶⁷ Thomas Cocke, was commissioned Captain, December 13, 1754. He appears to have been intimate in the family of George William Fairfax. Captain Wm. Cocke, of Winchester, before mentioned, was probably the officer here referred to.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN.

Aug'st 5th, [1754.]

SIR:

Y'r two Letters of the 1st June (by Capt. Legg), I duly rec'd, and sh'd have answer'd them before this, but it was late in June before I came from Winchester, and [I] have been much hurried ever since. It's true, His M'y, by Pat't, granted to a certain Compa. a qu'ty of Land on the river Ohio, w'ch Lands are His Majesty's undoubted right, by the Treaty of Lancaster and subsequent Treaties at Logstown on the Ohio. I wrote you the 23rd May, 1753, y't a number of Families were going to make a Settle'm't on these Lands, but my Letters do not say, y't a French Army, consisting of many Thous'd regular Troops, march'd from Canada and fell on y't little Colony, killing great numbers on the Spot, carrying many into captivity and seizing their Effects to a great Amo. If You had laid my Letters before Y'r Legislature they w'd have found no such Paragraph. I s'd they took some Traders, confiscated their Goods, and carried their Prisoners to Canada. I approve of Com'ds from each Gov't to enquire into the State of the Colonies, but at this Time, w'n the French are in Arms and [have] invaded His M'y's Lands in a hostile manner, there is no Time to be spared for a Gen'l Congress. It appears to me more eligible, in obedience to His M'y's Com'ds, y't each Colony grant a mutual Supply, by Applicat'n to the Assemblies, without waiting to adjust the proper Quotas, and this the other Colonies are doing. No. Car. and M'yl'd have [so] done, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania, now sitting, will contribute to the support of the Com'n Cause, and I hope Y'r Assembly will think proper to do the same. You mistake my desire, if You think I wanted Y'r Assist'ce for building two Forts; no, this Dom'n c'd do y't With't any Assistance, but my repeated Application, was for Men and Money to defeat the Designs of the French in invading the King's Lands, and to be able to repell Force by Force. The Place I began to build a Fort in, was most proper, as it com'ds Monongehela, and river Ohio, and is the very spot the French are now fortifying. No doubt two or three of our Colonies may be sufficient to repell any Force the French may bring ag'st us, but if those Colonies will not join with Spirit, the French take the advantage.

I acknowledge very fully y't I do not know the Affairs of the Ind's so well as You, but I have observed ever since I have been here, y't the particular attachm't of the different Colonies to their own particular Int'ts (and not as Subjects to one Prince) has been of very bad Consequence in Ind'n Affairs; and the Ind'n Nat's do not like to be confined to any one of the Gov'ts in regard to their Trade; we have very little from this, but pray, by w't Law can I restrain our People from trading with any Ind'n Nat's in Amity with G. B., or shall I be confin'd from showing a regard to our Fr'dly Ind's, w'n they come into this Gov't? The seldomer they come the better, for it's always attended with great Expence. The Emperor of the Cherokees was here with his Attend'ts. I rec'd him properly, with Pres'ts, and recom'd him and his People to Y'r Province for Trade, as being much more Contiguous. The King of the Catawbias and some Cherokees were lately here, I gave them Pres'ts, and recommended them as above, and indeed, very few of our People have any Ind'n Trade to the No'w'd; it's chiefly conducted by Pensylvania and N. York. About a Year ago the Cherokees and Catawbias wrote me if the French sh'd come to invade their Hunting Grounds and our Lands, they would assist me with 800 Warriors. As I was disappointed from our own Colonies, I sent to them for their Assistance on this Emergency, to march some of their Warriors to join our Forces at the Ohio. They sent me word they were ready if I w'd Supply them with Amunition, but y't the Gov'r of So. Car. desir'd them to rem'n at home, take care of their Families and Hunting, for I was only going to build a Fort, w'ch I c'd do with't their Assistance. If this is true, I think His M'y's Service has been ill used and much Slighted by one of His Gov'rs. I never had any View of Trade with them, w'ch is much too mercenary, while His M'y's Dom's are so much expos'd to the Invasions and Insults of the French. You surprize me, y't you know of few or no Ind's in Treaty with Virg'a. I think all the Nat's of Ind's y't are Allies to G. B., are in Fr'dship with this Dom'n, and as such I always receive them, besides we have several seperate Treaties with Ind's. However, it gives me Pleasure y't You keep the Catawbias, Cherokees, Chickesaws and Creeks in so good Order, w'ch I wish may long continue, tho' I am inform'd the French are now building two Forts among the Cherokees, one not far from Choto, w'ch I presume, from Y'r

close Attent'n with them, they have appriz'd You of it. No doubt N. York and Caro. are well able to conduct their Ind'n Affairs, but [I] am sorry they sh'd be distinguish'd as their Ind's, w'ch I never heard N. Y. assum'd, but now, w'n His M'y's Service so much requires it, and [it is] necessary to keep them in our Int't, I hope I cannot be justly charg'd with misconduct, in endeavour'g to get the Assistance of the Ind's, let their Attachm'ts to any other Colony be w't it will. You go a great length in saying you will answer for their Conduct with Y'r Life.

If I had known Abra. Smith's Character, I w'd not have employ'd him, even as a Messenger, but it was [a] Necessity, having very few Traders to these Ind's, but after this Year, he shall not be employ'd. The Present to the Ind's is p'd out of the Funds of this Dom'n, and I hope You will not take it amiss y't we see the delivery of it in a proper manner. Capt. Legg is my former Acquaint'ce, a Man of Merit, Worth, and a good Officer. I thank you for the Pleasure I had in Mr. Wragg's short Acquaintance; he appears to be a Gent. of great Learning and superior Sense; his stay here was very short, but [I] expect it will be longer on his return homewards. You surprize me much in desiring me to send back the Ind't Company; they were sent here by His M'y's Orders, and must remain till order'd back by the King. I know no Power the Gov'ts have to send His M'y's Forces from one Colony to another with't distinct Orders from home, and at pres't they are very much wanted here. The Ind'n y't came with Capt. Mackay went with y't Compa. to the Camp, and [has been] order'd to be sent to his Nat'n. I am sorry for the barbarous Behaviour of the Shawnesse Ind's y't broke out of Goal. I fear y't Nat'n have join'd the French, so, at pres't, nothing can be done; but if we are so lucky [as] to succeed in our pres't Expedit'n, I shall hereafter endeavour to have them bro't to Justice. The pres't Affairs of the French prevented the Chiefs of the Ind's meeting me at Winchester. They sent me Word they c'd not leave their young Men, for fear of being deluded by the French fair promises. Now, Sir, I think I have pretty fully answer'd Y'r two Letters, and my duty to the Crown engages me to give You an Acc't of the Operat'n of our few Forces near to the Ohio. By Capt. Dubois I wrote you the French had landed near to the Fort I order'd to be built, [and] sumoned them [to] surrender, w'ch,

from our small Force, were oblig'd to comply. Colo. Washington, with the first Detachm't of our regim't marched over the Allegany Mount's, [and] encamp'd at a Place call'd the Great Meadows, within 30 Miles of the Fort they took from Us. On the 27th of May, he had Notice of a Party from the French Fort [that] were reconnoitering our small Camp. The Informat'n was sent him by the Half-King (who is Chief of the Ind's on the Ohio), who desir'd him to march with some of his Men and join him, and he w'd shew where the French were encamp'd, who consisted of 35 Men and two Officers. Colo. W. march'd with 40 Men to the Half-King. One of the Ind'n runners tract the French to their Lodgment. Our small Party was in Sight about 9 o'Clock in the Morning, w'n the French flew to their Arms. A small Engagement ensued. We lost one Man and two wounded. They killed 13 of the French, and took 21 Prisoners, who are now in this Goal. Y'r Ind't Co. and the rest of our regim't join'd Colo. Washington about the 20th of June. They had Informat'n the 3d of July, [that] the French being re-inforc'd with 700 men, were on their March to attack them. The short Warning gave them little Time to put themselves in a proper Posture of Defence, but I refer You to the enclos'd News Paper for the Particulars, as reported to me by the officers. Our small Number of Men behav'd with great Spirit and Courage, y't altho' the French have the advantage by Capitulat'n, yet Hon'r is due to our People. I presume You will now join with me in calling the French on this Contin't Enemies. This small Defeat has given me much Concern, but it seems to have Open'd the Eyes of our neighbouring Colonies to join sincerely in the Comon Cause. M'y'l'd has voted [£]6,000, and the Assembly of Pennsylvania, now sitting, will, with't doubt, act properly in granting handsome Supplies. As I do not care to let our few Forces lie idle, they are now near 1,000 Men, I have order'd them to march over the Allegany Mount's. If they cannot dislodge the Enemy from the Fort, they have my Orders to build a Fort in a proper place y't may be concluded on by a Council of War. The Money rais'd by our Assembly is very near exhausted, w'ch obliges me to call them [together] the 22nd of this Mo., w'n I have good Assurances of their granting further Supplies. I hope w'n Y'r People consider the Insults of the

French and our pres't Situat'n, y't they will cordially and with Unanimity grant their Aid ag'st the Enemy, and in the Cause y't all the Colonies are so greatly concern'd in. The Managem't of this must be left to You. I hear from England y't Y'r People complain I keep them in the Dark. I cannot conceive their reason for this. I wrote You the Purport of His M'y's Com'ds to me, I sent You Colo. Washington's Journal, and gave You an Acc't of my Operat's, probably not so fully as You might have expected, but [you must] consider [that] I have been oblig'd to write to every Gov't on this Cont't; y't takes up most of my Time, and I am sure there is no secret Designs or private Advantages in my View. No, Sir, my Endeavours are with Diligence and Assiduity to comply with the Com'ds I have from home, and conduct this essential Expedit'n with all Vigour and Care in my Power, and if the other Colonies had contributed in Time, I think it w'd have been ended before now, and the French drove from the Ohio. As formally, if Y'r Assembly grant any Supply, by Money or Bills of Excha., I can raise Men and provide the Necessaries for them. I shall be glad, by the return of this Express, to know Y'r Opinion if I can have any Dependence of a Supply from You.

I am, with Esteem and Respect,

Y'r Exc'y's

Most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO PRESIDENT ROWAN, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Aug'st 5th, [1754.]

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of 21st Apr. I rec'd on my return from Winchester where I went to meet the Chiefs of the Ind's, but was disappointed (the French invading their Lands on the Ohio); they sent me a Message y't they c'd not leave their Young Men for fear the French with their fair Promises sh'd delude them. The first Detachm't of our Forces march'd over the Allegany Mount's, [in] the Mo. of May, under the Com'd of Colo. Wash-

ington; the 26th of y't Mo, the Half-King wrote him y't a Party of French from the Fort were hankering round his small Camp and desir'd y't he w'd march a Party of his Men to join him and he w'd conduct them to their Lodgm't; he accordingly, with 40 Men march'd in the Night and join'd the Half-King, one of the Indians tract the feet of the French and in the Morning were in Sight of them; the French immediately flew to their Arms, a small Action ensued; we had one Man killed and two wounded; we killed 14 French and took 21 Prisoners, who are now in our Goal. The rest of our regim't and the Ind't Co. from Car'o. join'd Colo. W. in June; they had Acc't Y't the French were re-inforced with 700 Men, and the 3rd July had a further Acc't y't the French were on their March to attack them. They had not time properly to draw their Men up in Order till they were in Sight, y'n another Action ensued, the Particulars whereof You have in the enclosed News Paper, just as it was reported to me by our Officers. The French obtain'd the Victory by the Capitulation, but the Behaviour of our few Forces gives them Hon'r. If Y'r regim't had join'd our Forces in Time, as might have been expected, they w'd not have got this Advantage. The monstrous Delay of Y'r People I cannot acc't for. Capt. McKilware¹⁶⁸ went from Hampton the Middle of last Mo., Capt. Varle ab't the same Time, Maj'r Roan some Time after, and C't Bryan was at Augusta 27th July. His People mutined, and w'd go no further with't Money, w'n a Friend of mine was oblig'd to let him have 40£, to quiet their Mutiny, and Y'r regim't have not as yet wholly join'd our Army. Co. Innes writes Y'r Money will not last above two Mo's longer, w'n he will be oblig'd to disband them. There has been bad Conduct, y't the Money rais'd in Y'r Province sh'd be expended before the regim't gets to the Place of Action. The high Pay (I understand y't was allow'd them while in Carolina) is the reason. Our Forces had no more y'n 8d. p Day from [the] Time they were enlisted. I shall be glad if You can find some Method to raise Money to continue them longer

¹⁶⁸ Patrick McKellar, of the British Army, promoted Sub-Director, and Major of Engineers, January 4, 1758; Director and Lieutenant-Colonel, February 2, 1775; Colonel in the line, August 29, 1777.

in the Service. My Orders to Colo. Innes are, w'n all the Forces are collected in a Body, to march them over the Alleghany Mount's, endeavour to dislodge the French from the Fort, if y't is not practicable, to call a Council of War, and choose a proper Place, and there build a Fort, w'ch is all y't can be done at pres't. He will have near 1,000 Men with him. M'yl'd has voted 6,000[£]. Pensylv'a Assembly is now siting. The Gov'r thinks they will grant a handsome Supply. The Money rais'd here is very near expend'd. I have call'd the Assembly to meet the 22d of this Mo., w'n I have pretty good Assurances they will grant further Supplies. I desire You will, on return of this Express, write me if You think You have any probability of more Supplies from Y'r People. It's too hot Weather to drive Steers, but in the Fall no doubt they will sell here. The Pork Colo. Innes sent to Mr. Hunter proves very bad, but he will make the most of it. If You will write Colo. Innes, I shall take care to forward it. I remain with great respect,

Y'r Hon'r's
most h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—Pray let me know when You expect Y'r Gov'r.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS FOR TRADE (AND
THE SAME TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.)

R'T HON.:

Enclos'd You have Copy of my last Let'r, w'ch I pray [you] to be refer'd to. As we have about 900 Men now in Pay, and all near Wills's Creek, I tho't it proper they sh'd be in Action; I therefore call'd the Council, and was, by them, advis'd to order the Forces, w'n collected together, to march over the Alleghany Mount's, and if they sh'd think it practicable, to endeavour to dislodge the French from the Fort; if not, to call a Council of War to choose a proper Place, and there erect a Fort, and leave a proper Number of Forces in it to be ready for Action early in the Spring. The Com'd'g Officer, Jas. Innes, Esq'r,

has my Orders to act agreeable to the above resolution. It has given me much Concern that our neighbouring Colonies have been so backw'd in their Assistance. The Gov'r of M'y'l'd writes me their Assembly have at last voted 6,000^l for the Expedit'n. The Assembly of Pensylv'a are now sitting, and [I] hope they will grant a handsom[e] Supply. The conducting of this necessary Exped'n has given me much Concern, as I have had but few Men and very little Money for the necessary Expences; the Money rais'd here [is] very near expended. Our Assembly sits down next Week, w'n I shall endeavour all in my Power to engage them to grant a considerable Supply, w'ch I have good reason to expect. As before, we want a Supply from the B'd of Ordnance, w'ch I hope You will [be] so kind [as] to recomend; if some Forces are sent out, [they] will be of great Use, and two Ingenieers, for this Dom'n has always been in a pacifick Station; that very few Military People of any sort are here. We are inform'd y't the Enemy (for so I must now term them,) expect large re-inforcements from France, and [I] hope it will be duely consider'd with You. The absolute Necessity of immediately driving the French from His M'y's Lands on the Ohio river, and with Submission, I am of Opinion, y't no Time is to be lost, for the earlier we are in Act'n next Spring, will be the better, w'ch I think may be done before they possibly can be re-inforced, and I am convinc'd if the Ministry knew the Situat'n of the present Affairs, they w'd join me in Opinion. All I can say, I have, with great Diligence and Assiduity, comply'd with His M'y's Com'ds as much as was in my Power, with the small Assistance I have hitherto had, and shall hereafter, with great Earnestness and Care, execute w't Com'ds His M'y may please hereafter to direct; and I remain with great deference and due respect,

R't Hon'ble.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SECRETARY HENRY FOX.

Aug'st 15th, [1754.]

SIR :

Inclosed You have Copy of my last Let'r, to w'ch I beg [you] to be refer'd. I have order'd the Forces, now in Pay, on the present Expedit'n to the Ohio, to march over the Allegany Mount's to endeavour to dislodge the French from the Fort they took from Us last May. If they find that impracticable, I have order'd them to determine, by a Council of War, a proper Place to build a Fort and Magazine for Stores, and leave a proper number of Forces therein to facilitate the Operat's of next Spring; but we are so deficient of Officers and Military Men in this part of the World, y't without Assistance from G. B., I dread Success, as the Expedit'n is so very necessary for the good of the Nat'n and these Colonies, I hope the Ministry will see and think it proper, on this pressing occasion, to send over a number of Forces and a good Supply of Ordnance Stores, there being none here proper for a Seige, or indeed for the proper Equipm't of an Army of Men. Capt. McKay having lost Lieut. Mercier in the late Engagem't, I have order'd Ensign Gary to act as Lieut., and Mr. Jos. Loyd, a Cadet, to act as Ensign till His M'y's Pleasure is known, and I desire to recomend them to Y'r Fr'dship and Int't. Since the above Appointm't, Mr. Dalrimple, a half Pay Officer, has applied, and I think waits on You to succeed Lieut. Mercier, wherefore that Affair must rem'n till His M'y's Determinat'n is known. Mr. Dalrimple will be able to acquaint You in Person the situat'n of our Military Affairs here, and I wish he cou'd give a more agreeable Acc't of them. Capt. Ruthersfurd's Ind't Comp'y has only one Officer. I desired Colo. Innes, who is Com'd'r in Chief, to appoint Doct'r Colhoun to act as Lieut. for the present, till I receive Orders from Home in regard to these Affairs. As the three Compa's want Clothing, I have order'd my Agent, Jas. Abercombie, Esq'r., to wait on You y't he may send me out such Clothing as is agreeable to the rules of the Army. I am already greatly in Advance for these three Compa's, and I wait for Orders to draw for my re-imbursement, w'ch [I] shall be oblig'd for Y'r Int't in obtaining.

The Dispute in regard to Com'd, as I wrote Y'r Hon'r in my last, I shall be glad to receive Y'r Opinion and direct's thereupon. I shall hereafter do myself the Hon'r of writing You in regard to our Operat's, and beg leave to assure You, I am, with deference and due respect,

R't Hon.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

15th Aug'st, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

Annex'd is a Copy of my last, to w'ch I desire to be refer'd. I did not care to keep the Forces now in Pay on the Ohio Expedit'n idle; I therefore have given Orders for their marching over the Allegany Mount's. If no[t] possible to dislodge the French from the Fort they took from us last May, if they sh'd find that impracticable, I order'd the Com'd'r in Chief to call a Council of War, to choose a proper Place to build a Fort, and leave a suitable number of Forces in it, w'ch I think will be necessary to facilitate our Operat's in the Spring. We are in great want of Officers of Experience, and Military Men, particularly two Ingineers. Having no such Persons here, and as we are not assisted by our neighbouring Colonies, I fear success to the Expedit'n, without some regular Forces from Home; and all sorts of Ordnance Stores are wanted, [as we have] none fit for a Siege, and very few fit for equipping any tolerable number of Forces. I have wrote to the Sec'y of State on y't Subject, and Y'r L'ds. Int't will very much promote the proper Supply. I am convinc'd no Expedit'n in America was ever of so great Consequence to the Nat'n, and these Colonies, as the pres't. in defeat'g the Designs of the French from possessing the best and richest Lands in America, the undoubted right of His Majesty, the King of G. B. And I am of Opinion, if not quickly supplied with a proper and suitable number of Forces to repell their Invas's, it may be to[o] late; and they report that they are sure of [a] great number of Forces from France this Fall. Yet if a proper number from Britain were here early in the succeeding Year,

so as to be in Act'n in March, I think it w'd be soon enough and before they can venture down the Ohio river; and I heartily wish the Ministry w'd take it into their Consideration: as to Com'ds I may have, I shall execute them with Diligence and Care. Excuse the Trouble I give Y'r L'ds., and [I] beg to assure You, and rem'n with great Deference and dutiful respects

R't Hon.,

Y'r L'd's much Obliged and most Ob'dt humble serv't

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

Aug't 15th, [1754].

R'T. HON.:

The annex'd is Copy of my last, to w'ch may be refer'd. The French are determin'd to be very troublesome to the B. Settlements on this Cont't. They began with Nova Scotia, built a Fort on some part of the New Engl. Gov't. then New York, invaded His M'y's Lands on the Ohio—the back of this Dom'n—and propose building Forts on New river,¹⁶⁹ Greenbryar and Holstein's—the back of No. Car. So y^t they surround these Colonies with their insolent Invas's, joining the Ind's in comiting the most cruel Barbarities. I fear, without a proper Assistance from G. B., we shall not be able to drive them off His M'y's Lands on the Ohio river. We are in great want of Military Officers, particularly Engineers. We want all

¹⁶⁹ The *Virginias*, for April, 1883, contains an interesting note as to the origin of the name, New river, in which it is severally claimed by Major T. L. Broun, of Charleston, West Virginia, that it was named by Major Peter Fontaine, who surveyed along its lines in 1752, by C. R. Boyd, of Wytheville, Virginia, on the authority of Hon. David McComas, that it was a mere translation of the Shawnee term, Kanawha, which means *New water*, and by Dr. J. P. Hale, of Charleston, West Virginia, that it was named "the New river" long before 1752, by Abram Wood, who discovered it by crossing the Blue Ridge at what is now known, from him, as Wood's Gap. It may be added that on "Fry & Jefferson's Map," published by Thomas Jeffreys, London, 1775, it is termed "Great Konhaway, called also Wood's and New River," which appears to support the claim of Dr. Hale.

sorts of Ordnance Stores, and I have applied to the Sec'y of State for a proper Supply, and I humbly pray Y'r Counten'ce and Int't in procuring them, and indeed two regim'ts of regular Forces w'd be absolutely necessary. But I must submit these Demands to the Ministry, and am fully perswaded, the sooner the better, for the French are like so many Locusts, they are collected in Bodies in a most surprizing manner; their Numbers now on the Ohio is from 1,200 to 1,500, the Ind's included. The Money rais'd by our Assembly is near exhausted, [so] y't I thought proper to call them the 22nd of this Month, and am in hopes they will come determin'd to grant a handsom[e] Supply on the pres't pressing Occasion. These Things I think it my Duty to acquaint Y'r L'ds. [with], and beg leave to assure You,

I rem'n, with great Deference and dutiful respects,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO EARL GRANVILLE.

Aug'st 15th, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

The annex'd is [a] Copy of my last, to w'ch I beg [you] to be refer'd in case of its miscarriage. I send Y'r L'ds. my second Bill of Excha. for £427. 4. for the money sent me by Y'r Agent, Mr. Corbin. The French are determin'd to be very troublesome to us on this Cont't; they began at Nova Scotia, have built some Forts on Lands belonging to the New Engl. Gov't. threaten New York, Invaded His M'y's Lands on the river Ohio the back of this Dom'n, and [I] am lately inform'd they intend to build Forts on the rivers of Greenbryars, Holston's and New river, the back of No. Carolina, by a number of Men from Mississippi; this last wants Confirmat'n, so y't I have not wrote to the Sec'y of State thereon, tho' there is Probability y't they will do all they can to make us uneasy and encourage the Ind's to robberies and Murders, nay, if report be true they join the Ind's in all their Barbarities. I think we shall not be able to suppress the Invas's of the French with't strong Assistance from B. for the Assemblies here are very obstinate and backward in raising Supplies and I

fear will continue so unless there [is] an Act of Parliam't of G. B. in taxing them and in bringing them to a proper Sense of their Duty to the best of Kings. We are in great want of good Officers, particularly Engineers, and all sorts of Ordnance Stores, w'ch I have wrote to S'r Thos. Robinson fully about, and [also to] the Sec'ry of War. Y'r L'ds. good Offices will be of singular Service, as I am sensible of Y'r Attachm't for the Prosperity of these Colonies. His M'y ordered three of his Ind't Compa's under my Com'd; they came in great want of almost every thing, w'ch I have supplied them with, but as yet have no Direct's how to be re-imbursed, but I hope the Sec'ry at War will enable me to draw my Advance. I wait for his M'y's Orders how to proceed for the future, and do Assure Y'r L'ds. every thing in my Power shall [be done, and I am] with great Deference and dutiful respects.

R't Hon.,

Y'r L'd's much obliged and very humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

Aug'st 15th, [1754.]

S'R:

Inclos'd You have Copy of my last, to w'ch I refer you. As I do not incline y't the Soldiers in pay sh'd eat the Bread of idleness, I have given Orders to the Comd'r in Chief to march over the Allegany Mount's, and if he finds it not practicable to dislodge the French from the Fort, he is to call a Council of War and fix on a proper Place, and there build a Fort, [and] leave a proper Garrison of Men in it, w'ch will be preparing for the Operat's in the Spring, but [I] am still of Opinion, without a sufficient Aid from Home, we shall not be able to drive the French from the Ohio. You know the obstinacy of American Assemblies. I am oblig'd to call our Assembly, who are to sit the 22nd, as the Money formerly rais'd is near exhausted, [and] I am in hopes they will be prevail'd on to grant a handsom[e] supply. I have pretty good hopes y't they will do

all in their Power. There has been a Congress at Albany, where several Com'rs, from some of our Colonies, met the Chiefs of the Six Nat's, but they were not able to prevail with them to take up the Hatchet against the French, but pretend to rem'n Neuter, till they see the success of either the Contending Parties. At that Meeting they form'd a Plan for an Union of all the Colonies, Copy of w'ch I here enclose You. There are some Articles in it of an extraordinary nature; the Presid't of the Grand Council is to be invested with large Powers, and indeed very near to y't of a Viceroy. I suspend my Judgem't till I hear how it is rec'd with You, and pray, if You have occasion to shew it, have it Copied by another Hand, y't it may not be known y't it came from me. I wrote a Scheme about a Year ago to Lord Halifax, w'ch I think more reasonable and more Constitutional, but I have not heard from y't Nobleman since. I do not know y't I have done anything to deserve his Displeasure, and therefore I continue writing to him. W'n You wait on him, endeavour to find out in w't he is offended. I am convinc'd I had no Intenti'n to displease him, and his long Silence gives me Concern, as he formerly wrote me very sincerely and friendly. I was in hopes y't corresponding with him immediately w'd have been of great Service to me and to the Public, as he desired my Opinion on Things in a free and candid Manner. The three Ind't Compa's being order'd under my Com'd, I have advanc'd a large Sum for them, and I have no direct's as yet how to draw for my re-imbursem't. They want Clothing, and must be supplied by the Mo. of Mar. Pray enquire of the Sec'ry at War if I am not to supply them with Clothing; if so, do the necessary therein and know how I am to be supplied with Money, for I have very great Trouble, and I presume His M'y, by ordering them under my Com'd, intended me some Advantages. The Gov'r of N. York has the Com'd of one of the Compa's, and I know not whether I can have any right to expect one here, as they now have each a C't., tho' those from N. York came so uncompleat and in so bad Order, y't I do not know but one of them deserves to be broke; but as the Sec'ry at War is fully acquainted with the whole Affair, You may, from him, know his Opinion and resolution e'er this, but whatever way y't may be, it's reasonable I sh'd be enabled to draw for to reimburse the Money I have already advanc'd. Lieut. Jno. Dal-

rimple¹⁷⁰ comes home in order to procure a Com'o. to succeed Lieut. Mercier in C't MacKay's Comp'y. I have desired him to wait on you, who is able to acquaint You pretty fully of the State of Affairs here, and from him You may be qualified to speak fully on the Subjects above. You may easily guess the great fatigue and trouble I have had, which is more than I ever went thorow in my Life. As the Expedit'n was much at my Heart I have been the more earnest in conducting it, and may venture to say no man in my situation could have done more, few Men and very little Money to carry it on with proper Spirit. I am still of Opinion with't Force from Home, we shall hardly be able to drive the French from the Ohio; we want Military Men, and particularly Engineers. As this Colony has always been in a pacifick Station, we want all sorts of Ordnance Stores, w'ch I have wrote to S'r Thos. Robinson to obtain, in order for a proper Supply. I do not know if on this Occasion I sh'd write to the B'd of Ordnance; enquire, and, if necessary, frame a proper Let'r, and put my Name to it; in w'ch Letter let them know we are in want of everything for a Seige. You may mention small Bombs, Coehorns, Granad Shells, small Pss. Cannon, not exceeding two Pounders, as they are to be carried 400 Miles over some high Mount's; enquire of Military Men w't is proper, and include it in Y'r Let'r, bearing equal date with this. This is giving You Trouble, but You can easily do it, as You may see my Meaning. About two Days ago, I have Acc't y't the French from Mississippi, to the number of 400, are come to the rivers of New river, Greenbryar, and Holston's, the back of Lord Granville's Land, with Intent'n to build some Forts, but as my Intelligence is not very particular, I have not wrote the Boards thereon, as I do not incline to write anything y't is not perfectly certain, but the above is very probable, and we cannot be too much on our guard ag'st a cunning invading People, who seem inclined to distress Us in all Quarters. They vaunt much of their Expectat's of a great Force of regulars from France, by the way of Cape Briton and Mississippi, w'ch has Probability to support it. I wrote You formerly y't No. Carolina

¹⁷⁰ John Dalrymple was appointed Captain-Lieutenant in Jan., 1755, returned to America, and was placed in command of Johnson's Fort in North Carolina.

had voted 12,000[£] Proclam'n Money for the Expedit'n, they began to recruit in March and are not all yet joined the other Forces, and have conducted their Forces with very great Imprudence, allowing every private Man 3s. 6^p Day while in Carolina, and, in short, they have exhausted the whole Money before they joined the other Forces. They have all along mutined for want of proper Discipline. Last Week 26 deserted from one Co. Colo. Innes writes me they will not serve unless allowed 3s. 6^p Day, w^{ch} cannot be done, as the other Forces have only 8d. I wish Mr. Dobbs was arrived, probably he may reconcile things. The Error was at their first setting out. I distinctly wrote the Pres't [stating] the Establishm't of the Pay of our Forces, w^{ch} he s'd have followed, instead thereof, they have spent the [£]12,000, without being in a Capacity of doing any Service. You may believe these Affairs trouble me much. M^yl'd has voted [£]6,000 for the Expedition. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, now sitting, I hope will grant a proper Aid; but these little Assistances are nothing of Consequence to conduct with proper Spirit an Expedition of so great Consequence to the Nation and these Colonies, and therefore, with't proper Aid from Home, I dread [the want of] Success.

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

ALEXANDRIA, 20th of August, 1754.

HON'BLE SIR:

Mr. Peyronney, solliciting for leave to attend the Assembly, hoping to have some allowance made for his loss of Cloaths, &c., which he sustain'd in common with us all, and being not thoroughly cur'd of his wounds, which has hitherto render'd him unfit for Duty, I thought it proper to indulge him in his request, and he now comes for these purposes aforesaid. By him I again take the Liberty of recommending to your Honour the great necessity there is of a regulation in the Soldiers' pay, and that a deduction be made for the Country to furnish them with Cloaths; otherwise they never will be fit for Service. They are now Naked, and can't get credit even for a

Hatt, and are teasing the Officers every Day to furnish them with these and other necessities. Another thing which shou'd be fix'd indisputably, is the Law we are to be guided by, whether Martial or Military; if the former, I must beg the favour of your Honour to give me some written Orders and indemnification; otherwise [I] cannot give my assent (as I am liable for all the proceedings) to any judgment of the Martial Court that touches the Life of a Soldier, tho', at this time, there is absolute necessity for it, as the Soldiers are deserting constantly, and yesterday, while we were at Church, 25 of them collected and were going off in Face of their Officers, but were stop'd and Imprison'd before the Plot came to its full height. Colo. Innes did not fill up any Commissions for the Virginia Regiment, which has given those that were entitled to promotion, some uneasiness. His reasons were, it wou'd be unnecessary expense to the Country till there were Orders to recruit, but this, I think, should not have been consider'd, whilst it is remember'd who [how] small encouragement is shown them upon every occasion. Another motive which I believe Served to prevent it, was his dislike to the tenour of the Commission, which favour'd so much of the Militia. He told me he wou'd send down another for your Approbation, and Colo. Fairfax has also taken another, both of which is greatly preferable to those by which we act; and here I must beg leave to acquaint your Honour that the one you sent me is not signed. The Officers are uneasy ab't their Pay, and think it hard to be kept out of it so long. They hope your Honour will order that the dates of their Commissions be from the vacancy's that happen'd, of which I have enclos'd a list for [your] information, hoping, with them, your Honour will be kind enough to fill them up yourself, as [and?] send such Com'n as were sent for Precedents. Mr. West, Lieut't of Vanbraam's Company, has resign'd his Commiss'n, which I herewith send. I also enclose a List of Medecines, which the Doct'r desires may be procur'd for the use of the Regiment. He solicits much for a Mate, and I believe it necessary, as he often has more business than he can well manage; [if] there were a large Detach't sent upon Duty it wou'd be imprudent to go with't a Surgeon. If your Honour shou'd think proper to promote Mr. Peyronney, we shall be at a loss for a good Disciplinarian to do Adjutant's Duty,

w'ch requires a perfect knowledge of all kinds of Duty. I shou'd therefore take it extremely kind if you wou'd be pleas'd to confer the Office upon Mr. Frazier, who, I think, I can fully answer for, let his former conduct be what it will. We have Catch'd two Deserters, which I keep imprison'd till I receive your Honour's answer how far the Martial Law may be extended, and it is absolutely necessary that an Example be made of some for warning to others; for there is scarce a Night, or opportunity, but what some or other are deserting, often two, or three, or 4 at a time. We always advertize, and pursue them as quickly as possible, but seldom to any purpose. The expences attending this, will fall heavy on the Country while this Spirit prevails.

I am Your Honour's

Most ob't and most H'ble Serv't,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

N. B.—I shou'd be extremely pleas'd if your Honour thought it advisable to send these Commissions by Maj'r Carlyle the first Oppert'y.

COLONEL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

ALEXANDRIA, 21st Aug't, 1754.

HON'BLE SIR:

The bearer hereof, Mr. Wright, 'discovering an Inclination to the Art Military, and having, in some Measure, made it his Study, I have taken the liberty to recommend him to your Honour for one of the Vacancy's in the Virginia regiment; this I do with more assurance of succeeding, as Mr. Wright's Character for good Sense and Sobriety will render him worthy the favour you may please to confer, and I dare venture to say, he will endeavour to deserve.

Yesterday Mr. Peyronney set off from this; who I hope will also meet with your Honour's approbation and indulgence, as

his behaviour has merited a reward from his Country (such he looks upon this to be). Mr. Campbell arriv'd Yesterday, after appointing the Musters for the Northern Neck. I was not a little surpris'd to hear him say he was to have the Half of my Salary, especially when he at the same time gave me to understand he expected it was the half of the 70[£], exclusive of the 30[£] which he has for his two Countys, which is near a third of what I get for the whole 11 Countys—a great disproportion this. I hope your Honour gave Mr. Campbell no room to expect this, for I think it exceeding hard that I shou'd give so much more for a deputy than others, especially when the duty is much easier. For the Middle district, which has 10 Countys, Muse gives but 40£; Colo. Thornton gives yet less for his, while I, by Mr. Campbell's account, is to give £65, or at any Rate 50£. I hope, if your Honour is kind enough to continue me in that office, You will not oblige me to give such an exorbitant allowance to a Person, who, by all acc't, knows nothing of the duty he has undertaken. I can get a Person whom I have taken great pains myself to teach, and who is perfectly acquainted with every part of the Service, to do the duty of the whole for the same that others give, and I shou'd be very glad for the sake of having the Countys kept in tolerably discipline, and for the favour of obliging me, your Honour wou'd indulge me in this, as I will engage it shall turn more to the Publick advantage, whose Interest I am certain from well founded Reasons, you espouse, preferable to that of private. I am with all due regard, and imaginable respect, your Honour's,

Most Ob'd. and most

H'ble Serv't,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

I must again mention Mr. Frazier as a person we shall much need if Mr. Peyronney is promoted, as I hope he will [be].

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Aug'st 22d, 1754.

Mr. Speaker and Gent'n of the Ho. of Burgesses:

I am very sensible [of] the great Expense the Co't'y is at in [the] frequent meeting of the Assembly, but I am persuaded w'n You seriously consider the present dangerous Situation of our Affairs, You will agree with me [upon] the absolute Necessity of calling You together at this Time. The ambitious Views of the French for universal Monarchy, has been particularly observ'd in Europe for many Years. They have, for these last seven Years, been oppressing the British Subjects in the East and West Indies. His Majesty's Colonies on this Cont't have been greatly disturb'd with their repeated Encroachm'ts. They began with the Northern Settlem'ts, and are now carrying their unjust designs to all the So'ern Colonies of the British Subjects. What more immediately affects us, is their Contempt of the Treaties now subsisting between the Crowns of G. B. and France, y't they have unjustly invaded His M'y's Lands on the river Ohio, and with an arm'd Force taken a Fort y't by His M'y's Orders I had directed to be built on y't river; After w'ch they have comitted the most violent hostile Act by attacking our Forces w'ch were sent by his M'y's Com'ds to build some Forts on his Lands near the river Ohio and killed many of our People. These Affairs I hope You will seriously consider, and I fear this is only a Prelude to ye further designs of Invading and taking from us the Lands we are now, and have been so long possessed of. I c'd expatiate vere largely on these affairs, but my Heart burns with resentm't at their Insolence on the dignity of the Crown and disturbing the quiet of this Dom'n.

Gent. of the Ho. of Burgesses: I think there is no room for many Argum'ts to induce you to raise a considerable Supply to enable me to defeat the Designs of these troublesome People and Enemies to Mankind. I desire all Annimosities may subside, y't y'r deliberat's and Councils at this perilous Time be distinguish'd by Loyalty and Duty to the best of Kings, and true Patriotism for the defence of Y'r Co't'y, w'ch

is now so much expos'd to the Insults of a merciless Enemy. The Exp's to this Time, Y'r Comittee can inform You, and I believe the Money is wholly expended. The conducting of the Expedition for the future will require great supplies, but surely the Necessity of our Affairs call for it and no doubt it will be tho't reasonable to advance part of w't we are possessed of to save the rest. *Gent. of the C. and Ho. of B.*: Never was a Time w'ch more strongly calls for Y'r Unanimity and Dispatch, and as every Individual becomes now concern'd in Your Consultat's y't You will exert Y'rselves on this Emergency by grant'g Supplies equal to the pressing Occasion. I pray God may direct Y'r Councils for His Hon'r and the Protect'n of Y'r Co't'y by granting such Assistance at this Time as to qualify me to repell the Force of the Enemy. I desire to assure You, y't I will with chearfulness join in every Thing You may propose for the salutary Ends consist't with my Instruct's.

REPLY OF THE COUNCIL TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

S'R:

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Council of Virg'a, now met in Gen'l Assembly, return Y'r Hon'r our most sincere and hearty Thanks for Y'r kind and affectionate Speech at the Opening of y's Session. As we are deeply affected with y'r Hon'r's earnest and most expressive representat'n of the pres't Exigency, and no less sensible of the real Concern, w'ch Y'r Hon'r has fully manifested for the Prosperity, Happiness and Safety of this [Colony], we beg Leave to present You, Sir, with such unfeign'd and Zealous acknowledgments as ought to be the result, and must necessarily follow from the most grateful Sense of such vigilant and beneficent Care of our dearest Interests. The ambitious Views of the French, [their] open Contempt and Violation of Treaties and their Unjust Invasion of His M'y's Territories, make our Hearts burn with resentm't, and we assure Y'r Hon'r y't we look upon ourselves as bound by every

Tie of Loyalty, Gratitude and Humanity, chearfully to concur in every Measure y't will most effectually conduce to support the dignity of the Crown, secure the Lives and Properties of our fellow Subjects, and repell the Force of those perfidious People and Enemies of Mankind. Inspired by these Tho's, our Councils, at this perilous Time, shall be directed with all the Unanimity, deliberat'n and Dispatch w'ch is due to the Importance of the Subject, [our] duty to the best of Kings, and true Patriotism for the defence of our Co't'y. Y'r Hon'r's Journey to Winchester, w'ch was undertaken with a View to cultivate the Friendship of the Ind's, and thereby to strengthen our Western Frontier, c'd not but be attended with much Fatigue and Trouble; We therefore beg leave to return Y'r Hon'r our thanks for y's Instance of Y'r unwearied diligence in promoting the true Int't and Prosperity of this Colony. We cannot but conclude with adding our sincerist Prayers to the Almighty Arbiter of Peace and War y't He w'd direct Y'r Hon'r's Consultat's, prosper Y'r Endeavours, give Peace and Prosperity to this Dom'n, and in Order to y't, long continue Y'r Hon'r an Ornam't and Happiness to Us.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

22 August, 1754.

SIR:

The Bearer hereof, Capt. Alex'r Finnie, has my Orders to deliver You the French Prisoners, being one Officer, two Cadets, La Force and 17 Private Men. You are immediately to convey them to the French Fort; write to the Command't to return the two Hostages, with a safe Convoy, to Y'r Camp. I cannot write You any further at present; our Assembly now sitting, being the first Day of their Meeting, hurries me much. I remain, respectfully,

S'r, Y'r humble serv't.

REPLY OF THE BURGESSES TO THE ADDRESS OF
GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

August 26th, 1754.

S'R:

We, His M'y's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virg'a, now met in Gen'l Assembly, return Y'r Hon'r our Thanks for Your Speech at the Opening of this Session. The designs of the French to extend their Settlem'ts across this Cont't, from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and to secure the same by Forts built at the most convenient Passes. The spirit with w'ch they carry on these Designs and their Endeavours, at this Time, in defiance of the most solemn Treaties, to bring them to Perfect'n by invading this Colony and expelling His Majesty's Subjects from those Lands to w'ch he has an undoubted Title, must create in Us the Highest and most becoming resentm't; at the same Time y't they dem'd our most serious and strict attent'n, and w'n we reflect on the fatal Tendency of these violent depredat'ns and encroachments, y't if not timely prevented, they must be the Source of the greatest Mischiefs and Calamities to all the British dom's upon this Cont't. We cannot at all doubt but y't the other Colonies will exert themselves in a mutual assistance and unite with us in the comon Cause. But whatever they may do, we are determin'd on our Parts to withstand the impending danger and to pursue every Measure in our Power to defeat those pernicious attempts of our Enemies, y't we may convince the World we have nothing more at Heart y'n a zealous discharge of our duty to the best of Kings and the sincerest regard for the Safety and true Int't of our Co'ty.

To w'ch Addresses His Hon'r was pleased to return the following Answers:

REJOINDER OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE PRECED-
ING REPLY OF THE COUNCIL.*Gent. of the Council:*

I return You my sincere Thanks for Y'r kind and affectionate Address. It gives me Pleasure and Satisfaction to find Y'r strong Intent's to concur with me in defeating the unwarrantable Designs of the French, w^{ch} requires the utmost Vigour and dispatch. I do assure You Gent. y^t I shall never think any Fatigue too much in the Service of my King, or y^t may tend to the Prosperity and Safety of this Dom'n, and it is a great Joy to me to have Gent. of Y'r Probity and good Sense to consult with on all Occasions, and y^t my Transact's meet with Y'r Approbation.

REJOINDER OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE PRECED-
ING REPLY OF THE BURGESSES.*Mr. Speaker and Gent. of the Ho. of Burgesses:*

I thank You for Y'r Address. I am very glad y^t You so properly judge of the fatal Consequences y^t may follow the violent Encroachments and Depredat's of the French. I have reason to expect a mutual Aid from our neighbouring Colonies. I have also earnestly wrote for and intreated Assistance of Men and a Supply of Ordnance Stores from G. B., in which I have great Hopes of Succeeding. It gives me Pleasure y^t You are determined to withstand the impending danger and pernicious Attempts of the French. If You cordially grant sufficient Supplies, I doubt not, with the Blessing of God on our just Endeavours, [that] we shall be able to defeat the designs of our Enemies.

ADDRESS OF THE BURGESSES TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

SIR:

We, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Burgesses of Virg'a, now met in Gen'l Assembly, beg Leave to assure Y'r Hon'r y't we entertain the most just Sense of Y'r Concern for the Safety of this dom'n, and to return Y'r Hon'r our unfeigned Thanks for Y'r Condescent'n in readily laying before Us Y'r Book of Letters and Instruct'ns to the Officers of the Forces sent out upon the Expedit'n to the Ohio, by w'ch it appears y't You have given the most proper Orders and pursued the most prudent Measures for defeating the designs of the French.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S REPLY TO THE BURGESSES.

Mr. Speaker and Gent. of the Ho. of Burgesses:

I return You my sincere Thanks for Y'r kind Addresses. The Prosperity, Safety, and Happiness of this Dom'n is, and shall be my constant Study. It gives me much Pleasure and Satisfact'n to observe Y'r Approbat'n of the Instruct's given by me to the officers on the Ohio Expedition, and of the Operations I have, from time to time, directed and Ordered for defeating the designs and unjust Encroachm'ts of the French. You may be assured I shall continue to do Every Thing in my Power, and to the best of my Capacity, in bringing this just Expedition to a happy and agreeable End.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Augs't 30th, [1754].

SIR:

Inclosed You have a Let'r from Mr. Turnbull, and Copy of an Acc't he expects me to pay on Acc't of Y'r regim't. He had

my Orders to supply them with Provisions on their March, as also Vessells to transport them, w^{ch} I must see p^d. His first Acc^t cont^d many other articles, w^{ch} I objected to, and suppose he applies to You for Paym^t. 37 b^{ls} of the Pork, Maj^r Carlyle must acc^t to You for. His Com^o. of 10 p C^t is wrong, and [he] must be allowed only one-half. Peruse the Acc^t, and send me Y^r Observat^s thereon. Y^r Officers in general have behaved ill, and seem^d determined to take up all the Money, &c., they possibly cou^d; Y^r Pork with Colo. Hunter is a dull Comodity; much have been sold for 32s. 6d.: Maj^r Carlyle has taken 100 b^{ls}., for w^{ch} he is to pay 40s. p b^l, delivered at Alexa.; the Char[ges] in carrying it up, will be 2s. 6d. p b^l Colo. Hunter, now here, says he offered 50 b^{ls} at 36s., w^{ch} was refus^d, and no Money to be had. However, I, with many argu- m^{ts}, perswaded him to take 500 b^{ls} at 35s., paya[ble] in 6 Mos. It's a poor Price, but the Season [of] the Year made it neces- sary to part with it. Mr. Dobbs, Y^r Gov^r, I expect very soon in the Garland Man of War into York river; he being under Orders to consult with me on the present Exigen^y of our Affairs. I c^d wish You was here to represent to him fully the Miscond^t from the Beginning, of Y^r regim^t. Inclosed You have a written Order for sending Mons^r La Force down to this Town; send an Officer that You can trust, and y^t will be very careful and diligent y^t he may not make his Escape. Look on him as a cunning, designing Man, and therefore require double Care. You will observe the Warr^t is to convey him from Co^ty to Co^ty till he is safely delivered to me. Y^r Officer is to call on the Lieut. of each Co^ty, or any other Magistrate, for a sufficient Guard—producing to them my Order. Our Assembly have voted 20,000[£], but the Method of rais^g it is not yet fix^d; wⁿ that's done, I shall concert a Plan of Operation. Give me Y^r Opinion, if with the few Men You have, if [there is] any Probability of doing any Thing essential to the other side of the Mount's this Fall. The disband^g Y^r regim^t has greatly inter- rupted my former Orders to You. Take Possessⁿ of the Ohio Compa's Warehouse at Wills's Creek for Y^r Proviss^s; get your great Guns all up there, mount them for defence. Can You make Sheds round it for accommodating Y^r People in Case of bad Weather? Send an Express to Mr. Croghan to assure the Ind's y^t we are diligent in preparing every Thing for their

preservat'n, and to recover ye Lands on the Ohio, but y't I am so busy with our Assembly y't [I] cannot now send a Com'o. to them, or indeed can I see any Necessity for it. Take Care of the other French Prisoners, and if You can send a Flag of Truce to the Fort let the French Com'd'r know y't You are ready to exchange Y'r Officers and two Cadets for our two Hostages, but y't they have acted contrary to the Law of Nat's in taking our People Prisoners after the Capitulat'n agreed upon, offering 'em to Sale, and at last missing of the Sale, sending them Prisoners to Canada, an unprecedented, unjust and barbarous Usage; they pretended they were Prison'rs to the Ind's; the same reason subsists in regard to our Prisoners, the Half King insisting on their being his. As they have broke throw the Capital, I am determin'd to keep their People Prisoners, or indeed c'd the Com'd'g Off'r contract for their release after they were in my Custody. I am quite fatigued, y't I cannot now enlarge, but shall write You soon again. Pray enquire of Capt. McKay and others if it's possible this Fall to secure a Pass over the Allegany Mount's; their Opinion how to effect the same, y't if we sh'd take no further steps this Fall it may facilitate our Operat's very early in the Spring.

I am, with Sincere regards,

S'r, Y's.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

1st Sept'r, 1754.

SIR:

My last was the 15th Aug'st, w'ch I expect will come to Y'r Hands long before this, and I accordingly refer You thereto. I then wrote You our Assembly was to sit the 22d last Mo. They met accordingly. In my Speech to them I press'd the Necessity of a considerable Supply. They met with good Dispositions to support [the] pres't Expedit'n, and on Thursday, the 29th, they voted [£]20,000, to be rais'd by a Poll Tax at two different Payments, 2s. to be immediately collected, and 3s. to be rais'd next July. This Supply w'd have enabled me to

conduct the Expedition for one —,¹⁷¹ and to increase the Number of Forces from 300 to 600; but Yesterday, being the 31st of Aug't, a litigious Spirit prevail'd in the H. of B. They have tack'd to the above Bill, by way of rider, a resolve they entered into the Assembly in Nov'r last of paying Mr. Randolph [£]2,500 for negotiat'g their Affairs in G. B. This resolve was then rejected by the Council. I took much Pains to acquaint them of the Inconsistency of this rider, and how far it appeared to me unconstitutional, but to no Purpose; they are determined not to pass the Vote of Supply without it. I observed y't their resolves were now before the King and Council, therefore out of our Hands, and till I heard their resolution it was not in my Power to pass any such Bill. It is not yet sent up to the Council, but I think will be sent to them To-morrow. How they will behave in this Affair I cannot say, but I fear some of that B'd are not so consist't as I c'd wish. If they sh'd give Y'r Assent to the Bill, w'ch I w'd expect they will not, as they had given their Negative to the resolve, yet I by no means will pass y't Act, the Consequences whereof will be y't there will be an End to my Operations on the Expedition, as nothing is to be done without Money, and I can never prevail with myself to pass an Act so very inconsist't with Parliamentary Proceedings, or indeed is it any ways eligible to interfere with an Affair y't lies before the King and Council, till their determination is properly known. You may observe my present Situation, y't as the Bill is not yet sent up to the Council I cannot write properly to the Sec'y of State, the B'd of Trade, &c.; but as I conceive the other Party writes by this Ship, I c'd not shun writing You the present Circumstances I am under, and y't You may make use of this Letter at the different Boards as You may see necessary. I am much pleased with their vote of Supply, and they had drawn up an Address to His M'y, which they had sent up to the Council for their Concurrence, relating to the Poverty of the Co't'y, and humbly praying His M'y's gracious Aid and Assistance, w'ch I promised to back with my Int't, and to forward it to the Secr'y of State; and after this Address was sent to the Coun-

¹⁷¹ An omission in the original.

cil, they very irregularly and unconstitutionally added the above rider to the Bill, to be raised on the Subject for His M'y's service, and the rider appears to me to be of a private Nature, and therefore irregularly tack'd to y't Bill. From the whole, it appears plain to me y't as no dependence can be possibly put in an American Assembly for conducting any Expedition, and more particularly this under my Care, so very essential to the Nation, &c., for the Preservation of the Properties of the Subjects in these Colonies; and therefore there is an absolute Necessity of a handsome Supply of Men and Money from Home, w'ch I have in my former Letters earnestly solicited, and if not sent by the Mo. of Feb'y, its more y'n probable y't the French will be able to do anything they may suggest. Pray wait on the different Boards, and L'd Granville, [and] communicate the Cont'ts of this Letter. You may acquaint them how I was not able to write them properly till the Bill came in course to the Council, y't I may know their resolution thereon, and I hope for these reasons I shall be excused not writing. Inclosed You have my speech on opening this Session, the Council, and [the] B. Address to me and my Answers, as also an Address I had from the B. Yesterday, and my Answers thereto, from all of them, no doubt, You will be surpriz'd with me at their Conduct in clogging the Vote of Supply with an Affair y't takes it out of my Power to pass it. There is such a Party and Spirit of Opposition in the lower Ho. y't it's not in the Power of the Gov'r to suppress, unless he is to prostitute the rules of Gov't, and act inconsistent with his Instruct's. I have really gone thorow monstrous fatigues, w'ch I sh'd not much regard if I c'd answer the Com'ds of His M'y, but such wrong headed People (I thank God) I never had to do with before. If You see it proper, You may shew this Letter to Messrs. H[anbury], As really in discharge of my Duty on this Expedition it's with so much Sincerity and Earnestness y't I do not care if my Transact's were made public to the World. One of His M'y's Ships will sail from this in three Weeks, when I shall be able to write properly and fully to the different Boards. If they sh'd think proper of sending Supplies of Men and Ordnance Stores, there must be a Credit to me from Home for Supplying them with Provisions and all other Necessaries, w'ch, if left to my Conduct, it shall be executed with all possible

Frugality. The Behaviour of the People chagrines me much, and the Expedit'n I have so much at heart, every Thing y't prevents the proper conducting of it gives me real Concern. I heard of this Ship only Yesterday, y't I was afraid I sh'd not be able to write, and this is done in great Hurry, but I desire You will loose no Time in communicating the same in such manner You may think, and

I remain with great regard.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO J. & C. HANBURY.

Sept'r 1st, 1754.

GENT:

The inclosed Let'r to Mr. Abercrombie I intreat may be sent to him imediately, as it is of great Consequence and he has my Orders to communicate the Cont'ts to You. Our Assembly sat the 22nd last Mo., and voted 20,000*£* for conduct'g the Expedit'n, but they have clogg'd it with a rider that will put it out of my power to pass it. I refer You to Mr. Abercrombie for the Particulars thereof, as I am really very much straitened in Time. Division and Parties subsist in the Ho. of B., y't it is not in my Power to bring them to reason, and the miserable Condition we are in from Insults and Invasions of the French; and the People here appear to me to be infatuated in not properly considering their own Preservation. I tho't they met with much Inclination to act with Spirit in our present Emergency, but the Clog they have put to their Bill of Supply is such, y't, inconsistent with the rules of Gov't and the present Circumstances, I can by no means pass. I trouble You with my Speech on opening the Sessions, the Council and Assemblie's Addresses and my Answers, but I am fully convinced y't depending on the Aid of American Assemblies for conducting the present Expedition will prove abortive, and further, with't a Supply of Men and Money from Home we shall not be able to defeat the Designs of the French, w'ch in my former Letters I earnestly desired. If granted, I must have a Credit at Home for their Subsistence, &c., w'ch be so kind to join with Mr. Abercrombie in obtain'g. If Mr. Abercrombie sh'd be in the Co't'y, pray open the Letter, and be so

kind to follow the rules prescribed to him therein, for I cannot now properly write to the different Boards, &c., but shall by Capt. Whitwell, who is to sail in three Weeks, and indeed I was told but Yesterday of this Ship's Sailing, and am obliged to send my Letters by Express to York. For these reasons pray excuse Scrawls, &c.,

and believe me to be, most sincerely,

Gent., Y'r very humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY, PROROGUING IT.

Sept. 4th, [1754.]

*Gent. of the Council, Mr. Speaker and Gent. of the Ho. of
Burgesses:*

The impending danger from the violent Incursions of the French, their Threats and depredat's, were the only Motives of calling You together at this Time. And the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of Y'r Constituents are in such imminent Hazard I did not in the least doubt but y't You w'd before this have strengthened my Hands with a proper Supply to frustrate their malicious Intent's, and especially w'n I rec'd from You such strong and repeated Assurances y't You were determined, on Y'r Parts, to withstand the impend'g danger and to pursue every Measure in Y'r Power to defeat these pernicious designs of Y'r Enemies, I tho't I might reasonably admit the pleasing Hopes y't You w'd effectually provide for y'r Country's Preservation and convince the World y't You had nothing more at Heart than a zealous discharge of Y'r duty to the best of Kings and the sincerest regard for y'r Country's Welfare.

How great y'n, Gent., must be my surprize, and with w't Amazem't must Y'r Co't'y, and the World, see such High Expectat's cast down so low! See You called upon in the day of Y'r Country's distress, hear you declaring Your Knowledge of her danger and professing the most ardent Zeal for her Service; yet find these declarat'ns only an unavailing Flourish

of Words, and y't inconsistent with Them and the Purposes of Y'r Meeting, You Withold Y'r aid and thereby leave the Enemy at full Liberty to perpetuate their destructive and unjust designs. The Independ't Companies ordered by His M'y, cloathed and paid by him, and now employed in Y'r imediate defence, You absolutely, by Y'r resolve to me, deny subsistence to: A thing unprecedented in any of His M'y's dom's where they have been employ'd in their defence from Incursions or threatened Invasions. I have my Master's Service, and the Safety and Hon'r of Virg'a, so much and so truly at Heart, y't I cannot but be deeply affected at a Conduct so contrary to her Interest and not altogether unconcerned for You, Gent. of the Ho. of Burgesses, y't You sh'd appear in so bad a Light to His M'y, and give such an ill Impression to the neighbouring Colonies. However, as I find You are determined not to do w't Y'r Duty to His M'y and the present obvious danger indispensably require, I think it proper to avoid aggravating unnecessary Expences, particularly In[con]venient at this Time, and therefore, to put an end to Y'r Continuance here, I do prorogue You to the 17th day of Oct'b'r next, and You are accordingly prorogu'd to y't Time.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Sept'r 6th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r Kind favo. of the 20th Aug'st I rec'd, and sh'd have answer'd before this, but waited the result of our Assembly, w'ch I prorogu'd Yesterday after [their] doing Nothing to support the pres't Expedition. On y'r first meeting they appear'd greatly inclin'd to give a handsom[e] Supply; I press'd the absolute Necessity thereof with all the Int't I had, and they accordingly voted 20,000[£], w'ch gave me much Pleasure, but the Day after, on the third reading of the Bill, they loaded it with a rider for paying Payton Randolph, Esq'r, (the Person they sent Home to complain ag'st me,) 2,500[£]. As the Council had formerly rejected a resolve for y't Sum, they c'd not, in hon'r, pass this as

a rider to a Money Bill for a Supply to His M^y, w^{ch} is unconstitutional, therefore rejected it. I took all the Pains in my Power to convince them of the irregularity of their Proceedings by acquainting them that the resolve for y^t Sum, with their other resolves, lay now with the King and Council; it was therefore out of our Hands, and we c^d not meddle with it till we heard the Determinatⁿ of the Council thereon, but all the Argum^{ts} I c^d use, availed Nothing; they were obstinate, and by no means w^d send the Bill with^t the rider to the Council, on w^{ch} I was oblig^d to prorogue them till the 17th of Oct^r, wⁿ I hope they will come in a better Temper, and before that Time I expect a King's Ship with Mr. Dobbs, Gov^r of No. Car., and by her I probably shall have Acc^t of all the Affairs y^t lie before the Council. The Plan of Operat^s y^t I proposed for this Fall, are entirely defeated:—1st. By the No. Car. Forces disbanding Themselves, w^{ch} was occasioned by a monstrous mismanagem^t of them from the Beginning; they raised 12,000[£]. The Presid^t of y^t Colony gave the private Men 3s. Proclamⁿ Money $\frac{3}{4}$ Day, and the Officers in Proportion, so that their Money was wholly expended before they joined the other Forces, and w^d serve no longer with^t Assurance of the above Pay. This is monstrous ill conduct, and more so, because I wrote the Presid^t the Establishm^t of the Pay of our regim^t. Next is the reductⁿ of the No. of our Forces, those killed and Wounded unfit for Service, and desertⁿ, w^{ch} has reduced the Number to 150. If the [appropriation of the] 20,000[£] had pass^d, I fully intend^d to Augm^t our regim^t to eight Compa^s of 70 Men each, w^{ch} with Officers wanted, w^d have made 600 Men, and, in course, made up the deficiency occasioned by the No. Car. People, but the Obstinacy of our Assembly have defeated my Intent^s, and [I] am now perswaded y^t no Expeditⁿ can be conducted here with dependence on American Assemblies. I have therefore wrote to y^t Purp^{se} Home and have propos^d a B. Act of Parliam^t to compell the Subjects here to Obedience to His M^y's Com^{ds}, and to Protect Y^r Properties from the Insults of the French by proper Supplies and a vigorous resistance, who no doubt will take advantage of our Divisions, and I much dread their Incurs^s among our Inhabit^s this Winter; under these great Disappointm^{ts} I determin^d to keep the few People we have, in Pay, and propose 100 of them to march to Wills's Creek to join the

Independ't Compa's, and to endeavour to secure a Pass over the Allegany Mount's by erect'g a Fort and leaving a sufficient Number of Men therein with a proper Quantity of Provis's to facilitate our Operat's next Spring, w'ch is all I think possible to be done now, but I shall be greatly oblig'd for Y'r Advice herein, as I am sensible of Y'r Knowledge in Military Affairs. I have earnestly wrote Home for assistance of Men and Money, with't w'ch I dread our Success, as also for a proper Supply of Ordnance Stores, for we have none here suited for a Campaign or Seige, w'ch will be much wanted to dispossess the French of the Fort at Monongehela. I have Complaints from our Frontiers in Augusta Co'ty of many Parties of Ind'ns, &c., robbing and ill treating our People, have therefore order'd a Compa. of our regim't there to assist and protect them. A Gov'r in the discharge of his Duty to his King and Co't'y is much to be pitied, w'n it is considered his Transaction with an obstinate Assembly, full of their own Opinion, and entirely deaf to Argum'ts and reason. I assure You I am heartily fatigu'd, and quite uneasy with the unjust Opposition to every Thing propos'd to them for the Gen'l Good, and with't the Gov't take some Steps to assist Us, I fear the Consequence from the indefatigable Motions of the Enemy. The Establishm't of the Pay to Y'r Compa's I think very equitable. I have ordered Colo. Innes to take Possess'n of the Ohio Compa's Wareho., w'ch will make a very good Magazine, and we [had] better rent, y'n begin to build. I have directed a Breast Work, and the great Guns are to be mounted for defence, and if they can build a Shed round it, may be proper for the Soldiers to lodge in, and to proceed to the Mount's to build a Fort, to secure a proper Pass by the Time we can collect a sufficient Force to attack the Enemy. To do it with the few Men we have, w'd be sacrificing their Lives. I am glad You have directed the Opening the new road from rock Creek, w'ch will be of great Service. I am [an] entire Stranger to the back Co't'y, but have desired Colo. Innes to get the best Informat'n he can, and to write me fully thereon. There is no doubt but the French will do all in their Power to stop the Passes over the Mount's, and endeavour to intercept our Provis's, &c. I therefore am of Opinion, with our handfull of Men, we can only be on the

Defensive till we increase our Numbers, and w'd willingly hope, [that at] our next meeting of our Assembly, they will more seriously consider their Danger, and grant a Supply with't any Clog; but their behaviour this Session gives me a bad Opinion of them. Y'r Scheme is very just, and entirely agreeable to me; but with't Men and Money I cannot tell how to conduct myself, and indeed it gives me very real Concern. You may please to direct Y'r Men for two Mo's, as you think most suitable, after y't, the Season of the Year will prevent any Thing further to be done; but if I c'd obtain a Supply from our Assembly, I w'd propose raising our Numbers as before, and to be at Wills's Creek in Feb'ry, to be ready for Action before the French can be re-inforced from Quebeck, as I understand they cannot come down the rivers till the end of Apr. or beginning of May. Pray, under our pre't bad Situat'n and disappointm'ts, be so Kind [as] to give me Y'r candid Advice how to act, for I really am oppress'd with Concern on the bad Conduct of our Assembly. I rem'n with very great Esteem and just regard,

Y'r Ex's most obed't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR HAMILTON.

Sept'r 6th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r kind favo. of the 12th ult'o, I rec'd, and sh'd have answ'd it before this, but waited the result of our Assembly, in regard to granting Supplies. They met the 22nd of last Mo., and I tho't with great Inclinat's to grant a handsome Sum, they all appearing sensible of the great danger all the Colonies were expos'd to. On the 27th, they voted 20,000[£], w'ch was twice read in the Ho. of B. On the 3rd reading, w'ch was the 28th, a contentious spirit possess'd some of them, and they propos'd a rider to the Bill, w'ch was to pay 2,500[£] to P. R., Esq're,¹⁷² their Agent, sent home with a Complaint against

¹⁷² Peyton Randolph, the Attorney General.

me about the Pistole Affair. Our Treasurer, who is Speaker of the Ho. of B., unconstitutionally paid this Money, by a resolve of their Ho., w^{ch} resolve was last Nov'r rejected by the Council. However, they tack'd this to the Bill of Supply, and sent it up to the Council, and they unanimously rejected the same. They were, on this, Obstinate, and declar'd they w^d pass no Bill of Supply with't it. I used all the Argum'ts in my Power to shew them the impropriety of tacking a private Dem'd to a public Bill of Supply to His M'y, and further told them y't Transaction was out of our Hands, for y't resolution and the other extraordinary resolves they made in Nov'r Session, was now before the King and Council, and y't they sh'd not notice it till the resolution and determinat'n of the King and Council at Home was known. They [were] obstinate and deaf to all argum'ts, and declared y't without y't rider they w'd grant no Supplies, so y't I was oblig'd to prorogue them to the 17th of Oct'r, next. There appears to me an Infatuat'n in all the Assemblies in this part of the world. They are not affected with the imminent Danger they are obviously exposed to, but seem satisfied to leave the French at full Liberty to perpetrate their utmost Designs to their ruin. I daily expect a King's Ship with Mr. Dobbs, Gov'r of No. Caro., by whom I hope to have a proper Acc't of the Affairs lying before the King and Council. This unexpected and unreasonable Conduct of our Assembly, put a Stop to all my Operat's this Fall, w^{ch}, if I had been able to put in Execution by a Supply of Money, it's probable we might have put a Stop to the French and drove them from the Ohio, whereas, now they are left at full Liberty to murder, plunder and [do] every Thing else they think proper. Our Assembly Complains much of the want of Aid from our neighbouring Colonies; if Mr. Morris¹⁷³ is arriv'd with You, and can bring Y'r People to a proper way of thinking by granting a handsom[e] Supply, it may probably raise the Spirit of our Assembly to renew their Vote with't this rider. At present I am under the greatest apprehensions of the bad Con-

¹⁷³Robert Hunter Morris, son of Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey. He was for twenty-six years one of the Council of New Jersey; Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania from October 1754, to August 1756; died February 20, 1764, "full of years and honors."

sequences from the Lethargick Indolence of the different Colonies in not opposing the Enemy just at our Doors, and indeed this Affair gives me more Concern and anxiety than any Thing [which] ever occur'd to me. A Gov'r is really to be pitied in the discharge of his Duty to his King and Co'ty, in having to do with such obstinate, self-conceited People. The French and Ind's are now making Incursions among our Inhabitants in Augusta Co'ty, threatening our People to depart from their Plantat's, and propose building Forts on Holstein's, Green Brier's and other rivers. I keep up the few Men we have, and have ordered a detachm't to these Places to protect our Frontiers. I am very sensible of Your good Inclinat's to support this necessary Expedition, but no Gov'r can act consistently, with't proper Supplies, and [I] am very sorry [that] there is such supineness in the People of Y'r Province; from their numbers we had reason to expect at least 1,000 Men and I think You have acted properly in resigning the Gov't, and if I c'd in honor, I sh'd be glad to do the same, for I am quite wearied with the many obstacles thrown in my way in discharge of my Duty. I fully agree with You, y't no Expedition can be conducted here with a dependence on the Assemblies, and I have fully represented it Home, and have desir'd Aid of Men, Money and Ordnance Stores, with't w'ch I have small Hopes of Success, as they have this Affair much at Heart in G. B. I hope they will grant us proper Assistance, and y't soon, otherways, I fear it will be too late. Tho' You have resign'd Y'r Gov't I shall be glad of Advice from You at Y'r leisure Time, with Y'r Opinion on Affairs now in Action. You have done very judiciously in assisting the Half-King, &c., and hope You will represent the Affairs to Mr. Morris, on his arrival, in its true Light, and pray present my Complim'ts to him. I had a small Knowledge of him in Londo. The three Ind't Compa's, with the other few Forces are to build a Magazine for Stores, somewhere near Wills's Creek, and to erect a small Battery for its Protect'n; for I think with the small No. of Men we have, we cannot, this Winter, venture over the Allegany Mount's. The prospect at a distance, is, if the Assemblies can be bro't to reason, and grant proper Supplies, to make a Push early in the Spring, before they can be reinforc'd from Quebeck. I am so dejected with this last unexpected Behaviour of our Assembly, y't I despair of doing w't my Inclinat'n, and

the pres't Posture of our Affairs dem'ds; however, I shall endeavour with Patience [to] wait to see w't Time may produce. Excuse the Length of this Letter, and believe me to be with great regard and respect,

Sir, Y'r most Ob'd't and most humble serv't.

Inclos'd I trouble You with my proroguing Speech.

P. S.—If a few of Y'r Men were ordered to Wills's Creek to join the other Forces, [it] may probably facilitate their Undertakings either in building a Fort or other Services.

No. of Men there, viz't:

3 Ind't Compa's, say,	-	-	-	260
Colo. Innes's Co.,	-	-	-	40
From our regiment,	-	-	-	100

Be so kind to forward the two inclosed Letters for Phila. by very first Opp'ty.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DELANCEY.

SIR:

Y'r agreeable Let'r of the 30th Ulto, I rec'd. His M'y's Service is much oblig'd to You for the Trouble You took with Your Assembly to procure a Bill of Aid to the present necessary Expedit'n, and agreeable to said Act, enclosed, You have a Minute of the Council here, advising me how to have the Mo[ney] bro't hither, as also my Order under the Great Seal of this Dom'n to pay £4,651 19s. 4½d., to Julian Legge, Esq'r, Comd'r of His M'y's Ship Shoreham, who is so kind [as] to offer his Service to bring the Money to this Place, in his way to his Stat'n of So. Car. And I desire to return my Thanks to Y'r Assembly for the seasonable and necessary Supply. I thank you for the Intelligence from Oswego. Is it possible to prevent, from that Place, the many reinforcem'ts from Quebeck to the Ohio, so nigh y't Fort? But as I am a Stranger to Y'r Co't'y, and the strength of the Fort, probably I may judge wrong on y't Head. The three Belts of W[ampum]

were] sent me, excusing the five Nat's coming to Win[chester], desiring my Aid and Protect'n of their Allies and Fr'ds at the Ohio, and desiring me to return them w'n I came to Albany. As our Affairs w'd not allow me to send Com'rs to y't Treaty, I now, by this Bearer, return the Belts. No doubt but that the building a Fort at the Mouth of the riviere au Bieuf,¹⁷⁴ w'd be of great Service, but our Chief Aim must be pointed at removing them from the Ohio, w'ch, if we can do, the other probably may follow. I am sorry for the Occasion to inform You y't our Assembly sit the 22nd of last Mo., and I tho't with great Inclinat's to grant a handsome Supply; accordingly they voted 20,000[£], w'ch gave me much satisfact'n, but on the 3d reading of the Bill they tac'd a ryder to it, viz: To pay 2,500£ to Payton Randolph, Esq'r, their Agent, sent Home with a Complaint against me. This Sum was a resolve by the Ho. of B., in the Sessions, last Nov'r, and y'n rejected by the Council, as such a Tack of a Private Bill to a Money Bill for His M'y's Service, being unconstitutional, the Council rejected it, and as all the resolves at y't Time were of an extraordinary Nature and without any Precedent, they now lie before the King and Council for their Determination thereon, and in course, out of our Hands till we hear from Home; all these Argum'ts, the irregularity of the rider, and every thing I possibly c'd suggest to them, availed Nothing with an obstinate Self Opinionated set of People, y't they resolved by a Majority of the Ho. not to send up the Bill to the Council with't y't Tack, and they c'd not in hon'r pass it, as they had formerly rejected the same in a resolve, on w'ch I was oblig'd to prorogue them to the 17th of next Mo. This unexpected Affair has put a full Stop to my Intent's this Fall; if the 20,000[£] had passed, I determin'd to augment our Forces to 800 Men, [with] w'ch, with the 3 Ind't Compa's and 140 men from M'yl'd, I propos'd making a Push this Fall, and I think with good Prospect of Success, but now I am confined to keep the Men now in Pay to build a Magazine for Provis's, and a Fort near to the Allegany

¹⁷⁴ *Rivière aux Boeufs*. The French had built in the Spring of 1753, on this stream, a fort, connected with that at Prisque Isle on Lake Erie, by a road twenty-one feet wide. It was on the spot where now stands Waterford (Erie county, Pa.). A small lake, and a stream rising from it to fall into French Creek, still preserve the memory of the long vanished buffalo, which once fed on its fertile meadows.

Mount's, to put every thing in a proper Posture for a strong Attack in the Spring, not doubting on their next meeting they will grant the above Some without any Clogg. This intolerable Conduct of the Assembly gives me great Uneasiness, as it affords the Enemy the whole Winter to strengthen Themselves and to make Incursions on our Frontiers. A No. of French and Ind's have already appeared in small Parties on the Frontiers of Augusta Co'ty. I have order'd a Detachm't from our small regim't to suppress them, and to protect our Frontiers, and on occasion, to raise the Militia. This, Sir, is the melancholy Situat'n I am at pres't in, but [I] still hope y't before ye Spring, to be able to raise a sufficient Force to make a proper Figure against them, but am now fully convinc'd y't no Expedition can be conducted here with a dependence on the Assembly's Supply. I have therefore earnestly applied home for a Supply of Men and Money, with't w'ch, I dread Success; we are also deficient of all sorts of Ordnance Stores, either for a Campaign or a Seige, [of] w'ch I have also desired a proper Supply from Home, my Letters on this Head must be with the Ministry before this, and [I] am in Hopes they will seriously consider our Situat'n, and grant relief. Excuse the length of this Letter, as I c'd not well abreviate it, and tho't it proper to give You a Sketch of the pres't Situat'n of Affairs.

I rem'n, with great respect,

S'r, Y'r most obed't h'ble Serv't.

P. S. Mr. Dobbs, Gov'r of No. Car., is daily expected in the Garland Man of War. He is ordered (as I hear) to consult with me on the pres't Expedition and probably will bring some new Instruct's; if any Thing of Consequence, I shall communicate the same to You. I send a Speech to be delivered with the Belts to the Six Nat's, if you think it is proper, pray forward it, and I desire the Favo. of Y'r having a proper Belt made to be delivered with the Speech, the Charge thereof, I will thankfully pay, having no Person here y't can make them.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE SACHEMS AND WARRIORS
OF THE SIX INDIAN NATIONS.*Bro's, F'ds and Allies:*

I rec'd by the Hands of Mr. A. Montour, the three Belts of W[ampum], w'ch You desired to be ret'd at the Congress at Albany. The French Invading Y'r hunting Grounds on the Ohio, took up all my Time to prevent their settling there, and agreeable to Y'r desire, to assist and protect Y'r F'ds and Allies on y't river, w'ch I have to the utmost of my Power on this pres't Invasion of the French and their Ind's done, and [I] am always ready to help any of the Tribes of Ind's y't are in Amity and F'dship with You. I now return the above three Belts of Wampum, and desire to assure You y't I shall, on all occasions, be glad to keep the Chain of F'dship between us bright, and to live in brotherly Love and F'dship with You, our Allies, while the Sun and Moon gives Us Light. In testimony of the Truth thereof, I present You with this Belt of Wampum.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD FAIRFAX.

Sept. 10th, [1754.]

It gives me great Concern y't I can acquaint Y'r L'ds. [that] the Ho. of B., after siting and debating a Fortnight on the Purport of my Speech recommending as the only Consideration at this Juncture, the raising a considerable Supply towards augmenting our Forces for the better dislodging and repelling the invading French, did indeed prepare and send a Bill to 20,000[£] up to the Council, but [it] being clogg'd, or tack'd with a Clause for indemnifying the Speaker, as Treasurer, paying to the late Atto'y Randolph, 2,500[£] without the Council's Concurrence and my Warrant; the Bill was rejected in Council, as before they had done w'n [it was] offered as a resolve. I imagine Y'r L'ds., in Y'r Observation of the Parliament's Proceed'g, does not remember any Tack to a Money Bill since King Wm.'s reign. This having destroy'd the Effect of the Expected Supply, my

Hands are weakened, and not able, sufficiently to provide for the defence and Safety of this Dominion. I must, therefore, make Use of the Militia as far as [the] Laws provide. And to put our Inhabitants in the best Posture, I enclose for Y'r L'ds., a Com'o. to be Co'ty Lieut., w'ch I intreat You to execute, but if my desires are unavailing, then to fill the Blanks in Colo. Martin's Name, and the other Officers, as You and he may approve. It being a Frontier, and next to Augusta, will require a watchful Conduct to guard against the too probable Inroads of the French and their numerous Indians. Mons'r Druillon, complaining by Letter that the Prison at Winchester is too small and very incommodious for the 17 Prisoners lodg'd there, the Council have agreed with me that it's better and safer to remove them by an Escort of ye Sheriff to deliver them to the Sheriff of Fairfax, who is to receive and guard them in the Prison at Alex'a, w'ch y'r L'ds. will please give Orders may be done. Mons'r La Force is order'd hither on Capt. Stobo's humble Advice. Colo. Innes has Instruct's to send Mons'r Druillon and the two Cadets, to offer in exchange of the Cpts. Stobo and Vanbraam, our Hostages. Colo. Washington, with the remaining Few [of our forces], is order'd to join Colo. Innes in filling up the Ohio Compa's Store for a Magazine, and to erect other Works to secure the same during Winter. Capt. And'w Lewis, with a Co., is ordered to guard the back and western parts of Augusta against the French and Indians, making Attempts on Holston's river and Grand river. I am in daily Hopes of seeing Gov'r Dobbs, who touches here in the Garland Ship of War, appointed for this Station, w'n I may have His Majesty's further Instruct's, some more Ordnance Stores, and perhaps Officers on half Pay. Y'r L'ds. may order out Patrollers as You may think proper, in case the French or their Ind's sh'd disturb the Settlers on our Frontiers; and I hope on the next meeting of the Assembly, they will more seriously consider the present situation of our Affairs and grant Supplies. New York has voted 5,000[£] for our Assistance, to be remitted here in Cash. One Mr. Wm. Smith (who claims a Friendship in Y'r L'ds.) came recommended by the Sec'y of State, to me, from w'ch, I propose his overseeing any Works that may be built, and to take Care of the Arms, &c. I am with great respect and high esteem,

Y'r L'd's most obed't h'ble serv't.

I shall have the Hon'r of seeing You here in Oct'r.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JULIAN LEGGE, ESQ'R., COMMANDER OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP SHOREHAM.

Sept'r 10th, [1754.]

SIR :

Y'r Letter of the 30th Ult'o, gave me much Pleasure to hear of Y'r Health, at N. York. Y'r Kind offer of bringing the Mo[ney] (granted by the Assembly of N. York for the Aid of the pres't Expedit'n) to this Place, is accepted with great Thankfulness. I have, therefore, this day desired Mr. DeLancey to pay You £4,651 19s. 4½d., w'ch, be so kind to receive and give Y'r receipt for the same, w'ch shall be cancelled by my receipt to You. The Garland is order'd here to relieve Capt. Whitwell;¹⁷⁵ Mr. Dobbs, Gov'r of No. Caro., comes in her, and [I] think I have reason to expect her before you arrive here.

Our Expectat'n meets with many Cloggs and Delays from our Assembly, and indeed their Behaviour makes me extremely uneasy and dejected. I was oblig'd to prorogue them (witho't any Supply) to the 17th of next Mo., w'n I hope to meet them fully determined to consider the pres't State of their Co't'y by granting a proper Aid for conducting this necessary Expedit'n, and I am convinc'd of your good Wishes for Success on our Endeavours. Capt. Clark, complaining much of his State of Health, desired a Furlow for a few Mos. to recover his Health. I wish he may bring Men enough to compleat his Co. My Wife and two Girls were mighty glad to hear of Y'r Health, and join me in most sincere respects. I always am,

D'r S'r, Y'r affect. humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Sept. 11th, [1754.]

SIR :

Inclosed are two Packets y't came to my Hands two days ago. Our Assembly voted a Supply of 20,000[£], but on reading the Bill the third Time they clogg'd it with a rider,

¹⁷⁵ Matthew Whitwell, commanding the Triton.

w^{ch} being both unreasonable and unconstitutional, the Council rejected it; all the Arguments I could use w^d not prevail with our Ho. of B. to send the Bill without the rider. So I was oblig^d to prorogue them till the 17th of next Mo. This unexpected Disappointment prevents my puting in Force the Operations I had concerted for this Fall's Campaign. If the Supply had pass^d, I propos^d augment^g our regim^t to 600 men; which, with the other Forces, might have march^d over the Allegany Mount's and made a Push ag^t the French, but [I] am of Opinion, with the Handful of Men we have, it w^d by no means answer; I therefore think it most prudent to build a Fortificatⁿ and Magazine as far back and near the Mount's, as You, in a Council of War, may think proper, and at the same Time, to keep the Compa's Wareho. to receive Q^{'ys} of Provision; to have every Thing in good Order very early in the Spring, not doubting but our Assembly, on their next Meeting, will grant a considerable Supply. I have ordered Colo. Washington, with the remains of his regim^t, to march to Wills's Creek to be assisting in building w^t may be determin^d in a Council of War; he will bring some Tools sent from this [place], and I hear You have several Tradesmen to work thereon. You sh^d agree with them for their Extra Pay, wⁿ at work. I am really quite fatigued and uneasy on this last disappointm^t. I can say no more at present, but that I am,

Sir, Y^r Friend, &c.

P. S. I have ordered Maj^r Carlyle, Forty Pistoles.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

Sept. 11th, [1754].

SIR:

No doubt You have heard y^t our Assembly is prorogu^d without granting any supplies. Under this unexpected disappointment, I fear we are not Numbers sufficient to attack the Fort taken from Us by the French. Therefore, I now order You to give a detachment of forty or fifty Men to Capt. Lewis. With them he is to march immediately to Augusta County, in

order to protect our Frontiers from the Incursions of small Parties of Indians, and I suppose, some French. Order him to march immediately, and to apply to Colo. Patton, the Co'ty Lieut., who will direct him where to proceed that he may be most usefull. With the remainder of our regim't, You are to march to Wills's Creek to join the other Forces in executing such Orders as I may see proper to direct. Maj'r Carlyle will supply Y'r Men with Necessaries, not doubting they will agree to have the said Supply's stop't from their Pay. I therefore desire You will march them to the Place above mention'd. You know best whether You can venture to march them from rock Creek to Wills's. This last disappointment from the Assembly has entirely defeated the Operat's I had projected. However, on their next Meeting it [is] probable they will more seriously consider the great Danger our Co't'y is expos'd to, and grant proper Supplies. I am sorry my Clerk sent Y'r Com'o. unsigned; it was a very great Omission; if You had sent it down, the date sh'd have been altered, I mean a few Days after Colo. Fry's Death, and I w'd have Signed it and returned it to You. I have appointed Mr. Peyronney a Capt., agreeable to Y'r recomendat'n. And I now send You Com'o. agreeable to Y'r List, w'ch deliver to them, and let them know y't I expect they will discharge their duties with good Spirit and a proper Example of Courage and good Conduct. I have only sent four Com'o's for Ensigns, till I have a proper Supply for their Paym't. I think You may order Wm. Wright to join Capt. Lewis, w'n he goes to Augusta. As to Fraizer, he is not here at present. I shall consider w't You write in regard to him. Mr. Campbell is to have 50[£] p^a Ann. from Y'r Salary, as Adjut't, and y't is w't Finnie¹⁷⁶ receives from Mr. Muse. I expect [that] You will march ime-

¹⁷⁶ This was probably William Finnie, subsequently in the Revolution as a Colonel of the State line and Commissary, though a Captain Alexander Finnie appears to have been employed sometimes as a messenger by Governor Dinwiddie. In the list of subscribers to the edition of the *Laws of Virginia*, Williamsburg, 1752, the names of "The Reverend Mr. Alexander Finnie, Prince George," and "Mr. Alexander Finnie, Williamsburg," appear. They may have been father and son.

diately for Wills's Creek, and [will] send me Acc't of the No. of Men. You have not sent Acc't of the pay of Y'r regim't. As the Pay was ordered for the whole No., there must be great Saving from the Dead and Deserters. I have not been able to procure a proper Allowance for the poor, Sick and Wounded, w'ch gives me Concern. Maj'r Carlyle, in the mean Time, must maintain them till I can obtain some Allowance for their Misfortunes in the Service of the Co't'y; and for the future, send me a Monthly Muster roll with the Pay due to each Company, and I doubt not, I shall be enabled to Pay them duly. Let me Know the day You march, and I sincerely wish You Health and Happiness, and I rem'n,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN ANDREW LEWIS.

Sept. 11th, [1754.]

SIR:

I have order'd Colo. W. to give You a detachm't of 40 or 50 Men from his regim't; with them You are immediately to march for Augusta Co'ty. Apply to the Co'ty Lieut. for his direct'n, where You may be most usefull in protect'g the Frontiers of y't Co'ty. If You happen to meet with any Parties of French or Ind's, You are immediately to examine the Ind's, of w't Nat'n, and take them Prisoners, if they cannot give a proper Acc't of themselves, and if any Party sh'd be obstrepulous and comit any hostilities on our Subjects, in y't Case You are to repell Force by Force, but I expect You will be very circumspect in Y'r Conduct and behave with good Discipline of Y'r Men, and a proper Courage so y't You may recomend Y'rself to the Service of Y'r Country. You are to apply to Colo. Patton, Y'r Father,¹⁷⁷ or any other Person, for Provisions for Y'r Men. I recomend Frugality on this Head, and [that you] have Y'r Acc't thereon properly kept, and so just, y't You can swear to the Truth thereof; and it shall be p'd. You are to carry with You a suitable Qu'ty of Amunit'n,

¹⁷⁷ John Lewis, a pioneer settler of Augusta county, Va.

and if two or three Horses are wanted to carry the same, apply to Maj'r Carlyle; shew him this Let'r, and he will supply You therewith. You shall hereafter have my Orders w'n to return to join the other Forces. I now desire You to be as expeditious as possible in getting to Augusta, as I have several Letters of some Parties of Ind's, &c., Robbing and Plundering our People. Write me from Augusta. I wish You Health and Success in the Com'd You are ordered on, and I remain,
Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

Sept. 11th, [1754.]

SIR:

I have wrote fully to Colo. W., with orders how to dispose of our Small regim't, and to call on You for such Necessaries [as] they may want on their March. Y'r Balla. of 690[£] I shall pay You at the Court. I think You may purchase those Things from the Ohio Co. y't You think may be wanted for our regim't; paya. in six Mos. Buy them on as good Terms as You can. Keep the Supplies of the three Ind't Compa's seperate, taking proper receipts from each Capt. or Comd'g Officer, and supply them regularly, and I will see You p'd. As the Supply of 20,000[£] is not pass'd into a Law, we must wait the next Meeting of the Assembly, in hopes they will come with a more attentive Apprehension of the Country's danger, and grant proper Supplies, but in the mean time, I desire You will furnish them with Provisions, &c., in the most frugal Manner, and no doubt, You may purchase them on Credit. I shall, at the Court, endeavor to procure You w't Money I can. I want a particular Acc't of Y'r disposal of the Powder, Lead, &c., and no doubt, You took receipts for each delivery; be particular in this Acc't, and what remains, and where it lies. Gov'r Sharpe writes me he has given Orders about the road from rock Creek. I shall be glad to know w't Progress they have made thereon. The Amo. of the Tools supplied, comes to a considerable Sum. Bring with You an Acc't, as near as possible, of w't rema's, and where they

are, and those sent up, I suppose, will be wanted at Wills's Creek; if so, forw'd them by Colo. W.'s regim't. There's no doubt but several People have an Eye to Y'r Appointm't, tho' I have no direct Applicat'n on y't head, and if there was, I sh'd consider well before I granted it. Whoever is employ'd and have a true regard to their Co't'y and the pres't Expedit'n, sh'd discharge their Duties with Probity and great Frugality, especially at this Time, w'n our Finances are so low. I therefore recomend this to You. Our regim't may be supplied with Ind'n Meal, w'ch is a hearty Food and comes much cheaper than Flour. Supply Colo. Innes with what he may be wanting for his Co.; send him 40 Pistoles, w'ch I shall repay at Meeting. I have nothing further to write at pres't, but wishing You Health, I rem'n,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

COMMISSIONS SENT COLONEL WASHINGTON FOR THE
OFFICERS OF HIS REGIMENT, VIZ:

Adam Stephens,	Lieut. Colo.,	July 20th.
Rob't Stobo,	Maj'r,	do. 20th.
Peter Hogg,	Capt.,	Mar. 9th.
And'w Lewis,	do.	Mar. 18.
Geo. Mercer,	do.	June 4.
Tho. Wagener,	do.	July 20.
Wm. Polson,	do.	do. 21.
Wm. Peyronney,	do.	Aug'st 25.
John Savage,	Lieut.,	Mar. 9.
James Towers, ¹⁷⁸	do.	June 9.
Wm. Bronaugh, ¹⁷⁹	do.	July 20.
John Mercer, ¹⁸⁰	do.	July 21.
James Craick,	do.	do. 23.

¹⁷⁸ The representative of James Towers, deceased, received 6,000 acres of land, granted under the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie.

¹⁷⁹ Captain Wm. Bronaugh received in 1771, 6,000 acres of land.

¹⁸⁰ This was John Fenton Mercer, mentioned in a preceding note as to Colonel George Mercer.

Wm. Wright, Ensign,	July 20th,	Lieut.,	Oct. 28th.
Carolus Gustavus de Spildolph, Ensign,	July 21st,	Lieut.,	Oct. 29.
Thos. Bullet, ¹⁸¹ Ensign,	July 22d,	Lieut.,	Oct. 30th.
Walter Stewart, ¹⁸² do.	do. 25th,	do.	31st Aug't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Sept. 18th, 1754.

SIR:

Last Night I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 12th, with Copy of w't You wrote to the Com'd't of the Fr. You forgot to write the most essential Thing w'ch You had in my Let'r to You, "that the Prisoners were in my Custody, and y't Colo. W. c'd not capitulate for their release." The Letter from Mr. Croghan is in a very odd Stile; we have agreed with 3 Nations; I know no Power he has to agree with any Nat'n, or who gave him y't Power. I think Colo. Wiser¹⁸³ w'd have wrote You himself; he does not mention the Names of the Nat's—write him, Colo. Fairfax is taken ill on the road, y't he c'd not proceed to his own Ho., much less to Mr. Croghan's. I did send for several of the Chiefs of the Ind's to meet me at Winchester, where I tarried a Fortnight to give them a present from the King, their Father, but it seems they cou'd not come, however, if they will come to Y'r Camp You may send to Mr. Cock's¹⁸⁴ for such Part of the Present [as] You [may] think proper to give them and others, keep Acc't how You dispose of it. Inclosed You have my order to Mr. Cocks to deliver w't You may send for. The Money due to him,

¹⁸¹ Thomas Bullet appears in 1771 as a distributee of the land pension, provided in 1754; appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and Deputy Adjutant-General, February 22, 1777, and died in the service during the Revolution.

¹⁸² Lieutenant Walter Stewart was voted by the Virginia Assembly, August, 1755, thanks, and a gratuity of £30, for his gallant behaviour in the action on the Monongahela. He was wounded at the defeat of Braddock.

¹⁸³ Conrad Weiser.

¹⁸⁴ Captain Willam Cocke, Deputy Commissary at Winchester, before mentioned.

given the Ind'n y't bro't Mr. Stobo's Let'r, shall be p'd. I know not the Differences between Croghan and Carlyle, but this I was witness to, y't Croghan agreed with Carlyle the Beginning of June to deliver 20,000 lbs. of Flour at the Meadows in 15 Days, and I believe he had not [delivered] any; it's certain he did not deliver it according to Agreem't. As for his not being concerned for Virg'a, the Co't'y will be at no great Loss on y't head, for I am convinced he does nothing without private Views of Int't. You must not mind w't the Woodsmen say, it's not to be relied on. The Flour he has at the New Store, at 22s. 6d., is an extravagant Price. Carlyle engages to furnish it at 12s. 6d., so I hope you will have no occasion to take any of his. I am sorry You have no Tools, I have sent a quantity from this [place], and order'd them up to You by Colo. W.; if not come, send for them directly, and as the Season of the Year advances apace, [I] do not think it prudent to march over the Allegany Mount's this Fall with the few Men You have. Therefore, I w'd have You consult of a proper Place to build a Magazine for Provisions, &c., and mount Y'r Guns near it for defence, and I will suspend any further Operat's till the Spring, w'n I expect a proper reinforcem't from Home, and hope before y't Time Pennsylv'a will think proper to grant Supplies, and probably our Assembly will be in a better Temper. You, probably, may see the Gov'r of M'yld the Beginning of next Mo., but I think You sh'd not delay building, as the New Store is an improper Place. If You want a few Tradesmen, send to Mr. Carlyle to send them up to You. But I think it absolutely necessary y't You build with all possible Dispatch, and have a regard for a proper Shelter for the Men in the Winter Months. And I find Trent wants to take the advantage of having a high rent, w'ch I dare say he has no Orders for. I agreed with one Jenkins, to go weekly from Winchester to the Camp, and I wish You would send to him and fix it. I ordered Mr. Carlyle to send You 40 Pistoles. The Pork is sold at 6 Mo's Credit, but when You want a little Money, give me notice, and I shall send it to You. On second Thot's, if You shall find it absolutely necessary to send some Presents to the Ind's at Croghan's, do [so], but I wou'd much rather have You deliver it Y'r Self, and I believe Y'r Camp is not out of their

way. But I fear Croghan has some private View in having the Conferences at his Ho. These Woodsmen are a cunning, self-interested People. I have been so often deceived by them, y't I have a very mean Opinion of their Probity.

Mr. Dobbs does not yet appear, tho' I daily expect him. I sh'd be glad [if] You was hear w'n he arrives. My Complim'ts to the Gent'n Officers.

I remain, dear James,
Your Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

Sept. 18th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd a letter from Colo. Innes, in w'ch he complains that he has yet no Tools. If those I sent from this place are yet at Alex'a, pray forward them to him immediately.

P. S.—I desire the Forces may be duly supplied with Provisions.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN COCKE.

Sept. 18th, [1754].

SIR:

If Colo. Innes writes You for any part of the Ind'n Present, furnish him with what he desires, but pray take a particular Acc't of w't You deliver, and to whom.

I am, Sir, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SECRETARY ROBINSON.

Sept'r 23, [1754], ^{to} Capt. Whitwell.

R'T HON.:

My last Let'r to You was the 15th ulto., w'n I wrote You our Forces at Wills's Creek were about 900 Men;

y't they had my Orders to march over the All'y Mount's, and, if possible, to dislodge the French from the Fort they took from us last May [*sic*];¹⁸⁵ if they found y't impracticable, to call a Council of War, and choose a proper Place for erecting a Fort, and place therein a proper No. of Men to defend the same, and to be ready for Act'n in the Spring. To my great Surprize, the Week follow'g, I had Acc't y't all the Forces raised in No. Caro. had disbanded themselves and march'd home; the conduct'g of the Supply from y't Colony is with't Preced't. They raised 12,000£. I wrote the President the Establishm't of the Pay of the regim't raised here: the Private Men at 8d. ½ Day, and the Officers, viz't: Colo., 15s., Lieut. Colo., 12s. 6d.; Maj'r, 10s.; Capts., 8s.; Lieuts., 4s.; Ensigns, 3s.; Sergj'ts, 1s. 6d.; Corporals and Drum's, 1s. Without due Notice thereof, he gave the private Men 3s. ½ Day, and the Officers near the same, as in the regim't raised here. The Dillatoriness of their Forces marching, with the excessive high Pay to the private Men, exhausted the 12,000£, before they had properly joined the other Forces, and with't Assurances of the Continuance of s'd Pay, they w'd serve no longer, w'ch, by no means, c'd be complied with, as the other Men had only 8d. ½ Day; at y't Pay they w'd not serve, so deserted in large Parties. This unforeseen Affair put an end to my Scheme to march'g over the Allegany Mount's, as there did not remain above 480 Men. The French is tho't to have near 1,500 Men. I therefore ordered our Forces to make choice of a proper Place on this side of the Mount's, to build a Magazine for Stores and Provis's, and build a Fort, for protect'g it and them, this Winter, in hopes of having a reinforcement from G. B., and the neighbour'g Colonies, early in the Spring, to make a proper Push against the French and their Ind's, where the French are now interrupting our Comunicat'n with our friendly Ind's, who, from all Acc'ts, they remain as yet steady in our Int't, but I fear if we do not act with

¹⁸⁵ This same misstatement occurs elsewhere. The fort in course of erection on Wills's Creek, surrendered by Ensign Ward, April 17th, nominated by Governor Dinwiddie, Fort Prince George, afterwards called by the French Fort Duquesne, is probably intended. Fort Necessity, in the Great Meadows, was surrendered by Washington, July 3.

great Spirit in the Spring, they may be seduc'd to the French; there are many of them come into our Inhabit's with their Wives and Children, and proper Care is taken to supply them with Necessaries. In my former Letter I wrote You y't our Assembly was to meet the 22d of last Mo.; they met accordingly, and I tho't they came fully determin'd to grant a handsom[e] Supply for conducting this essential and necessary Expedit'n. In a short Time they voted 20,000£ for protecting His M'y's Subjects from the Insults and Encroachm'ts of the French, but on the third reading of the Bill, they clogg'd it with a rider for paying P. R., Esq'r., their Agent in England, 2,500£. This Sum was formerly resolved in the Ho. of B. last Nov'r, with't the consent of the Council, and the Council now, by no means, w'd pass the vote of the 13th with this Clogg. I took great Pains with the Ho. of B. to shew the inconsistency and unparliamentary Procedure of their Ho. to tack a private Bill (as this appears to me to be) to a Supply to His M'y, and I think it's with't Preced't. I further told them y't I believed all the extraord'y resolves made at that Session (among w'ch this is one) were before His M'y and the Council, and therefore out of our Hands, and till I heard from Home c'd do nothing in regard to the 2,500£. All these Argum'ts availed Nothing with them. As I had the Expedit'n greatly at Heart, and this Sum, small as it is, w'd enable me to conduct it for some Mos. I therefore told them if they w'd pass the Supply separte, I w'd give my Assent to a Bill for the 2,500£, with a saving Clause till His M'y's Pleasure was known therein, but they w'd adhere to nothing with't y't rider, on w'ch, the Council return'd it with their dissent thereto, and I was oblig'd to prorogue them to the 17th of Oct'r, before y'n, I hope to have the determinat'n of the Council in regard to the Compl't ag'st me, and the extraord'y resolves of the Ho. of B. In Nov'r last, His M'y was graciously pleas'd to send three of His Ind't Compa's for the defence of this Dom'n; as they were in want of Tents, Provis's, and other Necessaries, I imediately ordered them proper and due Supply; the Comittee rejected these Acc'ts, and I applied to the Ho. of B. for pay't thereof, w'ch was rejected. My Message to them, and their resolve thereon, I enclose to You. They are extremely obstinate and self-opiniated, and at same Time infatuated, to be so inactive and Indolent, w'n the Enemy is so near our Frontiers, nay, I may say among our settlers, as

they have robbed many of them of their Cattle and Corn, yet they are not [to] be roused to a proper Spirit for their own Preservation, and, [are] at the same Time, undutiful in not obeying the Com'd's of the best of Kings. On the whole, I do think it impracticable to conduct any Expedition with a dependence of Supplies from the Assemblies in this Part of the World. They have all been obstinate, refractory, and disobedient till lately, M'y'l'd voted 6,000[£], and N. Y. 5,000[£], their Monies, w'ch is only trifling with an Affair of this Consequence, and I am strongly of Opinion y't with't proper Aid from G. B. of Men, Money, and Ordnance Stores, y't the French in 8 Mo's will be so strong y't it will be difficult to root them out from the Ohio, and if allowed a quiet Settle'm't there, I fear their Views are to be Masters of all this Cont't. They have vast Nos. of Men annually sent from France in a private Manner to C. and M., to prevent any Observat'n from our Court. I am in great Hopes w'n our pres't Situat'n is properly represented to His M'y y't he will be graciously pleased to order such strong reinforcem'ts of Men and Supply of Ordnance Stores to defend his Empire on this Cont't from the unjustifiable Usurpat's of the French. The French report, w'n they have got proper Possess'n on the Ohio and other Parts the back of our pres't Colonies, y't they will be assisted by a strong Naval Force from France to invade some of our Colonies. This Dom'n w'd soon fall a Sacrifice to their rapacious designs, for we are with't any Fortificat's, and [in] our neighbour'g Colony of M'y'l'd, I am told, $\frac{1}{3}$ of the People are Catholicks, and I fear they w'd be glad of any Conquest y't w'd establish their religion. Our whole 'dependence will be on our militia, w'ch at pres't are in bad Order, and have been with't proper dicipline. I have, ever since [my] Arrival, endeavour'd, all in my Power, to bring them to a proper Knowledge of the Art Military, and [by] divis'n of the Co'try into four Districts, and appointing an Adjut't to each, in order to exercise the Officers and Men. The three Ind't Compa's have been supplied by my Order, and I am in Advance upwards of 1,000 St'g on y't Acc't. I have wrote to the Sec'ry of War for his Orders to draw for Paym't. I shall esteem it a singular Favo. if You will please speak to him on the Head, for as they are distant

from the Inhabit' ts, I must continue to send them the necessary Provisions. The French on the Ohio, since the Capitulat'n with Colo. W., have, contrary thereto, taken 8 of our Men, offered them to sale; fail'g of y't, sent them Prisoners to Canada, on w'ch, I detain the Prisoners y't were sent me upon the first Skirmish W. had with the French. W'n they were in my Possess'n, I think they c'd not be included in the subsequent Capitulat'n. I have ordered the Comd'g Officer to send a Flag of Truce to the Comd'r of the Fr. with the above reasons, and if he will deliver up our two Hostages, I will send him an Officer and two Cadets. It's monstrous y't they sh'd offer the Prisoners, unjustly taken after the Capitulat'n, to Sale; failing thereof, to Quebeck. I hope my detaining the Prisoners I have, will be approved of. And really, Sir, with't a strong reinforcem't from Home, and y't very soon, I fear the Consequence attending His M'y's Dom'ns on this Cont't. I have heartily and earnestly, with great Assiduity, done every Thing in my Power, in obedience to His M'y's Com'ds, and shall continue in doing the same, but the want of Men and Money makes me very uneasy w'n I consider our Situation. I am still in hopes, on the next meet'g of our Assembly, they will more seriously consider their Danger, and grant Supplies, tho' not equal thereto; but w't they may give will not answer to conduct the Expedit'n with a proper Spirit and Force. On these Acct's my whole dependence is on a proper reinforcem't of Men from G. B. If tho't eligible at Home, by a B. Act of Parliam't to compel the Subjects in these Colonies to a due obedience to His M'y's Com'ds, to raise a Poll Tax sufficient for this necessary Expedit'n and the Protect'n of themselves and their Properties. I endeavoured to get an Act of Assembly against Mutiny and Desertion, to promote good Discipline among our Forces and to prevent Desertion, but I c'd by no means perswade them to the Utility thereof in these dangerous Times here, and I really tho't I had Int't enough to prevail with them for any Thing proper for the Service. All the neighbour'g Gov'rs complain of the Obstinacy of their Assemblies. Pray excuse the Length of this Letter, as I c'd not shun giving You an exact Acc't of the present Circumstances of our Affairs here, and the great danger His M'y's Colonies

are exposed to, w^{ch} I presume You will lay before His M^y, and beg you to assure him y^t I am always ready, with great Duty, to obey such Com^{ds} as he shall hereafter direct.

I remⁿ, with great deference and due respects,

Rt. Hon., Y^r much obliged
and most ob^d't humble serv^t.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

Sept^r 23rd, [1754.]

R^t HON.:

My last to Y^r L^{ds}., was the 15th Ult^o, w^{ch} I hope came safe to hand. In y^t Let^r I acquainted You y^t our Forces at Wills's Creek were near 900, and y^t I had order'd them to march over the Allegany Mount's, if possible, to dislodge the Fr. from the Fort they had taken from Us, otherways, to build a Fort in the most convenient Place the other side of the Mount's and leave a proper No. of Men in it all the Winter. To my great Surprize, the Week after writing y^t Let^r, I had Acc^t y^t the No. Carolina Forces had disbanded Themselves to the No. of near 400; they deserted in Compa's; the reason they gave was y^t the Presid^t of y^t Colony had engaged the private Men 3s. $\frac{7}{8}$ Day, and with^t Assurances of y^t Pay they w^d serve no longer; it was a monstrous Thing to give such Pay to private Soldiers, and the more so, as I had wrote y^t Gent. the Establishm^t of the Pay of our regim^t, w^{ch} was 8d. $\frac{7}{8}$ Day to Private Men. This desertion disconcerted all my Measures, as we have not above 480 Men left, it w^d be imprudent in them to march over the Mount's agst 1,500 Fr. and Ind's. I therefore have order'd a Magazine for Stores and Provis's to be built in a convenient Place this side of the Mount's, to build a small Fort, mount their Cannon for their defence agst any Surprize, in hopes by the Spring to have a reinforcem^t from G. B. and our neighbouring Colonies, so as to make an effectual Push agst the Fr., &c. The Situatⁿ of the Fr. at present intercepts a Communicatⁿ with our f^dly Ind's, tho' I hear they continue steadfast in our Fav^o. and have had some Skirmishes with the Fr. and their Ind's, and have killed some of them, but I fear

they will be seduced, if we do not act with good Spirit the ensuing Spring. Many of them are come into the Inhabit's, and they are properly taken Care of. I wrote You in my last y't our Assembly was to meet the 22d Ult'o, they met accordingly, and I tho't with good Intent's to strengthen me to carry on the Expedit'n, in a short Time they voted 20,000£ for the Protect'n of His M'y's Subjects from the Insults and Encroachm'ts of the Fr., but on the third reading of the Bill they clogg'd it with an unprecedented rider to pay 2,500£ to P. R., Esq'r, their Agent. This Sum was resolved on by the Ho. of B. in the last N'r Sessions with't the Concurrence or Approbati'n of the Council, on w'ch the Council rejected this Vote of Supply with this rider to it. I tho't I had weight enough with the Ho. to send up the Bill with't the rider. I argued with them that such a Bill with its Clogg was with't Precedent and quite unparliamentary, and further, y't I believ'd, That with their other resolves of y't Session, was before the King and Council, and therefore out of our Hands, [and] till I heard from Home [I] c'd do nothing in regard to the 2,500£. As I had the Expedit'n so much at Heart, and y't Sum w'd have enabled me to raise some more Forces for conducting the Scheme formerly projected for this Fall, I condescended to acq't them if they w'd send up a seperate Bill for the 2,500£, with a saving Clause, till His M'y's Pleasure was known, I w'd pass it, but they w'd agree to nothing, with't secur'g the Money directly, wherefore, the Council rejected the Bill, and I was oblig'd to prorogue them to the 17th of Octob'r next; before y't Time I hope to hear the determin'n of the Council on their Compl't ag'st me and on the resolves of the Burgess's last Nov'r Sessions. Inclosed I send You the Journals of the Ho. of B. and y't of the Council. By them You may please to observe [from] their Addresses to me, y't I had great reason to expect they w'd do every Thing for the good of the Co't'y and for conducting the necessary Expedit'n. The three Ind't Compa's, his M'y was Graciously pleased to send for the defence of this Dom'n; as they were in want of Tents, Blankets, Provis's, &c., I tho't the Co't'y sh'd be at y't Charge. I accordingly sent a Message to the Ho. on y't Head; their extraordinary Answ'r You may observe in their Journal, so y't I am obliged to pay these Cha's till I have proper Authority for my re-imbursem't, w'ch I have wrote to the Sec'y of War ab't, and shall

be much obliged for Y'r Favo. in this Affair. The Ho. of B. have been extremely obstinate and Self Opiniated, at [the] same Time infatuated and unactive, w'n the enemy is so near Us as to have robbed many of our frontier Settlers of their Cattle and Corn, and I dread they will this Winter, in small Parties, commit many Cruelties among our People, who live at a great distance from each other. I cannot but observe, y't I think it impossible to conduct any Expedit'n in these Parts with a dependence of Supplies from the Assemblies, with't a B. Act of Parliam't to lay a Poll Tax on the whole Subjects in these Provinces, to bring them to a sense of their duty to the King, to awaken them from their Indolence, to take care of their Lives and Fortunes, but this is most humbly submitted. I really think this will not fully answer the End, with't a considerable Force from G. B., and all sorts of Ordnance Stores, w'ch is entirely wanted here, and if not quickly done I fear the Fr. will be so strong on the Ohio y't it will be difficult to root them out; and I fear their Views are extended to be Masters of this Cont't. They have many Men from France privately import'd to Canada and Mississippi, I suppose to prevent giving Umbrage to the B. Court, and I doubt not w'n his M'y is apprised of the danger his Dom'ns on this Cont't is expos'd to, he will Graciously order such Supplies of Men and Supply of Ordnance Stores, as to defeat the unjustifiable Usurpat's of the Fr., for they give out y't after they have built Forts and made Settlem'ts behind our present Plantat's, y't they will be assisted from France by Sea with a great Naval Force to make a Discent on some of our Colonies, w'ch, generally speaking, lie open without proper Fortificat's and only a dependence on our Militia, w'ch on [my] arrival here, I found in bad Order. I divided this Gov't into four Districts and appointed an Adjut't to each, to teach the Officers and Men the Art of War, and Exercise of their Arms. The Fr., after the Capitulat'n entered into with Colo. W., took eight of our People, expos'd them to sale, missing thereof, sent them Prisoners to Canada. On hearing of which, I detained the 17 Prisoners, Officer, and two Cadets, as I am of Opinion, after they were in my Custody, W. c'd not engage for them being returned. Have ordered a Flag of Truce to be sent to the Fr. offering the return of their Officer, and two Cadets, for the two Hostages they have of ours. I hope this Conduct will be approv'd at

home. Probably on the next meeting of the Assembly they will more earnestly consider the dangerous Situat'n the Country is in, and grant Supplies, but really there is no dependence to be put therein. The obstinate Infatuation has been general, tho' lately M'y'l'd has voted 6,000[£], and N. York 5,000[£], but these are but trifling Sums to conduct the Expedition with proper Spirit and to effect. I endeavoured to get an Act pass'd against Mutiny and Desertion, in order to keep our Forces under proper Discipline, but the Burgess's cramp't and confined it so much, the Council rejected it; in short they have all along been backward in doing any Thing for His M'y's Service, and their own Preservat'n. I can honestly affirm, every Thing in my Power has been done with Earnestness and Assiduity, and I shall continue to keep up the Affair with the few Men I have, till I receive Orders from Home for my future Conduct; but I say with Truth, that with't a proper Supply of Men, Money, and Ammunition from Home, y't I dread Success. I am heartily sorry y't my repeated Endeavours with Arguments and every Thing I c'd suggest, have no Effect on this stubborn Generation; they act quite inconsistent with their Safety or their Duty to the best of Princes, and I wish some Method can be found out to reclaim them to their Duty and of their true Happiness of being Subjects under the B. happy Constitut'n, and with smaller Taxes y'n any People I know of. I am in Pain for my Situat'n, as I am in Duty willing and ready to execute my Master's Com'ds, but so cramp't by the very People y't he of his great Goodness shews his Princely regard for their Safety and Well being. I hope Y'r L'ds. will excuse the Length of this long Letter, as I c'd not well abridge it, as it is my duty to lay every Thing open for Y'r Consideration. I beg to assure You y't I rem'n with great Deference and just respects,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's most obed't,
obliged and very humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO EARL GRANVILLE.

Sept'r 23d [1754.]

R'T HON.:

My last Let'r I troubled Y'r L'ds. [with] was the 15th Ult'o, to w'ch I beg [you] to be refer'd. The No. Car. Regim't y't was raised for our Assistance on this Expedit'n to the No. of 400, deserted and disbanded themselves before they reach'd the Place of Act'n; they rais'd in that Colony 12,000£ towards their Pay and Maintenance. The Presid't fixed the Pay of the private Men at 3s. Proclamation Mo[ney] 7^d Day, a monstrous Error, and more so, as I wrote him the Establishment of the Pay of our Forces was 8d. 7^d Day. The Soldiers were so elated with their high Pay, that they made slow Marches, and before [reaching] the other Forces, the 12,000 £ was near all expended, and they w'd not serve unless they had security for the above Pay, w'ch c'd not be done, as all the other Soldiers were at 8d. 7^d Day. This unexpected Desert'n of so many Men has entirely put an End to the Operat's I had intended this Fall. Our Assembly met the 22d Ult'o, and I tho't, with great Inclinat's to grant a proper Supply; they in a few days voted 20,000£, but loaded it with a rider to pay P. R., Esq'r, their Agent at Home, 2,500£; this very Sum our Ho. of B. granted him by a resolve in the Sessions of Nov'r last, with't the Consent of the Council, and the Council now rejected the Bill of Supply with that Clogg to it. I endeavoured all in my Power to convince them of the Irregularity of this, y't it was unparliamentary to mix a Supply to his Majesty with a Private Bill, and further, y't I believed all their extraordinary resolves in the Nov'r Sessions were before the King and Council, and therefore, out of our hands till we heard the determinat'n of the Lords of the Council therein, all w'ch had no weight with them, y't they had determined to grant no Supply with't the rider; therefore the Council rejected the Bill, and I was obliged to prorogue them to the 17th of October. Y'r L'ds. may please to observe y't there is no conducting an Expedit'n in these Parts, with a dependence of Supplies from the Assemblies. In all the Colonies, they seem to be infatuated and unactive, tho' they may see their Lives, Estates and Properties are so greatly exposed to the Fury of a merciless Enemy, who are now among our In-

habitants, robbing them of their Cattle and Corn, and maltreating the Poor People. I wish for a B. Act of Par. to reclaim them to their duty to the best of Kings, and to engage them to have a Sense of their present Danger, and to oblige them to grant Supplies for their own Preservat'n; and I am fully of Opinion, with't a considerable Force from G. B., we shall not be able to dislodge the French from His M'y's Lands, on the Ohio. I keep the few Men now in Pay, for building a Magazine for Stores and Provis's, near to the Allegany Mountain's, and a Party on the Scout, to protect our frontier Inhabitants, in hopes, early in the Spring, to be strengthened by a proper reinforcem't from G. B., and our neighbouring Colonies, w'ch I earnestly hope and desire. The Fre. report, y't after they have strengthened themselves, by many Forts to the back of our Colonies, y't they expect a great Naval Force from France, to attack some of our Gov'ts. They have great Nos. of Men annually imported to Canada and Mississippi, in a private Manner, y't they may not give Umbrage to the B. Court, and I am afraid their Views are extended, to make a general Conquest of all this Cont't. The Supineness and Divisions of the B. Subjects, in these Parts, gives them too much Encouragement, and, with't a Stop is soon put to their rapacious Designs, I greatly fear the Consequences. I have [done], and shall do all in my Power, to prevent them; but w't a miserable Condit'n am I in for conducting so essential and necessary an Expedit'n, with few Men and no Money, and [I] am persuaded, with't a proper Aid from G. B., the Fr. will be able to perpetrate any mischievous Scheme they may project. As I am Sensible of Y'r L'ds. regard for these Colonies, is the reason I trouble You with this, in Hopes You will assist in procur'g a proper Supply of Men, &c., to be sent out to our Assistance very early in the Spring. [I] Humbly beg pardon for troubling You with this 'long Letter, but I hope the Substance of it will plead my Excuse. I rem'n, with great deference and sincerity,

R't Hon.,

Y'r L'd's most obd't and obliged h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

Sept'r 23rd, [1754].

R'T. HON.:

My last to Y'r L'ds. was the 15th ult'o, to w'ch I pray to be referred. I y'n acqu't'd You Y't I had called our Assembly to meet the 22nd. They met accordingly, and after spending fourteen Days wit't granting any Supplies for conduct'g the necessary Expedit'n ordered by His M'y, I was obliged to prorogue them to the 17th of Oct'r. This [is] unaccountable Conduct of the Assemblies in this part of the world, in neglecting their own Preservat'n, and the dangers they are in from the Fr. invading their Lands. The Fr. have taken the advantage of our Indolence by making Settlem'ts, building Forts, &c., on His M'y's Lands, robbing our poor frontier Settlers of their Cattle, Corn, &c., and dispossessing the Eng. Subjects of their Houses and Plantations, w'ch they for many Years were possessed of, and sending them Prisoners to Quebeck. Since the last Skirmish with Colo. W., and after the Capitulat'n, they took 8 of our Men, [and] exposed them to Sale as Slaves. Missing of that, they sent them prisoners to Quebeck. In y't Capitulat'n, it was proposed to return the Prisoners taken from them in a former Skirmish, but as they were in my Possession, I think our Officer c'd not engage their delivery, and from the above ill Treatment of our Men, I resolved to detain them, and to send a Flag of Truce proposing to exchange an Officer and two Cadets for our two Hostages; w'ch conduct of mine I hope will be approved at Home.¹⁸⁶ I am greatly surpriz'd, in a Tranquil Peace between the two Crowns, y't such Conduct sh'd subsist, and such Insolence in taking a Fort y't was building by His M'y's direct Com'ds. Surely the Court of France will not Countenance such actions, y't are contrary to the Law of Nations, and a great Insult on the B. Crown, to take the Fort building by His M'y's direct Com'ds. The Fr. Views, I fear, are not confined to the Lands on the Ohio, but [are] much more extensive, and with't a proper aid from G. B., I fear, from the Indolence of our Assemblies,

¹⁸⁶ Governor Dinwiddie has been censured, without qualification, by some writers, for his retention of the French prisoners, for which he here endeavours to justify himself.

we shall not be able to restrain their rapacious Designs. It gives me real Concern y't I am not better supported, as the Expedit'n has been conducted by me with great Earnestness and Assiduity; but there is Nothing to be done with't Men and Money, both w'ch I have been but poorly supply'd with. However, the few Men now in Pay, including the three Ind't Compa's, are not above 450 Men; too few to face the Fr., consisting of 1,500, with their Ind's. I hope the Ministry will seriously consider the Situat'n of His M'y's Colonies, and send proper Aid early in the Spring; otherways, I dread they will prove too formidable to be rooted from His M'y's Lands. I think it my Duty to acquaint Y'r L'ds. of the State of our Affairs, and shall be highly obliged for the Hon'r of a Letter from You, and desire to assure You, y't I rem'n, with great deference and respect,

R't. Hon., Y'r L'd's most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

Sept'r 23d, [1754.]

MY LORD:

My last Let'r to Y'r L'ds. was the 15th of last Mo. The Project I concert'd in ordering the Forces to march over the Allegany Mount's in order to attack the Fr. at the Fort they took from Us in May last, or to build a Fort on the other Side of those Mount's, is entirely defeated by the desertion of the No. Car. Forces. This Desert'n is entirely owing to their first setting out. The Presid't of y't Colony very inconsiderately fix'd the Pay of the Private Men at 3s. Proclamat'n Mo. 7th Day. The 12,000^l they had raised for the Expedit'n from their slow Marches was almost wholly expended before they join'd the other Forces, and they declared they w'd not serve for less Pay. This unforeseen Affair and the imprudent Conduct of our Assembly in not raising a proper Supply, defeats all the Plan of Operat's I had concerted for this fall's Campaign. I keep up the few Men we have in Pay to build a Magazine and a Fort near to the Allegany Mount's, in hopes of a reinforcem't, to go on Action very early in the Spring. But I am fully convinc'd nothing can be done, or any Expedition conducted in these Parts, with a de-

pendence on the Assemblies for a Supply, for I think I have as much Influence with Ours as any Gov'r has with their Assembly, w'ch will appear by their Addresses to me in the Journals sent to Y'r L'd's B'd, but there is such an Infatuat'n and Perversness among them all, and such a Lethargy over their Senses y't there is no reasoning them to their Duty to the King, or for Self Preservation. And y't, with't a proper Supply of Men, Amunit'n, &c., from G. B., I much doubt of Success, for the People in these Colonies seem adverse to every Thing y't's for the Service of the Crown or their own Good, and with't a B. Act of Parliam't to reclaim them to their Duty to the best of Kings, and for their own Preservt'n, I much doubt, if left to themselves, if they ever will, with Spirit, enter on any Thing for the Good of His M'y's Dom's here. I shall have another Tryal with them the 17th of next Mo., but I despair of bringing them to a just way of Thinking. I have done all I can, and shall continue in acting to the best of my Capacity, with the few Men and little Money I have; but in this Situation, it will be expend'g the Money to little Service, and giving the Fr. the Opp'ty of Strengthening themselves, while the B. Subjects are unactive, and spending their Time in Trifling Disputes. A melancholy Situat'n indeed, and with't Assistance from G. B. these Colonies will be exposed to the merciless rage of a rapacious Enemy. I shall wait with Patience till I have Orders from Home, w'ch shall be duly put in execution to the best of my Capacity. I beg leave to refer You to my Letter to the B'd, and to assure You I rem'n with great deference and dutiful respects,

R't Hon.,

Y'r L'd's much obliged and most obed't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HOLDERNESSE.

R'T HON.:

The Expedit'n I was ordered by His Majesty to conduct in building some Forts on His Lands on the river Ohio, has hitherto met with so many disappointm'ts, from the unaccountable Backwardness of the Assemblies in the different Colonies, granting a mutual Aid consistent with His Majesty's Special Directions. In the Mo. of April last, I ordered a No. of Soldiers and

Artificers to begin a Fort at the Mouth of Monongahela, a Branch of the Ohio River. In the Mo. of May, the French from Quebec, with near 1,000 Men, summoned the Fort, [and] our People were obliged to surrender to a much larger Force; they still keep Possess'n thereof, and have greatly enlarg'd it; there has been two Skirmishes between our Forces and them, but they daily increase in Nos., while our Assemblies by Supineness and Indolence remain inactive, [and] contrary to His M'y's Com'ds, and their own safety, refuse proper Supplies for conducting this necessary and Essential Expedit'n. For want of Men and Money, I am much straitened how to conduct this Affair, and am perswaded, without a proper Aid from G. B., all I can do with a Dependence on the Assemblies of the different Colonies, will prove abortive. His M'y's three Ind't Co's, with the few men raised in this Colony, I have ordered to build a Magazine for Stores and Provis's near to the Allegany Mount's, in hopes early in the Spring to be reïnforc'd with Men from G. B., and our neighbouring Colonies, if they can be roused from their lethargick Indolence, and come into a proper grant of Supplies. The French Views are not confined to the Lands on the Ohio, they are more extensive and I am in great Pain for His M'y's Dom's on this Cont't if something very essential is not done immediately. I hope the Minority will seriously consider their present Situat'n, and grant such Aid as may defeat the usurping Power of the Fr. I wait impatiently for His M'y's Com'ds, w'ch shall be dutifully obey'd to the utmost of my Capacity. I have wrote fully to S'r Thos. Robinson this present Emergency of our Affairs, and am in hopes they will be properly considered. I take this Opp'ty to return Y'r L'ds. my Sincere Thanks for Y'r Patronage and Countenance, and to assure You I shall retain a dutiful remembrance thereof. I am with great deference and respects,

R. H., Y'r L. most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO HENRY FOX, SECRETARY AT WAR.

Sept'r 23d, [1754].

R'T Hon.:

My last Letter to You was the 15th Ultō., to w'ch I pray [you] to be referred. Since writing y't Letter, I have Acc't y't the Regim't raised in No. Car. deserted the Service in large Numbers; the reason, I understand is, y't the Presid't of y't Colony, after having got a Vote of the Assembly for 12,000£, he comissioned Officers, [and] raised about 400 Men. He fixed the Pay of the private Men at 3s. 6^p Day—a monstrous Pay to soldiers! I wrote him our Men were enlisted at 8d. 6^p Day. However, the Soldiers raised in y't Colony, being elated with their high Pay, made slow Marches, and before they joined the other Forces, the Money raised, was Expended, and [they] w'd serve no longer with't Security for the same Pay, which they c'd not obtain, therefore disbanded themselves, w'ch unforeseen Accident prevents the Execut'n of the Scheme I had formed of marching over the Mount's to attack the Fr., and [I] have, therefore, now directed them to build a good Magazine for Stores and Provis's this Side of the Allegany Mount's, [and] to delay any Act'n till the Spring of the Year, in hopes of having a proper re-inforcement from G. B., and our neighbouring Colonies, w'ch I flatter myself, we shall have from G. B. a proper No. of Men, and all sorts of Stores, w'ch is entirely wanting here. As I conceived, His M'y was graciously pleased to order three of his Ind't Co's for the Protect'n of this, his Dom'n, y't the Co't'y, in course, w'd pay for their necessary Supplies and Provisions. I accordingly sent a Message to our Ho. of B. to that Purport, w'ch I here enclose You, and their resolve thereon, by w'ch you will observe they absolutely refuse paying any Thing for their Necessaries or Subsistence, w'ch Loads me with y't Charge. Inclosed I send You two Acc'ts, w'ch I have already p'd, amot'g to £1,040, 5s. 3d. this Curr'cy; and their Subsistence from the 29th of July to this time, w'ch I have also engaged to pay, w'ch will amo. to upwards of [£]300 more, and I hope under my Situat'n You will enable me to draw for my re-imbursen't. As the People are so far from the Inhabit's, they cannot be supplied but by Provis's sent them: the Carriage thereof runs high. I shall, therefore, continue my supply to them regularly till I hear from You. As the Expedit'n

begun, and I hope will be continued, is of so essential Service to the Nat'n, and His M'y's Dom's on this Cont't is, [I] shall be sorry of acting in any Shape to discourage the Forces engaged therein. In hopes of having Y'r Answer, I rem'n, with great deference and respect,

R't Hon., Y'r most obed't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JOHN POWNAL,¹⁸⁷ ESQUIRE,
SECRETARY TO THE BOARD FOR TRADE.

23d Sept'r, [1754.]

SIR:

In answer to the Let'r from You by their L'ds' Com'ds, By His M'y's Ship, Speedwell, who sailed from this [place] the Beginning of Febr'y last, I transmitted to their L'ds' the Treasurer's Acc't of the Quit Rent revenue, the 2s. 3^d Hh'd, and List of Shipping entered and cleared for Six Mos., ending at Michaelmas¹⁸⁸ last, and as y't Ship arrived safe, I am perswaded they are in Y'r Office, but, if mislaid, pray write me, and I shall call on the Officers for Copies. The Treasurer passes his Acc't next Mo. I shall, by [the] very first Opp'ty after, transmit them to their L'ds. As the different officers are so much dispersed in the several rivers, I cannot possibly transmit Copies at this Time. I think I never rec'd their L'ds' Queries, but shall very soon send the State of this Colony in its different Branches, and my Observat'ns on the Instruct's.

I rem'n with great Esteem,
S'r, Y'r most humble Serv't.

¹⁸⁷ John Pownal, subsequently Sir John, was a brother of Thomas Pownal, who was appointed successively to the government of New Jersey, Massachusetts, and South Carolina, and was a geographical and political writer of distinction.

¹⁸⁸ September the 29th.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

Sept'r 23d, [1754.]

SIR:

My last was the 1st of this Inst't, w'ch I hope You received. What I then suspected prov'd too true, the Ho. of B. sent up the Bill of Supply for 20,000[£] with a rider to pay P. R., Esq'r, 2,500[£], an unparliamentary Proceeding, to tack a private Bill to a Bill of Supply to His M'y; the Council unanimously rejected it, and gave their reasons in Writing, w'ch You have in the enclosed Journal of the Ho. of B. If You will take the Trouble to read them You will see by their several Addresses to me that I had good reason to expect a Considerable Supply and I tho't I had Influence enough with them to succeed, but I observe a general Infatuation in all the Assemblies on this Cont't; they are seiz'd with a lethargick Supineness, not regarding their own Safety or the Encroachm'ts of the French, they are now left to perpetuate their malicious Designs, and I dread [for] our poor frontier Settlers this Winter; with the few Men I have, I am doing all in my Power for their Protection. The Presid't of No. Car. raised 12,000[£], w'ch, between You and me, I think he had no Authority to do, and believe he is the first y't ever attempted it, but the irregularity thereof will be considered at Home. He establish'd the Pay of the private Men at 3s. Proclamat'n Mo[ney] ̄ Day, a very imprudent Step, after he had early Notice y't our Men were at 8d. ̄ day; this high Pay occasioned a very slow March of Y'r Forces and before they joined the other Forces the Mo[ney] was almost entirely expended. With't Security for the Continuance of y't Pay, they w'd not serve; as y't was impracticable, they disbanded themselves and returned Home. This unseen Affair and the disappointm't of a Supply from our Assembly, entirely subverted my Scheme of Operat's for this Fall's Campaign, w'ch was to march over the Allegany Mount's and attack the Fr. in the Fort they took from us last May. If I had been properly supported with Money, I sh'd have augm't'd our regim't to 600, w'ch, with the other Forces, w'd have made the whole 1,200 Men, a sufficient Force to attack them, but by our monstrous Neglect, and the Desert'n above, we leave the Enemy Time to strengthen themselves, while I am obliged to keep the few

Men I have, employed in building a Magazine for Stores and Provisions, and a Battery to protect it, pretty near to the Allegany Mount's, in great hopes of a proper reinforcem't from G. B., and some Assistance from our neighbouring Colonies, in order to make a strong Push early in the Spring; but, with't Aid from Home, no Expedit'n can be conducted here with a dependence of Supplies from the different Assemblies. I have therefore wrote earnestly for an immediate Supply of Men, Amunit'n and Mo., w'ch I desire You to back with Your Solicitat's to the proper B'ds. The Fr. Views, I think, are not confined to the Ohio Lands, or those on the other side of the Allegany Mount's, but I fear they are extended to a Gen'l Conquest of the B. Empire on this Cont't; for they say, when they have taken proper Possess'n of the Lands, the back of our pres't Settlement's, and built Forts, they expect a Naval Force from France to invade some of our Colonies. Such attempt, I think, may be practicable, as we are in [an] open Country, with't any Fortificat's. I hope our Ministry will seriously consider these Things, and grant an imediate Supply, to curb the growing Power of France on this Cont't. They have great Nos. of People annually imported to Canada and Mississippi, in a very private Manner, I presume to prevent giving Umbrage to our Court. They mention, within these few years, above 15,000. Their Views, at pres't, are not to make Settlement's, but build a String of Forts from Canada to Mississippi, as marks of Possess'n, and many of them on the K. of G. B's Lands, particularly the Lands belonging to the Six Nat's, w'ch by the Treaties at Utrecht and Aix la Chappelle, the six Nat's—their depend'ts, are by the K. of France allowed to be Subjects to the dom'n of G. B. You may observe by the inclosed Journal, y't I sent a Message to the Ho. of B. for the Maintenance of His M'y's three Ind't Compa's; by their resolve they absolutely refuse paying anything, w'ch loads me with y't Charge. I have already p'd £1040, 5. 3., and a further Charge of upwards of [£]300 very soon.¹⁸⁹ I have wrote to the Sec'y of

¹⁸⁹ In consideration of the implication, by some writers, of the embezzlement, by Governor Dinwiddie, of funds entrusted to him for disbursement for the service; his personal advances, his repeated in-

War, praying for Orders to draw for my reimbursem't; pray wait on him and know his resolut'n thereon; for it is hard after my great Fatigue, I sh'd lay out of my Money, and [I] doubt not he will see the Justice of my demand. These Compa's are far with't our frontier Inhabitants and can have no Supply of Proviss's but what I order them by a long Carriage. Now Sir, If the Ministry shall think proper of sending over a No. of Forces for our relief and Assistance, there must be a Fund at Home to draw upon for their Subsistence, for the other side of the Alleghany Mount's they can have no Supply but w't must be sent to them; if tho't proper, I will undertake to have them properly supported with all necessary Provis's, such as Bread or Flour, Pork and Beef at 6d. St'g p' Day, or otherways, to charge the usual cost of the Provis's and Waggonage, or other Carriage. The advantage I shall have, [will be] in making remittances in sure Bills of Excha., w'n at present the Bills from this [Colony] are very precarious, and often protested. If You see it necessary, pray apply in Time as I think I can do it better than any other person here, and probably with more certainty. Pray write me the result of the Court of France, or their Answers, on the Applicat'n of our Court on the unjust Encroachm'ts of the Fr. Subjects on His M'y's Lands, and [their] barbarous Treatm't of his Subjects. Since the Capitulat'n with Colo. W. they took 8 of our People, expos'd them to sale, failing of y't, sent them Prisoners to Quebeck. This unjust Treatm't made me resolve to keep the Fr. Prisoners I have in Possess'n, till these People are return'd, w'ch I hope will be approv'd of at Home. As they [the prisoners] were with me, I cannot think Colo. W. had any Power to Capitulate for their release. Mr. Dobbs is not yet arrived, but daily expected; by him I hope to hear the determinat'n of the Council in regard to the Complaints against me, and the extraordinary resolves of the Ho. of B., in the Nov'r Sess'n. You may easily judge the Uneasiness I am at present under. I may honestly say, no Person c'd have done more than I have done, with the slen-

junctions to his subordinates, in behalf of economical expenditure, and of accuracy in their accounts (many instances of irregularity being palpable), together with his manifest regular returns to the English government, with the due vouchers—should be noted.'

der Aid I have had. As I had the Expedition truly at Heart, I did everything in my Power, with the few Men and little Mo. I had to support it. There was one Mr. Wm. Mason here, recommended to me by Mr. Walpole; he professed the Law, but was in great want of Money. I supplied him with £35, 2s. He promised to pay it [to] You; he s'd he was to be found at No. 5, Lincoln's Inn. I believe Mr. Walpole did not know him, but wrote the Letter by Applicat'n of some of the Duke of Devonshire's¹⁹⁰ Family. Pray see if you can recover it. Mr. Chancellor wrote me by him, probably he can give you some Acc't of him. Did Colo. Heron pay you what he owed me? You have enclosed, two Affidavits of the death of John Blanchard, w'ch, I suppose, will be sufficient to answer Y'r Friend's Purpose. I can hear nothing of Mr. Palmer,¹⁹¹ tho' I took true Pains to enquire after him. Pray write me how I stand with L'd Halifax; I have not been hon'd with a Letter from him this Twelve Months, and I know of nothing I have done to give offence. I hopé the Earl of Granville will Act in Favo. of the Colonies, under our pres't Situat'n. I have now wrote to them both. What is done in my further dem'd from the Spaniards?¹⁹² In any Thing You do for me, you may freely consult Messrs. Hanburys, and give them the Perusal of the B's Journal, and in supplying the Forces with Provis's (if sent out), they probably may be of good Service, and as the Parliament may be now Sitting, probably Applicat'n may be made for a Fund for conducting this Expedit'n. I hear the Ho. of B. address His M'y for the 2,500£ for Mr. R. I think it will be with a very bad Grace, after they have refused proper Supplies in the Time of so great Danger, and after they resolved the Paym't of this sum in Nov'r last, with't the Assent of the other Branches of the Legislature; but what will they not do? I suppose they sent it to Mr. R., and probably You may hear of it at the Secr'y of State's Office. Pray write

¹⁹⁰ William Cavendish, third Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1737-44; died, December 5, 1755, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William, Marquis of Huntingdon.

¹⁹¹ "John Palmer, Attorney, Williamsburg," appears in the list of subscribers to the edition of 1752 of the *Virginia Laws*.

¹⁹² Alluding, probably, to the "Porto Rico affair," before inquired after.

me how the Plan for a Gen'l Union of these Colonies is rec'd by the Ministry. Is Mr. Pit¹⁹³ appointed to succeed Mr. Glen in So. Caro.? Is there a Gov'r appointed for N. York? and any other News you may think proper. Excuse the Length of this Letter,

and believe me to be, with great sincerity,

S'r, y'r affect. Fr. and most humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Sept'r 23d, [1754].

R'T HON.:

As I am sensible of the Esteem and regard You have for His M'y's Colonys on this Cont't, I think it my Duty to represent to Y'r Hon'r the miserable Condit'n they are now in, from the unjust Invas'n of His M'y's Lands on the river Ohio, the back of this Dom'n. About the Mo. of Nov'r last, H. M's Com'ds were sent me by the E. of Holdernessee, to prevent any foreign Power to invade H[is] M's Lands on the Ohio, and to build some Forts on y't river, and there was at y't Time Let's to the different Gov'rs, to grant a mutual Aid for conducting this necessary and essential Business. I immediately called the Assembly of this Dom'n, and laid before them the necessity of a Supply to defeat the designs of the Fr. They were deaf to my Applicat's, and granted no Supply, not think'g the Fr. had any such Intent's. I sent a Gent. to the Fr. Camp, who were then erecting a Fort on his M'y's Lands. The Com'd't of the Fr. sent me Answer y't they w'd build Forts, and y't it was by direct'n of the Gov'r of Canada. In compliance with H[is] M's Com'ds, I raised a Co. of Men and some Artificers, and sent them to the Ohio to build a Fort in His M'y's Name, and to call it Fort Prince Geo.; and in Feb'y I called our Assembly again, and after strong remonstrances of our danger, prevailed with them to grant a Supply; they voted the small sum of 10,000[£]. I Immediately granted

¹⁹³ Probably John Pitt, of the Board of Trade.

Commiss's, and ordered the raising [of] 300 men, with orders to march out to the Fort y't was then building; but before they c'd reach the Fort, early in May, the Fr., with 1,000 Men from Canada, besieg'd it, and from our small Nos. they were obliged to deliver it to the Fr. H. M. was graciously pleased to order two of His Ind't Co's from N. York, and one from So. Car., to come here, to our Protect'n; the one from So. Car. arrived in May and joined our regim't; the two from N. Y. did not arrive till July, w'ch was ruin to our numbers, not above 400, by w'ch we were defeated. My positive Orders to the Com'd'r of our Forces were not to engage the Enemy till they were joined by the others, however, they were taken by Surprize; tho' our People behav'd very well in the small Engagem't; it's said, killed 200 of the Enemy, our Loss was 40 killed, and 80 wounded. The other Colonies were disobed't to H[is] M'y's Com'ds, excepting No. Car., who voted 12,000[£] and raised ab't 400 Men, but the Presid't of y't Province imprudently gave the private Men 3s. 6^d Day, Pro[clama]tion Mo[ney], w'ch, by their slow marches, the Mo[ney] was expended before they joined the other Forces, [and] they w'd serve no longer with't being assur'd of the same Pay, w'ch c'd not be done, as the other Forces had only 8d. 6^d Day, so they deserted and went Home; y't now, I have not 500 Men, the Ind't Comp's included, on w'ch I called the Assembly the 22d of last Mo. and represented to them our present unhappy Situat'n, and desired they w'd grant a handsome Supply; they accordingly voted 20,000[£], but tacked a rider to it to pay P. R., Esq'r, 2,500 for negotiating their affairs at Home; this very Sum, the Ho. of B. had resolved in the last Nov'r Sessions with't the Concurrence of the Council, and the Council w'd not pass the Bill of Supply with their rider. I took great Pains to shew the Impropriety of tacking a private Bill to a supply for His M'y's Service, and further told them y't their resolves were before the King and Council, therefore out of our Hands till we heard from Home, but nothing c'd prevail with them, so was obliged to pro-rogue them to the 17th of Oct'r, by w'ch ill Conduct, the Fr. are left to perpetrate all their mischievous Schemes ag'st the B. Subjects, with 1,500 Men; what a dangerous Condit'n are these Colonies in from the obstinate and imprudent Behaviour of the Assemblies? N. York lately has voted 5,000[£], and M'yl'd,

£6,000, their Monies, but these Sums are trifling for the support of so essential and necessary [an] Expedit'n. I have therefore wrote to the different B'ds and Great Men with You, assuring them y't I think it impossible to conduct any Expedit'n in these Parts with a Dependence on Assemblies, for there appears to be a lethargick Supineness over them all, y't, with't a B. Act of Parl't to raise a general Poll Tax all over the Cont't, no Money can be raised here, tho' for their own safety, and I fear y't w'd not do. I therefore have humbly recomended a Supply from Home, of Men, Money and Amunit'n, with't w'ch, I much dread the Consequence. For I do not conceive the Fr. Views are confined to the Lands on the Ohio but for a Gen'l Conquest of all the B. Colonies, and with't immediate Assistance, I dread their Success. I can answer to God and my King, y't I have done every Thing in my Power with the Slender Supply I have had, but with't Men and Mo. no Expedit'n can be properly conducted. I presumed to give You the Trouble of this long Let'r with an Acc't of our pres't unhappy Situat'n, and to pray Y'r Int't in obtaining a proper Force, &c., to defend His M's Empire on this Cont't. I shall with great Assiduity obey such Com'ds [as] I may receive for my future Conduct. Sincerely wishing You long Life, I rem'n with great deference and dutiful respects,

R't Hon., Y'r much obliged and humble Serv't.

P. S. So. Car. and Pensylv'a have not as yet granted any Aid whatever to this Expedit'n, and the No. Car. Supply, by ill Management, [has] not [been] of the least Service.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN.

Oct. 5th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 1st of this Mo., and am glad Capt. Lewis is on his March to protect our Frontiers. Gov'r Sharpe only goes to see the Camp, and, as a good and experienc'd Gent., to give his advice. The French Prisoners, I order'd to Alexa'a a Fortnight ago, and am surpriz'd they are not sent there accordingly. I think the People

need not be under any Fear of the Fr. and their Ind's, but am glad they are on their Guard, which I desire You may encourage. You wrote me of Y'r stoping some Cattle, but never mentioned the Price of them, so y't [I] cannot as yet Order Paym't of them. You did well in stoping them. I desired an Act last Session to prevent driving them out of the Co't'y, but our Assembly appear'd to be sies'd with a lethargick Indolence in not taking Care of their Safety. Probably next Meeting they may be awaken'd to a due Consideration of their great Danger, and do what is absolutely necessary. As the Cattle are wanted, pray write me the Amo. of them, and I will give Orders about the Paym't. I wish you Health, and am,

Sir, Your Friend.

Take proper Care y't the Cattle be duly applied to the Use of the Forces.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Oct'r 5th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r two Let'rs of the 25th and 27th ulto., I rec'd. I approve of Y'r building a Fort, and doubt not it will be well finished, and it's absolutely necessary at this Season of the Year, and hope you will take proper Care of Barracks, or proper Guard rooms for the Men, to protect them from the Inclemency of the Weather. The pay of the Men, at 12d. St., if usual, is not to be disputed, but I think they then maintain'd themselves, w'ch You are to consider, and [I] believe, 12d. p̄ day, this Mo'y, with Provis's, will please them; but this I leave to You. I [am] sorry Y'r Finances are so low. I have sent You a Supply of [£]100, 1s. 8d., by Mr. Lyon. Gov'r Sharpe only comes out of Curiosity, and to give his Advice in regard to the Fort, &c. He is a worthy, good Man; receive him agreeable to his Character and Stat'n. This Winter must be spent in providing for the Spring, and the nearer You go to the Mount's, with

Safety, will facilitate the Operat's of next Campaign. I cannot answer the Reward propos'd for Mons'r Joncure.¹⁹⁴ I offered 100 Dollars. but, if more, shall be glad to see him here. The Ind's Scheme of attacking the Fr. near to Venango, I think, is very feasible, if the Season of the year will admit of it, but this sh'd be determin'd by a Council of War. I wrote to Mr. Montour, some Time since, to go to the Camp and receive Orders from You. The Council will not meet till the 10th, w'n I shall advise with them on these Matters. I fear Y'r Numbers are too few for sumoning the Fort. One other miscarriage will dishearten all concerned; therefore I w'd not proceed there with't some great Certainty of Success. I rec'd the Comand'r's Let'r, but y'r Omiting the most essential Point in regard to the Prisoners being out of Washington's Hands, and therefore not to be included in the Capitulat'n, [was] a grand Oversight, for he knows they were not in his Power to Capitulate for them. We cannot think of sending the Prisoners to Montreal; therefore they must rem'n at Alexa'a for some Time. As for Mr. Lyon, give him such a Com'o. in the Artillery as You think he is equal to. I hope our Assembly, at [its] next Meeting, will more seriously consider their Danger, and grant [an] adequate Supply. You are not to spend Your Time with't proper Pay, which I shall take Care of. It's easy transporting Forces down the Ohio, w'ch is an advantage the Fr. at present have over Us. I have wrote home for all sorts of Stores, w'ch, I hope, will soon come. I am really affraid to take the Officer's¹⁹⁵ Parole, as he appears to me a mean Spirited Fellow; or, more properly, a Petit Matre. If he sends a Let'r for the relief of Stobo, he, and the two Cadets, shall be released. I have not sent Home the Muster rolls, therefore the respits¹⁹⁶ will be adjusted next Mus-

¹⁹⁴ Probably in the name, "Jean Clur," p. 142, Jonquière may have been intended.

¹⁹⁵ La Force.

¹⁹⁶ Respite, from the French respiter, to delay or suspend; now to be suspended from pay or promotion, but it originally signified delay, forbearance, &c. Thus, in Clarendon's Civil War, we read, that by an act passed for the satisfaction of the King's army, they were promised pay in November following, till which time they were to *respite* it, and be contented.

ter. Y'rs, of the 27th.—What You want, as to Cash, shall be supplied as much as may be in my Power. I agree with You y't some Punishm't sh'd be inflicted on desert's, to deter others; but this You sh'd consult at a Council of War. It surprizes me y't they sh'd go [to] the Fr., w'n they are in so much want of Provis's, and their Allowance so scanty.

Capt. Rutherford is a sensible, worthy Gent.; consult with him (and shew him due respect). But I think some Method sh'd be fallen on to prevent this for the Future, and [I] have wrote him on this Subject. The Assembly's Conduct is not to thwart me, but [is due to] a difference between them and the Council. Their Addresses to me have been past my Expectat'n. The ordering out the Militia is very certainly in my Power, and [this is] greatly strengthen'd by a new Instruct'n, but I wait for my Letters and Orders from Home before I put this in Execution. I approve Y'r Conduct, to be greatly on Y'r Guard, for I fear the Enemy may venture over the Mount's to attack You. I am sorry Y'r Satisfact'n in Y'r Com'd has been so small, but You must be patient for a little Time, w'n I hope Things will turn out better. I am fully convinc'd the Fort You are building will be of very great Service to the Colonies, and I hope will keep Your People in good Order and Spirits, in hopes of some considerable Action in the Spring, for the Service of the King, this Dom'n, and the Hon'r of Y'r Forces. I send You some Letters y't came to my Hands last Week. If the Affairs You are now engag'd in c'd allow You to come here w'n Mr. Dobbs arrives, I sh'd be glad, but y't You will not be till the End of this, or Beginning of next, Mo. I heartily wish You Health. My Wife and Girls join in kind respects, and I always am,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN JOHN RUTHERFORD.¹⁹⁷

Oct. 5th, 1754.

SIR:

This Morn'g I had the Pleasure of receiv'g Y'r Let'r of the 27th Ult., and desire to congratulate You on Y'r safe Arrival to Y'r Com'd, where You was greatly wanted. Gov'r Dobbs [has] not yet arriv'd, the Man of War he comes in, I hear was ordered to New London, and to wait there till the King's Ship from this [place] proceeds for that Place. She is to sail Tuesday next, so y't I do not expect Gov'r Dobbs till the End of this Mo., or beginn'g of next, w'ch gives me much Concern for my Let'rs—those by Gov'r Morris [are] not yet come to hand, so y't I am at a Loss how to act in regard to the Expedit'n, and indeed the unaccountable Backwardness of all the Assemblies, particularly y't of this Dom'n, in not grant'g proper Supplies, ties up my Hands from proceeding as the present Situat'n of our Affairs require, however, I hope on the next Meeting of our Assembly they will more seriously consider their danger and grant such Aid as may Enable me to defeat the Designs of the French. The two Compa's from N. York were very long hindered at that Place, and many Delays afterwards, w'ch gave the Enemy the Advantage in the last Skirmish, however, we must look forward and endeavour to retreive y't Loss. I think the Gov'r of N. York sh'd have made a Draft from the four Compa's, and sent two compl't, agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds. I hope proper Care will be taken to prevent Desertion, and as the Season of the Year advances fast, I cannot think it prudent, with the few Men now with You, to march over the Mount's, but to build a proper Fort and Barracks to protect the Men from the Inclemency of the Weather. Surely if they knew the scanty Allowance the Fr. now have at their Fort, none w'd offer to desert to them, and I am of Opinion, some of them, when taken, sh'd be made Examples of, by proper Punishm't. I thank You for the Letters

¹⁹⁷ John Rutherford was sworn a member of His Majesty's Council of New York, Jan. 14, 1744, at which time he was a Captain of an Independent Company; commissioned a Major of the 60th or Royal American Regiment, Jan. 6, 1756, and killed in the attack on Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758.

You enclosed me; the Character and good Opinion I had of Capt. Rutherford wanted no recommendation, but from these Gent., I must have a due regard to them. And if Affairs will give you a proper Opp'ty I shall be glad of seeing You here the End of this Mo., or Beginn'g of next. A Sloop is gone from Alex'a to N. York by Capt. Clark's Order, for the Cloathing, so I presume You may very soon expect them. There has been great disputes in regard to the Com'd before the Ind't Companies arrived. I appointed Officers and raised 300 Men, Colo., Lieut.-Colo., Maj'r, &c. These Troops were rais'd by His M'y's Com'ds, and are not Militia, as they are p'd by His M'y, but as they have not their Commiss's immediately from the King, the Disputes arose, and the regulars refus'd acting in consort with them, or receivi'g any direct's or Orders from their Officers. This is Punctillio [which] I wish c'd be made easy and reconciled on this Expedit'n, and I pray you will endeavour to bring it into some rule. I have wrote the Sec'ry of War thereon, but I fear it will be some Time or I receive his Answer. I heartily wish You Health, and in hopes of seeing You w'n a proper Opp'ty offers, I remain,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN CLARK.

Oct'r 20th, [1754.]

Y'rs of the 14th ulto. I rec'd, and as I have rec'd new Instruct's from G. B., it will be absolutely necessary y't You repair to Y'r duty at the Time Y'r Liberty of Absence ceases. Mr. Sharpe, the Gov'r of M'yl'd has his M'y's Com'o. to comand the Forces on this Expedition, and he is to be with me in a few days, to consult a Plan of Operat's. The Ministry are very zealous for conducting the Expedit'n with Spirit, and I doubt not every one Concerned will, in their different Stat's, exert their utmost in prosecuting an Affair of so great Consequence to the Nat'n and these Colonies. I sincerely wish You a Confirmat'n of Y'r Health, and am in Truth,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

THE PLAN OF MILITARY OPERATIONS.

A Plan of Operations, Consulted and agreed upon by Gov'r Dinwiddie, of Virg'a; Gov'r Dobbs, of No. Carolina, and Gov'r Sharpe of M'yl'd. In consequence thereof, Gov'r Sharpe, who is, by His M'y, appointed Com'd'r of the combined Forces on the Expedit'n to the Ohio, agrees to the same as follows:

In pursuance of their Advice and Approbat'n of the Scheme, I propose, if possible, to assemble 1,000 men, the Ind't Compa's included; and unless the Winter sets in too severely very shortly, I hope they will be able to carry the Fr. Fort on the River Monongahela, at least before it can be reinforced from Canada, in the Spring. This, indeed, and building a Fort (w'ch we think necessary) opposite to it, on an Island in the Ohio, is all I can entertain very sanguine Hopes of being able to execute, with so small a Number of Men as I [am] affraid will be under my direct'n, unless we are reinforced from Home, as large Detachm'ts will be imediate[ly] necessary, and must be employ'd in garrisoning those Forts (sh'd we be successful in our Enterprize), and one y't is already built at a Place called Wills's Creek, on Potom'k, by way of Magazine for the Forces y't shall be employ'd in this Service. And if we find there is the least Prospect of succeeding therein, I will make an attempt, with our American Strength, on the Forts w'ch the French have built near Lake Erie, up the River Buffaloe. And You will be pleased to assure his Majesty y't Nothing shall be wanting, on my Part, to perform it, tho' I hope y't the strength of the Enemy in those Parts, and their Superiour Knowledge of the Co'try proposed for the Scene of Act'n, as well as their numerous Allies among the Ind'n Nations, will be taken into Considerat'n, lest my utmost Endeavours and Success with an Inferior Force sh'd not answer His M'ty's Royal Expectations.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Oct'r 24th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r two Let's, but You neglected to acknowledge the receipt of the Money sent by Mr. Lyon. The French Officer must rem'n, as it is not tho't proper to take his Parole. Gov'r Sharpe is appointed by His M'y, Comd'r in Chief of the combined Forces on the Expedit'n; he now writes You, And we have agreed to appoint You Camp Mast'r Gen'l, with the same appointm't You formerly had, w'ch I hope will be agreeable, and y't You will accept thereof. He will very soon be with You, w'n You will have the Opp'ty of talking every Thing over. The Pres't You have from Winchester, distribute it properly among the Ind's as You may see fit. I desire You may perswade four or five of the most intelligent Ind's to rem'n with You till Mr. Sharpe comes up, for he probably may have occasion of them. I am extremely hurried by a Ship goin[g] for London, y't I cannot enlarge. Mr. Dobbs is gone to his Gov't, and I think he is properly apprised of Y'r Merit and Services. He Complains much of the Method of Coining¹⁹⁸ Money in Y'r Province, and he is of Opinion, with many others, y't it was a Jobb. I remain, Sincerely,

Y'rs, &c.

The Within Let's came to my Hands very lately; y't to C't Mackay, please d'r him.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SIR THOS. ROBINSON.

(P C't Yuille). Oct'r 25th, [1754.]

Your two Letters of the 5th of July came to my Hands last Week. His M'y's Subjects in this Dom'n, and his other

¹⁹⁸ A misapplication of the term, for printing, as there was no colonial coinage in North Carolina.

Colonies on this Con't must be under a grateful Sense of His Royal Pleasure and Paternal Care for his gracious Consideration of their present distresses from the unjust Invasion of the Fr. on His M'y's Lands on the Ohio the back of this Colony, and of the extraordinary Marks of his Goodness and Favo. to them in Supply'g me with 20,000 £ St'g, for the Conduct'g the necessary and essential Expedit'n. The $\text{£}10,000$ in Specie I have rec'd. And for His M'y's further distinguish'd regard for us in ordering 2,000 Stand of Arms for us with their proper Accoutrem'ts from the Royal Stores. The Arms are not yet arrived, but daily expected. These extraordinary Marks of His M'y's great and generous paternal Love for his Subjects here, I have represented, in a proper Manner, to our Assembly, now sitting, and I am in hopes it will raise a grateful Sense of Gratitude to the best of Kings, and y't it will incite them with Chearfulness to contribute a considerable Sum for conducting this Expedit'n, w'ch I have recomended to them in the strongest Terms, and am in hopes of Success. You are pleas'd to mention His M'y's Pleasure in having both these Sums reimbursed from the Revenue of 2s. p Hhd.; give me Leave humbly to represent to You y't the Revenue of 2,000 £ p Annum for the Gov'r's Salary; 1,200 £ p Ann., to the Council; 200 £ to the Agent at Home: 200 £ p Ann., to the Judges of the Oyer and Terminer Court; The Adjut's, Att'y Gen'l, and other incident Cha's Cirsa [?] 1,500 £ p Ann., so y't Revenue is greatly loaded. And I further beg Leave to observe y't the Revenue of 2s. p Hhd. is the only Fund I can call upon, on all Emergencies, for His M'y's Service, and with't Aid from thence I sh'd be often strait'ned to conduct myself in the discharge of my duty to the King. From these Observat's, considering the pres't Exigency of our Affairs, having the Enemy so near us, I therefore humbly pray Y'r Int't with His M'y to suspend the Reimbursem't of the Money and Credit sent me from y't Revenue, particularly at this dangerous Time, and w'n the different Assemblies on this Cont't are so backward in granting Supplies, and y't Revenue is the only one I can have recourse to on every pressing Occasion. I shall, by next Ship, transmit to the Lords of the Treas'y y't Acc't and y't of H. M'y's Quit Rents. You may be assur'd the Money and Credit sent me shall be applied in the most frugal and proper Manner for His M'y's Service, and

the Acc'ts of my Disbursem'ts shall be duely transmitted to You. I shall consult with Mr. Glen in order to secure the Cherokees; they have been twice in here, their Emperor, King and Officers, I rec'd them kindly, sent them away in high Spirits and with proper Presents. I am convinced, a Fort in the Western Parts of this Co't'y will be absolutely necessary, and I shall endeavour to perswade Mr. Glen to this Step. He built a Fort amongst them 18 Mos. ago, but it was so contiguous to So. Carolina y't it c'd not be of any Use to anoy the French or protect these People from their Invasions. Our Militia, I think, is upward of 20,000, but in a short Time I shall be able to give you a more exact Acc't of their Numbers. But by an Act of Assembly, I can not oblige them to march out of the Counties of Virginia, therefore, raising of them will not answer the pres't Occasion. I therefore propose y't each County be obliged to Supply a certain Number of Men, but this must be by Act of Assembly, w'ch I shall endeavour to obtain. These Men to be enlisted into regular Corps, which I think will answer the Purpose much better y'n raising the Militia, who have a settled Pay of 15 lbs. of Tob'o, equal to 2s. 6 Day, and w'n raised, of no Service out of the Limits of this Gov't. It's a Doubt whether the Ohio is in this Dom'n, or included in Mr. Pen's Proprietary of Pensylvania, but it will be necessary in a proper Time to have the Line run, to ascertain the Bounds of this Colony, y't Officers of Justice may be appointed, to keep the Settlers and Ind'n Traders in good Order. Mr. Dobbs is now with me and in a few Days, proceeds to his Gov't. I am very well pleased y't Mr. Sharpe is appointed to Comand the combined Forces, w'ch will put an End to some Disputes between the Ind't Compa's and the Officer I appointed to Comand. This Person, Colo. J. Innes, has been in His M'y's Army, and [is] of an unblemished Character, of great Reputat'n for his Bravery and Conduct, and I shall still endeavour to keep him in the Service. I have ordered him to build a Magazine for Stores, and a Fort to protect it, near the Allegany Mount's, w'ch I believe by this time is finished. Our Assembly have, after strong Argum'ts and the greatest Int't I c'd make, voted £20,000, this Money, towards conducting the Expedition, but this, with His Majesty's generous and Kind Donat'n, will come far short of the Expenses y't will attend it, w'ch you will please observe by the enclosed Calculat'n, and the

other Colonies as yet rem'n refractory and Indolent, by not granting a mutual Supply. In order to Conduct this Expedit'n with a proper Spirit and Forces, I propose raising 10 Companies of 200 Men each. There is an Uneasiness subsist'g between the Officers of His M'y's In't Compa's, and those under my Comissions. The former will not rank with them, and I fear [this] may be of great Prejudice in case of Action. I w'd, therefore, h'bly propose y't they may be regiment'd, and blank Comiss's sent out to me to fill up as was done on the Expedition to Carthegena, and to the Ind't Compa's comanded by Cap'ts and Lieut'ts only; this w'd reconcile all the Officers, and if His M'y sh'd be graciously pleased to give me the Com'd of the Forces raised here, I am perswaded they w'd be greatly pleased, but this I shall submit, as I shall never offer any Thing but w't I conceive absolutely necessary for this important Service. Inclosed, I send You a Dem'd from the Ordnance, to be added to my former request, w'ch is tho't absolutely necess'y by Gov'r Dobbs, Gov'r Sharpe, and myself. I beg you will excuse the Length of this Letter, w'ch I c'd not properly abridge, and desire to assure you, y't I rem'n w'th great deference and due respects,

R't Hon'ble, Y'r most ob't and faithful h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY.

Oct'r 26th, 1754.

Gent'n of the Grand Jury:

You are here assembled and swore to the execution of the most important trust. The enacting of Laws is the Business of the Legislature; but the Happiness of the Country we live in depends much on the Execut'n of those Laws. I am very sorry to see so many Criminals now to be tried. It is Your duty, Gent., to examine into the different offences they are comitted for, and report the same to the Court. Examples by punishment is absolutely necessary to deter others from such wicked Practices, and I have not the least doubt but Y'r Conduct in this essential duty will entitle You to the Praise of Y'r fellow Subjects, and the Blessing of God.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY.

*Gent'n of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gent'n of the Ho. of
Burgesses :*

I once more call You together to consult on the dangerous Situation of Y'r Co't'y, from the unjustifiable Invasion and Encroach'm'ts of the French, and I am in hopes that during Y'r short Recess You have seriously considered the miserable Circumstances of Y'r Affairs, and in Course the absolute Necessity of granting imediate, considerable, and adequate supplies to enable me to put a stop to their injurious designs, and to drive them from His M'y's Lands upon the Ohio. I have the Pleasure to acquaint You y't His M'y, considering the pernicious Measures taken by the French and the great Regard he bears for his Subjects in these Colonies, has been graciously pleased to send me [£]10,000 St'g in Specie, and also to order from his Royal Stores, 2,000 Stands of Arms, with their proper Accountrem'ts, (w'ch I daily expect the arrival of,) for Y'r Aid and Use. Gent. of the Ho. of Burgesses, These distinguish'd Marks of His M'y's paternal Care for his Subjects in these Colonies; his Solicitude for their Safety, and his earnest desires to defeat the designs of the Fr., I hope will raise in You a just Sense of Duty and Gratitude to the best of Kings and engage Y'r more effectual Attent'n to His M'y's repeated Com'ds for granting Supplies. The Voice of Nature, Gent., and w't You are sensible is among the most prevailing Motives of human Actions, Y'r own Int't, loudly call on You with the most urging Emphasis, to rouse from Y'r Inactivity and assert their Rights. And can You continue deaf to such Intreaties? Shall Y'r Posterity, groaning under the Yoak of civil and religious Slavery, despoiled of every Thing that renders Life desirable, amidst their despondence find their Misery still aggravated by reflecting on the Cause? That their own Progenitors, who might have transmitted to them, inviolated, the Liberties, the Properties, and the pure Religion y't they enjoyed, by a Supineness and Neglect, as unaccountable as it was unnatural, suffered all to be taken from them! Gent, The Eyes of His M'y, His Ministry, nay, of all Y'r fellow Subjects, are fixed on Y'r present

determinat's. I wish I had Words strong enough to convey to You the absolute Necessity there is at this Time for a generous Supply; but Words cannot be so strong as Facts. Consider w't the Enemy have done and w't they further threaten to do, and I am convinced, y't is sufficient to raise the Spirit of every British Subject to an imediate resentm't, and thorough Resoluti'n, with their Lives and Fortunes, to repel the impending Ruin. Let me prevail with you then, Gent, to prevent Evils y't but in Prospect, must affect every serious Considerer with Honor; and be persuaded to exert the true Spirit of Patriotism, and convince the World y't no Motive can impede, or any Considerat'n w't ever obstruct, the great and important Business now recommended to Your consideration. It is at this Time, y't by an Exertion of Your Strength, You may answer the Expectat'n of His M'y, promote the Interest of G. B., secure the Peace and Happiness of Y'r Co't'y, and by a brave, vigorous and united Effort, entirely defeat the Machinations of France, the ancient Enemy of G. B. and the disturber of Mankind.

Gent. of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gent. of Ho. of Burgeses, At this critical Juncture, I sincerely recommend to You, Harmony and Unanimity, ever propitious to public Councils, never more indispensably necessary than on this occasion. Let all Cavils and Disputes subside, and cordially unite in concerting the most prud't Measures to be pursued in the present evident Emergency. For my Part, I do assure [you] y't I will, with the greatest Pleasure, join with You in every Step You take for those just and salutary purposes, agreeable to my Instruct's.

REPLY OF THE COUNCIL TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

21st Oct'r, [1754].

S'R:

We, His M'y's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Council of Virg'a, now met in Gen'l Assembly, beg leave to return Y'r Honor our most sincere and hearty Thanks for Y'r very affect. and pathetic Speech at the opening of this Session. We have seriously reflected on the dangerous Situat'n of our Co't'y

from the unjustifiable Invas'n and Incroachm'ts of the Fr., and a deep sense thereof, will determine us to pay all due Attent'n to the import't Business Y'r Hon'r has been pleased to recommend to our Considerat'n. His M'y's paternal Regard for these Colonies, the generous aid he has been pleas'd to grant towards enabling us to repel the destructive Machinat's of the Enemy, dem'd our most grateful Acknowledgments, and we sh. think ourselves unpardonable, if, at this perilous Juncture, we rendered it useless and abortive by an ill-timed Parsimony, or failed, by suitable Supplies, to make it adequate to our present exigencies. Y'r Hon'r may therefore securely rely on our Assurance of heartily concurring with the Ho. of B's in all such Measures as shall be tho't necessary for advancing His M'y's Service, the Int't of the American Colonies, and for defeating the injurious designs of France, the ancient Enemy of G. B., and the disturber of mankind. By these Means we hope to secure our Liberties, Properties and Religion, and to preserve the numerous Blessings we enjoy, to ourselves and our Posterity. In an Affair of such vast Importance, we assure Y'r Hon'r, y't we will proceed with y't Harmony and Unanimity w'ch is ever propitious to public Councils, and most indispensably necessary on this Occasion. We acknowledge, with the warmest Sentim'ts of Gratitude, Y'r Hon'r's constant and unwearied Applicat'n in the defence and Support of His M'y's undoubted Rights in promoting the true Int't and Prosperity of the Country, and for your Readiness to join, with the greatest Pleasure, in every step conducive to these just and salutary Purposes.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S REJOINER TO THE COUNCIL.

Gent. of the Council:

I sincerely thank you for Y'r kind and affectionate Address. It gives me great Pleasure to observe Y'r grateful Acknowledgments and true sense of His M'y's Regard for Y'r Safety, in granting us so generous Supplies, and of Y'r determination of concurring with the Ho. of Bur-

gesses for His M'y's Service and the Int't of His American Colonies. Y'r proceeding at this Time with Harmony and unanimity, I doubt not, will be a Means of defeating the wicked designs of our Enemies. I, with Pleasure, shall continue in doing every Thing in my Power for the Service of His M'y, and of this Dom'n, and y't, with the greatest Alacrity, while I have Y'r Advice and Approbat'n.

REPLY OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES TO GOVERNOR
DINWIDDIE.

SIR :

We, His M'y's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the B's of Virg'a, now met in Gen'l Assembly, beg Leave to return Y'r Hon'r Thanks for Y'r Speech to the Council, and this Ho., at the Opening of this Session. The Assistance that His M'y has been graciously pleas'd to grant to the Subjects of this Colony ag'st the pernicious attempts of the French, hath justly excited in us the warmest Sentim'ts of duty and Gratitude for this paternal Regard. The Welfare of our Co'try, as it is indeed a natural Inducem't, so it hath ever been the only governing Motive in all our resolut'ns, however illy they have been represented. And Y'r Hon'r may be assured y't we will continue to proceed with such Unanimity and Concord amongst Ourselves, as may render our Consultat's for the public Good conducive to y't Justice of our own Endeavours. We flatter ourselves, Sir, y't our Proceedings in every Case, will be such an undeniable Testimony to Posterity of our strict Attachm't to Y'r Rights and Properties, y't, sh'd they ever be so unhappy as to groan under the galling Yoke of civil and religious Oppress'n, it c'd not be the Effect of any Inactivity, Supineness, or Neglect in us, the faithful Guardians of their Liberty.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S REJOINDER TO THE BURGESSES.

Mr. Speaker, and Gent. of the Ho. of Burgesses :

I thank You for Y'r Address, and Y'r grateful Acknowledgem'ts of His M'y's paternal Care in granting Assistance to You in these Times of Danger. Let Openness, mutual Confidence, and a delight for the Prosperity of Y'r Country, increase our Happiness, and I doubt not You will now consult the most essential Methods to extricate ourselves from the threatened ruin intended by our Enemi[*e*]s. And I sincerely wish and desire, y't generous Benevolence, Love and F'dship, may be the prevail'g Principles of all Y'r public Transactions.

ADDRESS OF THE COMMISSARY AND CLERGY TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

SIR :

We, His M'y's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commissary and Clergy of Virg'a, assembled in Convent'n, beg Leave to express our Sense of His M'y's Care of this Colony, in appointing Y'r Hon'r to preside in the Gov't. If we are late in doing this, by reason of not being called together sooner, We have thereby acquired an Opp'ty of adding our Thanks to Y'r Honor for y't Confirmat'n w'ch Y'r laudable Conduct in quality of our Gov'r, has given to the Notions we had preconceiv'd of You from w't we had frequently heard of Y'r Abilities, Resolution and Integrity in Other Stations. It is an uncom'n Pleasure to be able ourselves to observe in You y't tenderness for the Com'n Int't, and Sensibility to its Danger, w'ch ever make You the first to perceive, the readiest to obviate, and the most indefatigable to repel, the Calamities w'ch threaten the Public. It is still a higher Gratification to see Y'r Sense of Things too enlarged to take up with the Pursuit of single and detach'd Articles of public Utility, and in that, mistake the irregular Advancem't of some Part of the Good of the Whole; to find You now eager to amend our staple, now zealous to prevent the dreadful effects of Invasion, now

heartily disposed to encouraging Piety and Virtue, Seeking Y'r Duty where alone it is to be found, in the joint Service of Y'r People, Y'r King, and Y'r God; Any one of w'ch Services can be no more than speciously promoted by him, whose Views are too narrow and partial to comprehend them all. When we consider how cold many are in religion, how tenacious of Luxury and Vice, together with our Cond'n in being Exposed to the Incroachm'ts and ravages of an ambitious and cruel Neighbour, we sink into melancholly reflect's, from w'ch Nothing can raise Us but the looking up to, and beholding at the head of Affairs, a Person whom, we hope, [was] design'd by Providence for the glorious Labour of so critical a Juncture, for making us happy by driving Hostilities from our Borders, and ejecting from every other Part, Selfishness, Disaffect'n and Irreligion. May y't extensive Plan w'ch Y'r Hon'r acts upon, meet with the success w'ch it deserves. May the People long and gratefully enjoy the Bless'g of Y'r Administrat'n. May the King, with Pleasure, remark, and with Bounty reward, Y'r Fidelity, and may the King of Kings finally crown You with Y't distinguished Felicity w'ch the Holy Spirit has tho't proper to figure to us, by saying to the emphatically good Serv't who had made the most of his Charge: "Have thou authority over ten Cities."

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S REPLY TO THE COMMISSARY
AND CLERGY.

Mr. Commissary, and Gent. of this Dom'n:

I return You my sincere Thanks for Y'r very kind Address. If Vanity is at any Time justifiable, You give me a large Field to indulge it, but as I am convinced from this Address, of Y'r Sincere regard for, and good Opinion of, my Administrat'n, it will have its proper Effect in engaging me, with d'ble diligence, to discharge my duties to the best of Kings and the Service of our Co'try. I shall take it kind, if You from Y'r Pulpits inculcate into the People the great dangers we

are Expos'd to, both as to our Lives, Liberties and Estates, and, w't sh'd be most dear to Us, our religion, and Endeavour, y't in this Time of imin't danger, they will, with Vigour and resolut'n, assist me in defeating the Designs of our merciless Enemies. Gent'n, I am in duty bound to support our Establish'd Church, and I desire to assure You y't my Inclinations are very sanguine on y't head, and to shew the respect and esteem I have for the Clergy, and shall always be ready and willing to serve them. I further earnestly desire Y'r fervent Prayers to the Throne of Grace for Success to our Arms, and the just Cause we are engag'd in, to defeat the wicked Machinat's of the Enemies to our Liberties and Church.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

Oct'r 25th, 1754.

R'T HON.:

Inclosed You have Copy of my last, Since w'ch, I am hon'd with Y'r Let'rs of the 3d and 4th of July. I observe the Council were pleased to reject the Pet'n of the Ho. of B. of this Dom'n, in respect to the Pistole Fee, and y't Y'r L'ds. were Com'd by his M'y to regulate the same for the Future. I beg leave to observe, y't the Fee of a Pistole was never rec'd or demanded by me for Lands under 100 Acres, or shall I ever ask, or receive any Fee for less than Y'r L'ds. have prescribed, or shall I ever desire y't Fee on Persons' Rights or Importat'n, or has there been any Grants on y't Head for these 50 Years, as I am informed from the Sec'ry's Office. You are pleased to direct y't no Fee shall be received on Sealing Grants for Land in y't Part of the Colony y't lies to the Westw'd of the Mount's With Submission to Y'r L'ds., this wants Explanat'n. We have the little Mount's called Pignut, the blue Mount's, and the Alleg'y Mount's. The Lands to the Allegany Mount's have been greatly taken up, and some remain'g to be settled. The Lands on the other side of the Allegany Mount's, Applicat'n has been made to His M'y for an Exemption from Quit Rents for 10 Years

on the Indulgence of the Crown to the Subjects. I always conceiv'd, and shall constantly continue [so] to do, to Seal and Sign all Patents of this Nature with't a Fee, therefore, desire to know if Y'r L'ds. Restrict's is on the Patents of Land the other side of the Allegany Mount's, otherwise, Disputes will still arise. The Proposit'n to the Assembly to establish this petty Fee was from the Council. I was always clear in Opinion y't they had no Business with it, but y't it lay with the Council, having Approbat'n from Home to establish it. Y'r L'ds. are further of Opinion, y't as no Fee sh'd be rec'd on Lands, y't the Survey and Works [of] were lodg'd in the Sec'y's Office before the 22d of April, 1752, or from Persons who had Orders for Land before that Period. This, My Lords, was the Chief dispute between the People and me. I asked no Fee for these Lands, but as they had possessed and occupied them for many Years, in order to defraud His M'y of His Quit Rents, I tho't it my Duty as one of the Stewards of y't Revenue, to dem'd the Arrears of Quit Rents before I sealed and Signed their Patents. On this Head, Y'r L'ds. are silent, and I defer granting the Patents till I have Y'r Determinat'n thereon. I, therefore pray Y'r direct'n therein, (as I conceive it a Fraud to that Revenue,) and Y'r Com'ds on this Head, shall be duly obey'd. It has been too long a Practice here, to have Orders for Land—return their Surveys, Works, and Improvem'ts to the Sec'y's Office, by w'ch they Pretend to a Legal right, and enjoy the Lands for Years before they take out a Patent for them, by w'ch the Crown has been greatly defrauded. I w'd, therefore, h'bly propose, y't on the return of their Surveys, Works, &c. to the Office, y't a Pat't be immediately filled up, and accordingly carried to the Rent Roll; this is agreeable to the Method practiced in L'd Fairfax's Proprietary of the Northern Neck. I shall, therefore, wait for Inst's on these Heads, as my putting them in force from my own Authority, may raise a new Content'n between the People and me, w'ch I w'd gladly avoid. Y'r Com'ds in regard to the granting not above 1,000 Acres to one Person, shall be duly observed for the Future. Y'r Kind favo. to Mr. R. in recommending him to me to re-instate him in the Post of Atto'y Gen'l, is very condescending. When I consider the Argum'ts I made use of to him not to undertake y't inconsistent Duty, and the many unjust and false Reflect's on me personally in the Publick Papers, makes

this Recomendat'n very disagreeable to me, however, for the Reasons Y'r Lordships are pleased to assign, w'ch are both just and necessary; On his arrival, if he in a decent and proper Manner, makes Acknowledgem't of his Errors, and Promise of more regular Conduct for the Future, I shall be glad of every Opp'ty to moderate the Heats of the People, at this dangerous Time. Y'r L'ds. Letter of the 4th of July, I have now before me; Y'r Sentim'ts on Ind'n Affairs—I have the Hon'r of agreeing with You.

My Views and Inclinat's have always been sanguine in cultivat'g a F'dship with the different Nat's of Ind's in Amity with Britain and these Colonies, particularly with the So'ern Ind's, the Catawbas and Cherokees; their Emperor, King and many of their Chiefs have been here; I always entertain'd them properly, and sent them away pleased with Prest's, but the Gov'r of So. Car. has found great Fault with me, saying these Nat's of Ind's are imediately under his Care, and therefore I sh'd not interfere with them. The above two Nat's promised me a number of their Warriors to go against the French on the Ohio. I accordingly called on them early this Spring to assist the Forces I had raised; they answered the Gov'r of Carolina ordered them to rem'n at Home. The different Gov'rs, assuming particular Attachm'ts to the Ind's out of some Provinci[a] Views, I have observed, ever since I have been here, is a real prejudice to his M'y's Colonies in General, as some of them act independ't and not as subjects to one Prince. However, I shall in a proper manner, not to give offence to my neighbouring Gov'rs, endeavour to fix them to the B'h Interest. Our Assembly c'd not be prevailed on to appoint Com'rs to meet the 6 Nat's at Albany, but I wrote to Gov'r Delancey to appear in behalf of this Dom'n, w'ch he was kind enough to do, and if any meeting is [held] hereafter I shall be particularly Careful to have Com'rs there, even if I sh'd be put to the Necessity of providing for them out of the Funds placed in my Hands by His M'y. I have rec'd His M'y's Com'ds by the Hands of S'r Thos. Robinson, w'ch [I] shall duly, and with Assiduity obey, and every Thing in my Power to promote and carry on this essential Expedition shall be done, and during the Winter Mos., I shall be carefully preparing Necessaries for the Campaign in the Spring. I heartily wish for two regim'ts, some

Engineers and good officers, with a Supply of Ordnance Stores, as I humbly pray'd for in my former Letters, all w'ch is greatly wanted, and I am of Opinion no time is to be lost in making a strong Push against the Enemy, for while we are indolent and neglectful of our Safety, they are gather'g Strength. I hear from Potom'k River y't a Mast'r of a Ship [who] arrived in y't River from Brit'n, reports y't on the Banks of Newfoundland, he see 12 Sail Fr. men of War, full of Men, standing to the No'w'd, but the Motions and Designs of the Fr. must be better known to You than the Informat'n of a Master of a Ship, who are ready to aggravate and increase Numbers from their own Opinion. His M'y has been pleased to appoint Gov'r Sharpe, of M'yl'd, to com'd the combined Forces on this Expedit'n, w'ch is very agreeable to me. Our Assembly have voted 20,000£ towards conducting this necessary Expedit'n; but that with't Assistance from our neighbouring Colonies and two Regim'ts from G. B., will not answer the End proposed. I have, therefore, wrote the Sec'y of State for Forces from B'n, and other necessary Ordnance Stores, w'ch I intreat Y'r Interest in procuring, and the sooner the better, for it may be expected y't the Fr. will bring all the Forces that they can into the Field next Spring, and Mr. Sharpe thinks he will want 4,000 Men, w'ch I fear will be difficult to raise. I propose raising 10 Compa's. of 100 Men each, but an unhappy Dispute subsists between the Regular Officers of the Independ't Compa's, and those under my Com's; the former insist on the Com'd over them, the others will not submit to it; in case of Action this may be productive of bad Consequences. I therefore pray'd the Sec'y of State for Blank Com'o's to be filled up by me here, agreeable to the Method y't was practiced in the Carthagera Expedit'n, w'ch I submit to him. Pray excuse the Length of this Letter and be assured y't I rem'n with due respects,

Y'r L'd's most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

Oct'r 25th, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

I have [had] the Hon'r of receiving Y'r favo. of the 6th of July by Gov'r Dobbs, who arrived here last Week, and [I] have prevailed with him to rem'n with me till Gov'r Sharpe, of M'yl'd, comes, having sent an Express for him, and shall, with their Assistance, form a Plan for the Operat's of the Campaign early next Spring ag'st the French. The Invas'n and wicked designs of the Fr. on the River Ohio has given me a Continual Uneasiness, w'ch was increased by the supine and unaccountable Obstinacy of the Assemblies of the different Colonies on this Cont't, y't tho' they were convinced of the Progress they had made, and the threat'g Speeches they gave out, they c'd not be roused from their lethargic Indolence, to grant suitable Supplies for conducting an Expedit'n so necessary for their own Safety. This, My Lord, is my unhappy Situat'n, and prevented my execut'g his M'y's Com'ds with such Spirit and Resolut'n as the emergency of our Affairs required; however, with the few Men and little Money, I have done every Thing in my Power. I have got a Magazine and Fort almost finished, near to the Allegany Mount's, and shall, during the Winter Mos., provide every Thing y't may be wanted here to go on Action very early in the Spring, and hope for a Blessing on our just Designs. I may venture to affirm y't the greatest View I have, is to discharge the Trust reposed in me, and the Service left to my Conduct, in such Manner as to have his M'y's gracious Approbat'n, and I shall continue, with Assiduity, to perform my Duty with Integrity and Spirit. The Support sent from His M'y's generous donat'n, came very opportunely, as the Money granted by our Assembly was expended. The Assembly met on my Prorogation last Thursday, w'n, in my Speech, I informed them of His M'y's paternal Care, and his condescending Goodness in granting us Money and small Arms, w'ch, I hope, will have the proper effect in raising in them a grateful Acknowledgem't of his M'y's Goodness, and incite in them a due regard to their own Safety, by granting a large Supply, w'ch, I am endeavouring to promote among the Members of

the Ho. I beg pardon for not sending a proper Estimate of the necessary Cha's and Supplies. I found it merely impracticable, from the bad Intelligence we have of the Enemy's Numbers, but I have repeatedly wrote for Ordnance Stores, Some Ingineers and Officers, and if eligible, two Regim'ts of Men, w'ch [I] am of Opinion, with w't may be raised here, will be sufficient to drive the Fr. from His M'y's Lands. I sent an Express for Gov'r Sharpe, who is now appointed by His M'y to Com'd the combined Forces on this Expedit'n, and inclosed, I send the Plan of Operat's concert'd between him, Mr. Dobbs, and myself, for the Spring Campaign. If the different Colonies w'd exert themselves with Spirit, we have numbers of Men sufficient to drive the Fr. from the Continent; but the obstinate Behaviour of their Representatives in the Colonies, such (with't Precedent) [being] entirely easy, tho' their Enemies are at their Doors, yet they remain unactive at the Time of the most pressing Danger, wherefore, some Regulars from G. B. will be of essential Service. The Supply granted here, was voted in a most unconstitutional Method, and not agreeable to my Instruct's, and I was some Days before I c'd give my Assent to it, but w'n I considered the the Emergency of our Affairs, I was prevailed on to give my Assent, with the Advice of the Council, and I hope this will plead my Excuse with You. Our Militia, I think, is upwards of 20,000 Men, (but [I] shall, soon transmit a regular Acc't thereof,) but my L'd, the Act of Assembly relating to the Militia, confines them to Act'n within this Dom'n, so, if I had raised them, not one of them w'd have gone over the Allegany Mount's, and, in course, c'd be of no Service on this Expedit'n. I therefore now propose a Plan, y't each Co'ty, from their Militia, supply one in ten, w'ch will be at least 2,000 Men, this I lay before the Assembly, for with't an Act, I cannot even Com'd them to march out of the Dom'n, or y't w'ch is conceived to be the Limits of the Gov't, at this Time; however, if I can prevail on them to pass such an Act, it will answer the End much better than raising the Militia; under the present Indulgence they plead from the former Act, and I am greatly in hopes y't we shall be able in the Spring to raise a proper Force, to repell the unjust Invasions of the Fr. The Fr., I presume, will not all Winter at the Ohio, but Keep proper Numbers in their Forts, however, as most of their Men, Provis's, &c., are bro't by Water

from Canada, their Supplies come by an easy Carriage, but we must endeavour to be at the Ohio before they can come down the River, being hindered by the Ice till the end of Mar. or beginning of Apr. You may be assured y't the Money sent, and the Credit given, shall be managed with the great't Prudence, and applied with Frugality, and Oeconomy for the Gen'l Service of these Colonies, and I hope it will be attended with Success in defeating the Machinat's of the Fr. I have [been] and shall be very earnest in cultivating F'dship with the different Nat's of Ind's, and in particular with the So'ern Indians, tho' I meet with many Obstacles from the Gov'r of So. Car. Some of the Chiefs of the Cherokees, and Catawbas have been here. I rec'd and entertain'd them in a very Friendly Manner, sent them away greatly pleased with the Presents given them, and with full Assurances of F'dship, but Mr. Glen complains and says, I have no Business with these Ind's, for they are under his Protect'n, and y't no other Colony has any Business with them. I cannot see his reasons for this, unless from a Jealousy of our People trading with them. I wrote him y't all the Ind's y't are in Amity with B. Subjects have a right to the Countenance and F'dship of each Colony, and y't the Trade is open for all the Subjects, tho' very little carried on from this [Colony]. The Emperor of the Cherokees and King of the Catawbas, told me, whenever I wanted, they w'd supply me with 800 or 1,000 of their Warriors to go ag'st the Fr.; accordingly, in May last, I sent a Messenger to tell them the Fr. had taken up the Hatchet and Invaded their Hunting Grounds on the River Ohio, y't I was raising Forces to protect these lands and drive the Fr. off, and, therefore, I desired their Assistance. They sent me Word y't they were ready, but y't Mr. Glen had desired them to remain at Home, w'ch they did. Mr. Glen seems to dispute His M'y's Right to these Lands and finds Fault with the Treaties of Lancaster, and the Logstown, saying the other Nat's of Ind's concerned in these Lands were not pres't, therefore, not right, and y't I sh'd have sent to the Gov'r of Canada, with Acc't of the Insults done by his People, before I had offered to resist their Power. In short, his Letter might have been Argum'ts from a Fr. Comander, more than from an English Gov'r. My sending to the Fr. Com'd't, and w't followed thereon, were exactly agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds, and [I] shall continue in due obed'ce thereto. However, I shall press

y't Gent. to build a Fort in the Upper Cherokee Co't'y, and offer my Assistance in an Affair of so much Use, and at this Time, so absolutely necessary, for no private Reflect's on my Conduct shall retard the general Intention of the Crown, but my Inclinat's and Conduct shall be with proper Spirit. I have the Pleasure of acquainting You y't the Ho. of Burgesses, after strong Applicat's, and pressing Argum'ts, at last have voted 20,000£ for support of the Expedit'n, and as there have been some disputes betw'n the Regulars and the Officers appointed by me, I am now determin'd to reduce our Regim't into Ind't Companies, so y't from our Forces there will be no other distinguish'd officer above a Capt., and I shall raise 10 Compa's of 100 Men each, w'ch, with the additional Forces from the neighbouring Colonies, I hope we shall be able to bring 2,000 or 2,500 Men into the Field. I have a Letter this Day informing me that the Twightwees continue in our Int't, and have declared ag'st the Fr., and killed many of them. I shall endeavour to send them an Express to acquaint them of our designs to support them, and all our other Fr'dly Ind's. The above Letter brings Acc't of the half King's death, (w'ch is a Loss as he was a steady Friend, and a brave Man.) The Sec'y of the State writes me y't His M'y proposes reimbursing the 20,000[£] sent me, from the 2s. ½ Hhd. I have earnestly entreated him to represent to His M'y, the great Prejudice it will be to his Affairs here, if y't Fund sh'd be applied to the Reimbursem't of the above Sum; it will be many Years before it w'd be able to pay it, and at this Time I have no other Fund to call on for a Supply on any extraordinary Emergency. I, therefore, h'bly pray your Int't to prevent any Warr't for Paym't from y't Revenue. I have wrote fully to S'r Thos. Robinson on y't head; Y'r favo. in speaking to him thereon, I am convinced will be of great Service, and am perswaded if the Inconveniences are properly considered it will be stopt, at least for some Time, till this Expedit'n is ended. Excuse the Length of this Letter, and [I] beg to assure You as my Hands are now strengthen'd with Supplies, y't I will with great Assiduity and Care, do every Thing in my Power for His M'y's Service, and the Good of His Empire on this Cont't, and beg Leave to assure You, y't with great Deference and dutiful Respects, I am,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's much obliged and

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Oct'r 25th, 1754.

R'T HON.:

Y'r kind Let's of the 1st June, and 15th of July, I had the Hon'r of receiv'g Yesterday, and am much obliged for the Approbat'n You are pleas'd to give on my Transactions in regard to His M'y's Revenue of Quit Rents. The Petit'n of the Ho. of B., against the Pistole Fee, was rejected by the Council, and ordered y't the B'd of Trade sh'd regulate y't Fee for the Future. They have accordingly directed y't no Fee sh'd be taken for Lands less than 100 Acres, or on the Rights of Families, imported agreeable to an Act of Assembly, w'ch is perfectly right, and w't never was dem'd. And, further, y't no Fee sh'd be taken [for] Grants of Land [the] other Side of the Mount's, as His Majesty is graciously pleased to exempt them from Quit Rents for 10 Years. As I am determin'd punctually to obey any Orders sent me, I shall not insist on any Fees for Lands so exempted from Quit Rents. They are further pleased to direct and order y't I sh'd grant Patents for the Lands so long taken up and Possessed before my Arrival with't being bro't to the Rent Roll, with't any Fee; but their L'ds. are silent as to the Arrears of Quit rents, w'ch, if given up, these People [will] obtain all they desired, and my Applicat'n for the Arrears will be defeated. I am willing to think it may be an Omission or Oversight at that B'd, therefore I decline Signing their Pat'ts till further Orders, For I offered to sign their Patents with't the Fee if they w'd pay the Arrears of Quit rents. However, if it's the design of their L'ds. to give up the Arrears, I shall give due Obedience to their Com'ds, but tho' it is proper to apprise you therewith. And for my Conduct for the future, in regard to His M'y's Quit rents, I am h'bly of Opinion y't I sh'd have an Instruct'n direct'g Patents to be made out and executed immediately on the Return of the Works and Improvem'ts to the Secr'y's Office. This will regulate the Quit Rent Roll for the Future, and much improve y't Revenue, and this is the Practice in the Northern Neck, under L'd Fairfax's Proprietary, and it is h'bly submitted to You. Their L'ds. have further directed, y't no

Person have a Patent for more than 1,000 Acres, w^{ch} I shall duly attend to. The granting of large Quantities to one Person has been of Service in settling the back and remote Parts of this Domⁿ, as these great Grants have been subdivided to poor People y^t come from the other Colonies, and are not able to be at the Charge of coming here and taking out Grants for small Quantities of land; however, the Rule prescribed shall be observed, and any Inconveniences y^t may occur shall be hereafter represented. We are at present in a State of War, the French have very unjustly invaded His M^y's Lands; they have taken a Fort I ordered to be built by the King's Com^{ds}, near the River Ohio; they continue in Arms and threaten Us with further Invasions and depredat^s, and our Assemblies on this Cont^t are seized with a lethargic Supineness, by not granting proper Supplies to defeat their Designs; I have done all in my Power to awaken them to a Sense of their danger, and to endeavour to get proper Supplies, but to very little Purpose. His M^y has been graciously pleased to order me 10,000[£] in Specie, and Direct^s to draw for 10,000[£] more, w^{ch} was a most agreeable Supply, and I shall take the proper Care of applying it with Frugality to the Uses designed. Our Militia being very raw and unskilful in Military Affairs, I have represented the Necessity of hav^g two Regim^{ts} of Regulars to put us on a proper Footing with the Fr. Forces, who have a great many Regulars in their Army at the Ohio; they threaten us much, and, indeed, I have reason to think they aim at a general overthrow of all our Colonies on this Cont^t, and to reduce them to the Obedience of their Grand Monarch, but I trust in God, if we are reinforced from, and assisted by our neighbouring Colonies, y^t next sumer we shall be able to drive them from His M^y's Lands on the Ohio. This is w^t I have much at Heart, and shall do all in my Power for y^t purpose, w^{ch} might have been done before [if] the Assemblies of the different Colonies had with a proper Spirit granted mutual Supplies. I flatter myself y^t now they begin to see their Danger, and hope they will in duty comply with the Com^{ds} of His M^y on this Head. I am ashamed of the dirty Transactⁿ in regard to the Pales; I believe I told Mr. Blair of the Ship, but if I had seen the Bill of Lading, I sh^d [have] shewn the injustice of leaving the Freight so open to the owners of the Ship. I must say, the

Owner does not appear to have acted with Hon'r in reduc'g them to square Feet and then charging equal Freight with Perishable Commodities. Mr. Blair has sent Y'r D'p'ty, Mr. Smith, an Affidavit, w'ch I wish may answer the End, or expose the Owner. Before I left Londo., You ment'd Y'r Intent'n of having Pales from this [Colony] and I wrote You on the Head, but You answ'd You w'd not trouble me, but had wrote to Mr. Blair. Y'r Hon'r surely must think Nothing c'd be trouble to me in executing Y'r Com'ds, w'ch I shall always think myself in Duty bound to do, as I shall never forget the Obligat's I am under to Y'r F'dship and Patronage. It gives me much Joy to hear You are in a perfect State of Health. Pray God continue it for His M'y's Service and the Happiness of Your agreeable Family.

I rem'n with Gratitude and due respects,

R't Hon, Y'r most obed't and most humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO EARL GRANVILLE.

Oct'r 25th, 1754.

R'T HON.:

My last was the 23d of Sept'r. The few forces I have for the Expedit'n are employ'd in building a Fort and Magazine near the Allegany Mount's, w'ch I expect is finish'd by this Time. His M'y has been pleased to appoint Horatio Sharpe, Esq'r, Gov'r of M'yl'd, to be Com'd'r in Chief of the combined Forces on the Expedition, w'ch I am very glad of, and doubt not from his Experience in Military Affairs, y't he will be of good Service, and he is now here in order to concert a Plan of Operat's for the Campaign. There is an unlucky Misunderstanding between the Officers of the Ind't Compa's and those appointed by me, in regard to Rank, w'ch I fear in Case of Act'n, may be of pernicious Conseq'ce. I have therefore wrote to S'r Thos. Robinson, praying for blank Com's for the Officers y't com'd the Forces in this Dom'n. And, as our Assembly have voted 20,000£ for conducting this necessary Expedit'n, I propose raising 10 Compa's of 100 Men each, with 3

Lieut's to each Co., and if put on the B. Establishm't [it] will be more agreeable to them, and the Money raised in each Colony shall be properly acc't'd for. I have further pray'd to have the Com'd of them, but if it is not tho't proper, I am ready to assist the Expedit'n in any Shape y't may be tho't proper, but as it's for the Service, and to conduct it regularly, the above Commiss's I think absolutely necessary to confirm Peace among the Officers. I therefore h'bly intreat Y'r favo. to speak to His M'y or S'r Thos. Robinson on this Affair. I know Y'r great Concern for the Success of this Expedit'n, w'ch engages me to give You this Trouble. Mr. Corbin has sent a little Money to be remitted to Y'r L'ds., but I have not yet rec'd it, but [he] says, very soon, he will send me a little more; w'n it comes to hand I shall carefully remit it to You.

I rem'n, with much Gratitude and dutiful Respects,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's much obliged,

most obed't humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY, ESQ.

Oct'r 23rd, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r Let's of 30th June, 5th, and 12th July, 15th, and 18th Aug'st, I have now before me. I am very glad the Pistole Fee is finished by the reject'n of the Ho. of B. Pet'n, and I am obliged for the great Care You took in y't Affair. But I think the L'ds of Trade are not explicit enough, in regard to the regulat's propos'd by them, for my Conduct therein for the Future. The first, is forbidding taking a Fee for less y'n 100 Acres, and from Families Imported, who have a Right to 50 Acres for each white Person. I never required a Fee from any such, or has there been a dem'd of Land on y't head for these 50 Years. 2dly, They direct no Fee to be taken for Lands to [the] westw'd of the Mount's; we have three Ridges of Mount's, the Pignut,¹⁹⁹ or

¹⁹⁹ The range lying between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains, given by Jefferson (*Notes*, ed. of 1855, p. 18) as the North Mountain, is doubtless here intended.

small Mount's, the blue Ridge, and the Allegany Mount's. I presume their L'ds. Intent's are on the Lands to the West of the Allegany Mount's, (where Applicat'n is made to encourage Settling there) that the People be indulged free of Quit rents for 10 Years for these Lands; and under y't Favo. of the Crown, I never proposed taking any Fee. 3dly. Forbiding me taking any Fee for Lands, where the Survey, &c., was ret'd to the Sec'ry's Office, before the 22d Apr., 1752, or from such y't had Orders for Land before y't Time. This was the Chief Dispute between me and the People. I did not insist on Fees for these Pat'ts, but as they had occupied the Lands for many Years with't taking out their Pat'ts, and in course [they were] not bro't to the Rent Rolls, I dem'd the arrears of Quit rents. On this head their L'ds. are entirely silent, and I am determ'd, not to seal or sign the Patents till I have direct's thereon. I have wrote them now on y't Head, and I desire You will imediately endeavour to get their Direct's therein, and transmit it to me by very first Opp'ty. Call on Mr. Walpole, and tell him the Affair, and desire his Opinion thereon, but the sooner you send me Orders, the better, y't I may be distinct in this Part of my Duty, for if I sh'd grant the Pat's with't the Quit rent, I probably may be complained of, and I have some reason to think there has been some Managem't in this Affair, to have it left open with't their Opinion thereon. On the whole of this, I am much surpriz'd at the B'd of Trade's Taciturnity, and not acting with more Spirit, for if it had not been for their Approbat'n of that Fee, and in Support of the Hon'r they had done me, the Affair w'd not have gone home, and in course my F'ds w'd have had no Trouble therein; but I shall not say any more on y't Subject. The Appearances on this Fee's being Establish'd, may appear to some to be venal and lucrative, no Doubt. I tho't of the Perquisite arising, but am perswaded if establish'd some years ago, it w'd have been a great Increase of the Quit Rent Revenue, and w'n on arrival, I found upwards of 900,000 Acres not bro't to the Quit rent rolls, as Steward to y't Revenue, I, in Justice to His M'y's Revenue, I must stand approved in the Steps I took. I observe w't you write of the Atto'y, as to reinstating him to his office. You must think y't some w't absurd, from the bad Treatm't I have met with, however, if he answers properly w't I have to say to him, I am not inflexible, and he must confess, before this hap-

pen'd, he had [a] greater share of my Favo. and Counten'ce than any other in the Gov't. My determinati'n on y't head must rem'n till his Arrival. As to the Speaker, he has behav'd with great Warmth, and ill Manners, therefore, w't You propose must be suspended for some Time. I always was of Opinion, y't [the combined offices of] Speaker of the Ho., and Treasurer were inconsistent, but so I found it, and [it] has been so for many Years, and I dreaded to make any Innovat's on my first Arrival, but am determin'd on calling a new Assembly to regulate it for the Future in a more Constitutional Method. The Sec'y of State has wrote me of His M'y's Intent's of having the 20,000[£] reimbursed from [the revenue of] 2s. 3^p Hhd. on Tob'o. I have wrote him fully on y't Head, with the great Inconveniences y't must attend his M'y's Service if y't Fund sh'd be so loaded at this Time, as there is no other y't I can call upon for Aid on any Emergency, and while this Expedit'n is on Foot it may be of Fatal Consequence to His M'y's Service. I have therefore pray'd his Favo. to represent the same to His M'y to stop the Warr't for reimbursing y't Sum out of the 2s. 3^p Hhd. As the Warr't is not come out I think it's too premature to write to the L'ds of the Treas'y, or to the Pay Mast'r on y't head, but very soon I shall transmit y't Acc't and then shall write fully thereon, but I desire You to call on S'r T. Robinson, and endeavour, with him, to put a Stop to the Warr't. Mr. Glen writes me in a very dictatorial Style and seems to find Fault with my Conduct on this Expedit'n; [and thinks] y't I sh'd have wrote to the Gov'r of Quebeck before I went to forcible Measures in stoping the unjust Designs of the Fr., w'ch Step is not agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds. He complains of the Treaties of Lancaster and Logstown, saying all the Ind's concerned in these Lands were not pres't; he desires me not to interfere w'th [the] Catawbas and Cherokees, who are under the Protect'n of their Colony, tho' I am positively ordered to give them Presents and cultivate a F'dship with them; nay, he goes the Length to doubt His M'y's Right to the Lands on the Ohio, and refuses any Supplies. He appears to me to be a wrong-headed Man, and the only Gov'r on this Cont't y't finds fault with my Conduct, and draws Conclusions from our late Misfortune, near the Ohio. I have been obliged to touch upon these Things to the B'd of Trade, and L'd Halifax. On receipt

of Your Letters, I call[ed] the Council, and prevailed with them to Augm't Y'r Salary to 200£ p' Ann.

Pray send me a particular Acc't of all the Cha's attending the Applicat'n of the Pistole Fee. After long Disputes and Argum'ts, and pushing all my Int't, I at last have prevailed with our Ho. of Burgesses to vote 20,000£ towards Conducting the Expedit'n, w'ch gives me much Satisfact'n. The Speaker waited on me, and acknowledged the great ill manners shewn me by their Ho., and begged my Pardon, w'ch I granted, and I think we are now on a very good Footing, w'ch I desire may long continue, and surely it will be their own Faults if it does not, as I shall now continue to do every Thing in my Power to establish it, agreeable to Instruct's. I hope the Parliam't will be applied to in behalf of the Colonies; an Aid from them at this Time will be very essential. I have wrote to the Sec'ry of State for some more Ordnance Stores. You may call on Mr. Amyand²⁰⁰ who probably will shew the Demander's request. With the Aid His M'y has been graciously pleased to Order me, and the vote of our Assembly for 20,000£, I propose raising 10 Compa's of 100 Men each, but there Subsists a Difference between the Independ't Regular Officers, and those appointed by me; the former will not rank with them, and I fear on any Action, there may be some Confusion; wherefore, I propose, if His M'y thinks proper, y't the Officers may be hon'd with His M'y's Com., w'ch if agreed to, and blank Com's [are] sent out fixing them on the B. Establishm't, it will be of great Service to the Expedit'n, and if I am tho't worthy to be their Colo., I shall be very glad, and am perswaded [this] will be very much agreeable to the Officers and Soldiers. This I write to Sr. T. Robinson, and You will soon find whether [it is] agreeable. There is the Presid't [precedent] of the Carthagera Expedit'n, and y't to Canada.²⁰¹ Please take some Trouble in this. I am quite weary, therefore must leave off, and [beg] to assure You, I am with due Esteem,

D'r Sir, Y'r Affect., humble Serv't.

²⁰⁰ Claudius Amyand was an Under Secretary, November, 1755; he served also as one of the Secretaries of the Lords Justices.

²⁰¹ Alluding to Governor Gooch, who commanded in the Carthagera expedition, and Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was probably intended as the second instance.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR JAMES GLEN.

Oct'r 25th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd both Y'r Let'rs of the 10th Sept'r, with the Report of Y'r Comittee, and am sorry to find You complain of the Style of my Let'r. I have great reason to do so both as the method and Substance of Y'rs. You object greatly to the Treaties of Lancaster and Logstown; the first was long before I came to my Gov't, and is generally esteemed a very proper Treaty, the last was to confirm it, and to have the Consent of the Ind's to build Forts on the Ohio. You and Your Committee think I ought to have represented the Injuries done by the Fr., to the Gov'r of Canada, w'ch is quite contrary to my Instruct's from Home, being Com'd to send to the Com'd't of the Fr. Forces in the very Manner I have done, and as such an Answer, to take the Steps I followed. I am sorry You or Y'r Committee doubts His M'y's Right to the Lands on the Ohio. In his Com'ds to me, he asserts his Right to those Lands and orders Forts to be built, and [for me] to resist any foreign Power that shall presume to settle them. The Acc't you have, and depend on, from John Shaw, tho' swore to, is certainly false, and I suppose he is a Deserter and ought to be put in Prison and returned here. Y'r Observat's attending the late unlucky Action at the Meadows is ungenerous. My orders were not to engage the Enemy till the Forces were joined, but they were taken on Surprize, and the other Forces were very dillatory, otherways, they might have joined them before the Action; we c'd not march the whole Body together for want of convenient Carriages for the Provisions, w'ch was the reason of marching in Detachm'ts. As to our Militia (tho' not near the No. You mention) [they] cannot be comanded to march over the Allegany Mount's, by an Act of Assembly now subsisting. The Fort Mr. Washington went to, is on Buffalo Creek, that runs into the Ohio, and on His M'y's Land, if You will read the Treaty of Utrich, w'ch confirms it, as it is on the Land of the Six Nat's or Iioquois [and] ceded to us by Treaty. The Complaints made me of the French's unjust Treatment of our People were not confirmed before Mr. W. left this [place] on that Message, wherefore, I c'd not be particular thereon in my Letter, but de-

sired him to inquire into it when he came to the Ohio, and if true, to represent the same to the Com'd'r of the Fr. Forces, w'ch he did, but Y'r Comittee does not think proper to take any Notice thereof. It is beyond my Power or Instruct's to contest His M'y's Titles to these Lands with the Gov'r of Canada, or do I think such Powers will ever be vested in any Gov'r. It's sufficient for me, y't His M'y asserts his Right to them, and orders me to build Forts, and to prevent any other Nat'n settling them. I think there can be no greater Act of Hostility y'n taking a Fort begun to be built by His M'y's imediate Com'ds, and this must be esteem'd the first Breach from the Fr., and w't followed in taking some of their People Prisoners, and killing others, was in Consequence thereof. The[re] is a Plan for an Union of the whole Colonies, now lying before the King and Council, and probably [it] will be enforced by an Act of Parliam't, but I think we are not to be idle and tacitly allow the Enemy to continue their unjust Encroachm'ts till y't is finished. My sending Expresses far and near, so ludicrously notic'd by Y'r Comittee, is in Obedience to my Instruct's from Home. You may [justly] think I have no great Satisfact'n in writing so many Letters and being at so great Expence, [and would not do so] if it was not in Obedience to my Mast'r's Com'ds. I must think it a bad Step of You to write the Catawbass to stay at Home after their Promise to assist me, and His Majesty's Serv'ce so much wanted it. Y'r several repeated Compl'ts of my entertain'g and giving Pres'ts to the Cherokees and Catawbass is entirely wrong, as these Things are done by Orders from Home, but if it interfered with the private Int't of any Gov'r, it ought to be laid aside at the Time of so imin't [a] Danger. I observe You and Y'r Legislature were adverse to granting any Supplies, w'ch I think they might have done in a more genteel Manner y'n in complaining of my Conduct. I must and cannot shun, observing [that] Y'r Let'r and Argum'ts w'd have been more proper from a Fr. Officer y'n from one of His M'y's Gov'rs. I have the hon'r, Satisfact'n, and Pleasure to assure You, y't my Conduct on the whole of this Expedition was met with His M'y's gracious Approbat'n, and y't of his Ministers; I am sorry it has not rec'd y't of Y'rs. Enclosed, I send You a Let'r y't came by His M'y Ship, Garland, now station'd here. I am again order'd to give further Pres'ts to the Catawbass and Cher-

okees, if I see proper, w'ch I shall be ready to do on a suitable Occasion; I am further directed to assist You, if necessary, in building a Fort in the Upper Cherokee Co'try, w'ch I think absolutely necessary at this Time, to protect them from the Invasions of the Fr., and I, agreeable to my Instruct's, now offer all the Service in my Power, and the sooner it's begun, the better, w'ch I presume You now have particular Orders to put in emediate Execut'n, and no doubt before this, You are inform'd properly if the French have attempted to build Forts among them. I shall be glad, [if] all private Views may be laid Aside, or any particular Provincial Interest, w'n his M'y's Service so earnestly calls for the action of our utmost Endeavours and Strength to oppose the comon Enemy, and not to be so particular in scrutinizing the Conduct of Y'r neighbouring Gov'rs, without knowing the Purport of his Instruct's, w'ch a Person of Y'r Sense and Penetrat'n well knows, it is not proper they sh'd be particularly made public.

His M'y has ordered me 10,000£ in Specie and 10,000£ Credit, and this Colony, has this last Assembly granted 20,000£ for conducting this necessary Expedit'n; but these Sums all come far short of the Expence to pay and maintain a suitable Force to drive the Enemy from the Ohio, however, I shall with great Frugality manage it for the Service it is intended. His M'y has been pleased to appoint H. Sharpe, Esq'r, Gov'r of M'yl'd, to be Comd'r in Chief of the combined Forces on this Expedition, with Orders to consult and advise with me in every Thing; he is now here, and we are consulting a Plan of Operat's, to be put in Execut'n this Winter, or early in the Spring. I shall be glad of Keep'g up a Correspond'ce with You in any Thing for his M'y's Service, but shall be careful not to trouble You with any more Expresses, as I find it disagreeable to You and Y'r Comittee. I heartily wish Success to the pres't Expedit'n, and that the different Colonies w'd join as one Man in defeating the mischievous Designs of the Fr., and their unjust Encroachm'ts. I hope this will find You perfectly recovered from Y'r late Illness, and sincerely wish You a thorow Confirmat'n of Y'r Health, and I rem'n sincerely,

Y'r Ex. most h'ble Serv't.

P. S. In all public Affairs of Consequence, I always conduct myself with the Advice of the Council.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY.

Nov. 2d, 1754.

*Gent. of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gent. of the Ho. of
Burgesses :*

I Sincerely thank You for Y'r Vote of Supply for conducting the necessary Expedit'n. I shall take proper Care of representing to His M'y, Y'r Loyalty, and the Aid You have granted. Be assured, Gent'n, the Money now given shall be with great frugality and due Oeconomy applied for the Uses it's intended. As you have unanimously granted this Supply, I am to desire Y'r Int't in the different Counties You represent, to encourage the Subjects, by Y'r Argum'ts and reasons, freely to enlist for the Protect'n of our Lives and Fortunes, and to give Y'r Countenance to such Officers y't may be Commiss'd to raise the Levies. And I heartily desire Love and F'dship may subsist among the different Ranks of our People. Y'r Example, Gent., will be great Encouragem't to others, and I hope for the future, gen'rous Benevolence will excite every Member of the Comunity to a due and just regard for the Happiness and Peace of the whole.

REPORT FROM GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE ON THE PRESENT
STATE OF VIRGINIA.

*Transmitted the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Planta-
tions, January, 1755.*

The Boundaries of the Dom'n of Virg'a, as they were first establish'd by the Charter of King James the 1st, Anno. 1606, were from Cape Comfort, now called Cape Henry, 200 Miles North along the Sea Coast, and the same Distance South from the same Cape, and West to the So. Sea, together with all Islands in both Seas, lying within 100 Miles of the Main Land; in w'ch Tract is comprehended [a] great Part of y't w'ch is now called No. Carolina, all the Province of M'yl'd, and part of Penn-

sylvania. But the Boundaries of Virg'a, as it is now circumscribed, are to the East and So. East, the main Atlantick Ocean, on the South, a due West line from the Mouth of Curratuck Inlet, w'ch lies in the Lat. of 36 D., and 30 M., divides Virg'a from No. Car., and on the No., a Line from the Sea, thro' y't Isthmus called the E. Shore to the Bay of Chesapeak opposite to y't Point of Potowmack River called Watkins's Point, which lies in Lot 38; and thence, the s'd River Potowmack divides this Colony from Maryl'd unto the true Meridian of the first Fountain of Potowmack, w'ch is the utmost Boundary of M'yl'd Westward. And then Virg'a resumes its ancient Breadth, and has no other Limits to the West y'n w't its first Royal Charter assigned it, and y't is to the So. Sea, including the Isl'd of California, but, according to its Breadth from the West Line, w'ch divides it from No. Car. on the So., to the first Fount'n of Potowmack on the No., it will extend on the Western side of M'yl'd as far as the Latitude of 40 No. and So., northerly on the Back of Pennsylvania. The Situat'n is under the same Paralel with some of the finest Countrys in the World, and undoubtedly the Co'try is capable of the same Product's, as the Fertility of the Soil is equal to any of them, since, with little Labour, every Thing is propagated w'ch the Planter has attempted. The Air is temperate; the extreme Heat in Sumer, or Cold in Winter, is but of short D'ration, as they are frequently relieved with intervening cold, and warm Breezes. The Western Boundary as yet is not well known, nor can it be expected to be fully known for some Ages. The British Subjects have for some years settled within a few Miles of the River Ohio, on the other side of the Allagany Mount's, w'ch settlem't was approved of by the Ind's, and a Grant of the Land was made to H. M'y, the K. of G. B., by the Six Nat's at the Treaty of Lancaster. These settlem'ts I was willing to fix as our pres't Boundary to the Westw'd, as it is part of the Lands belonging to the five Nat's, w'ch, by the Treaty of Utritch, is expressly allowed to be under the Dom'n of the Crown of G. B., and as further, the Lake Champlain, formerly called Lake Iroq[u]ois, and the Co'try So'w'd of it, as also the Lakes Ontorio and Erie have, by all ancient authors, both Fr. and English, been allowed to belong to the five Nat's of Ind's, and in Course, by the above Treaty, to be under the Protect'n of the B. Crown. Notwithstand'g the

above Treaty, the Fr. have, subsequent thereto, built several Forts on the Lands belong'g to the Five Nat's, and a remarkable strong one at Crown Point to the So'w'd of Lake Champlain. The Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, confirm'g the Treaty of Utritch, has no weight with the Fr., but it appears y't the Conquest of ye whole Cont't seems to be the object of their Attent'n. The Fr., since the above Treaties, have erected many Fortresses on the Lands belong'g to the Five Nat's, who are actually under the Protect'n of G. B., and contrary to Law and Justice, erect these Forts as the Marks of Possess'n, and they have been constantly increasing their Forces by importing Numbers of People from France in a Private Manner, not to be notic'd, or observed by the Powers in Europe. They have, for the last seven years, robb'd our Subjects, trading with the Ind's in our back Co'try, and sent their Persons Prisoners to Quebeck, all w'ch is a most notorious Infract'n of the above Treaties. Not satisfied with these clandestine and Private Robberies, they have now taken off the Mask, and y's last Sumer declared, in this part of the World, y'r Intent's. I was ordered by H. M'y to build some Forts on His Lands on the River Ohio. In Obedience thereto, I ordered out some Soldiers and Tradesmen to begin a Fort on the Forks of Monongahela, till I was qualified by our Assembly to send stronger Forces to y't Fort, and to build some others. The Fr., with an armed Force from Canada, came down the River Ohio, surpriz'd our People, took Possess'n of His M'y's Forts, and robbed and plundered all our poor settlers y't were near to y't River, some of whom had lived peaceibly there upwards of 10 Years. I raised w't Men the small Pittance our Assembly granted in Feb'y last, enabled me to do, who, with an Independ't Co'y H. M'y was pleased to order from So. Car., on their march to the Ohio, were attacked by the Fr. and Ind's, with a much superior Force, many of our Men were killed and the rest obliged to such a Capitulat'n as their inferiority of numbers and the situat'n of their Affairs compelled them to comply with. These Transact's in the Time of tranquil Peace between the two Crowns, I conceive is with't Preced't, and I am convinc'd there is no conduct'g an Expedit'n with't Aid from Home, and an Act of the B. Parliam't to oblige the Colonies to raise Money for their own Protect'n. But to ret'n to the present State of Virg'a. The establish'd Constitut'n of the Gov't of Virg'a is as follows:

A chief Gov'r, appointed by His M'y, who always resides in G. B.; A L't Gov'r, appointed also by H. M'y, who presides over the Affairs of Gov't; A Council, consist'g of 12 Gent'n, appointed by Mandamus from H. M'y. The Dom'n has now 50 Counties, who elect two Members for each co'ty; one for the College of W. and M'y, one for the City of W'msb'g, one for Jas. Town, and one for the Borough of Norfolk, in all 104 Memb'rs, who are called at Meet'g, the Ho. of Burgesses. The Lieut. Gov'r, Council, and Ho. of Burgesses, are the Gen'l Assembly of this Colony, and are impowered to enact Acts for the good Gov't of the Co'try. These Acts are duly transmitted to G. B., soon after each Session, for His M'y's Assent and Approbation; w'n they receive H. M'y's Sanc'n they become Laws. The administrat'n of Justice. First, There are in each Co'ty, Courts held monthly by Persons comissioned by the Gov'r, who have not only the Power of Justices of the Peace, but have Cognizance of all Suits, of w't value so ever, arising within their respective Jurisdict's, both at Comon Law and in Chancery, except only such criminal Offences as are punishable with the Loss of Life or Member. And for the City of W'msburg, there is a Court of Hustings held Monthly, before the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, for all Suits at comon Law arising within the Town, hav'g equal Jurisdiction in all Suits at comon Law with the County Courts. There is the like Court in the Bor'o of Norfolk; these are the inferior Courts in this Gov't, and from their Judgem't, an Appeal lies to the Gen'l Court. The Appellant giving Security to prosecute the same with effect. The Gen'l Court consists of the Gov'r and Members of the Council, any five whereof make a Quorum; this Court is held in Apr. and Oct'r, and has Jurisdict'n of all Causes, real, Personal and mixt, at comon Law, bro't hither, originally exceeding the Value of £10 Sterling, or by Appeal or Supersedeas (w'ch is in the Nature of a Writ of Error) from the Inferior Courts, all Criminal Offences are here tryable, and it is also a Court of Chancery for matters of great Value. But, by a late Act of Assembly, no Appeal or Supersedeas lies from the Judgem't or Decree of any inferior Court, unless the Debt or Damage, or Thing in dem'd (exclusive of the Costs) exceeds the Value of 5£; Except'g only where the Title or Bounds of Lands are in Question, and from the Gen'l Court an Appeal lies to the

King and Council in any Causes of 300^l St^g and upwards; Secondly, There are two Courts of oyer and terminer held Yearly, the one the second Friday in June, the other the second Tuesday in Dec^r, wherein all Criminals y^t happen to be comitted after the respective Gen^l Courts, are tried. The Judges here, are only such as are Members of the Council, and sit by the Governor's Commissⁿ, pursuant to H. M^y's Instruct's in y^t behalf; Thirdly, For the punishm^t of Slaves committ^g Capital Crimes, a Com^o. of Oyer and Terminer is issued by the Gov^r, directed to the Justices of the Peace in the Co^{ty} where the offence is comitted, to try the Offenders, on Proof of the Fact by Witnesses, with^t any Jury, and on Convictⁿ, the Commiss^{rs} award Execution, and set a Value on the Slave, w^{ch} Valuatⁿ is afterwards p^d the Owner by the Gen^l Assembly as an Encouragement to the People to discover the Villain[ie]s of their Slaves; Fourthly, For Breaches of the Acts of Trade, and for determin^g Controversies concern^g Mariners' Wages, and all Maratime Affairs, there is a Court of Ad^lty, held before a Judge Constituted by Commissⁿ under the Seal of the High Court of Ad[mira]lty of G^t Bⁿ. And to this Court belongs an Advocate, Register, and a Marshall, appointed by the Gov^r, who is also by Com^o. Vice Admiral of all the Sea Coasts, Rivers and Creeks within this Gov^t. This Court is not held at any certain Time, but is called and held, as Business or Occasion may require, and from this Court an Appeal lies to the King in Council. The Gov^r sh^d have a Com^o. for trying Pyrates; none such to be found here, tho' I am informed my Predecessor had such a Commissⁿ. There is a Court of the Commissary of the Bishop of London, w^{ch} only relates to the Punishm^t of the Imoralities of the Clergy, and proceeds by Monition, Suspension, or Deprivation, as the Nature of the Offence deserves, and from thence there lies an Appeal to the Delegates appointed by His M^y's Commissⁿ in England. Having treated of the Courts of Justice of this Gov^t, it may not be improper to mention here how His M^y's Mercy is dispensed to Offenders who are proper Objects thereof; and herein, such is the grace and Favo. of the Crown, y^t the Gov^r is invested with a Power to pardon all Crimes and Offences, Treason and willful Murder only excepted, and in these he has a Power of reprieving, untill, on a fair Representⁿ of the Circumstances of the Fact, the King is

pleased to signify His Com'ds for pardoning or executing the Sentence.

The Gov'r has also a Power to remit all Fines and Forfeitures occurring to the Crown, under the Value of 10*ℓ* St'g, and if above, he may suspend the levying such Fines and Forfeitures untill H[is] M'y's Pleasure is known, but this Indulgence does not reach to the Inhabitants of the No'ern Neck, the Fines, &c., being granted to L'd Fairfax, the Proprietor thereof. Thus much for the Civil Constitut'n of this Dom'n, so far as relates to the making and Execut'g the Laws and the Administrat'n of Justice. For matters of State, there is a Council appointed by the King, to be assisting to the Gov'r in all Things relating to the King's Service, such as the disposing of his Lands, the managing his Revenue, the appoint'g of Justices of the Peace, Sheriff and Coroners, and other Officers of Trust, who receive their Commiss's from the Gov'r.

[They are also] for the better ordering the Tributary Ind's, and mak'g War or Peace with foreign Ind's and Nat's, and various other Matters w'ch Concern the Publick Peace of the Gov't, and w'ch do not fall under the Direct'n of positive Laws.

The Trade of this Colony is principally conducted by Ships from G. B. I suppose not less y'n 120 Sail are here annually, with the Produce of y's Dom'n. The Trade exclusive of the above, consists of about sixty Sail, Ships, Scows, Brigantines, Schooners and Sloops, w'ch are navigated by 500 Sailors, besides the small Shallops, w'ch are constantly employ'd in transport'g the Commodities from our River, and in loading the Ships bound for G. B. The Trade in general has greatly increas'd for the last 10 Years and [is] chiefly supported, as to the Shipping, with Cordage, Sail Cloth, &c., from Home. The People in y's Dom'n are supplied from G. B. with all sorts of Woolen Manufactories such as B'd Cloth, Kersey, Duffills, Cottons, Crapes, Ruggs, Blankets, Norwich and other Stuffs, Hatts, Stocks, Shoes, and all sorts of Linens, British, Irish and Gurnsey, all sorts of Household Furniture, and wear'g apparel, with Calicoes, Persians and other East India Goods; Sail Duck, Cordage, with all manner of Iron Ware, as Locks, Hinges, Nails, Carpenter's, Joiner's and Smith's Tools, Axes, Hoes, Anchors, Fire-Arms. With Wines, Spices, Fruits, Loaf-Sugar, and Strong Beer, and other Family Necessaries amo't'g to, by Comput'n, 300,000[*ℓ*] St'g.

The Trade from y's [Colony] is chiefly to G. B. and the B. Colonies; some Times, Staves, Wheat, and Indian Corn to Lisbon and the Islands of Maderia. From Lisbon, the Remittances are made to G. B. From Maderia, they have Wine for their Goods. The Produce of this Co'try, and its amo. may be computed, as follows :

50,000 Hhds. of Tob'o ²⁰²	@ 4£ per Hhd. N't,	£200,000
10,000 bbls. Pitch and Tar	@ 8s., - - -	4,000
4,000 Tons Pig Iron	@ £5, - - -	20,000
Deer Skins and Furs,	- - -	20,000
40,000 Bush's Wheat	@ 2s. 6d., - - -	5,000
250,000 do. Indian Corn	@ 12d., - - -	12,500
10,000 lbs. Bees-Wax	@ 12d., - - -	500
30,000 lbs. Beef and Pork	@ 40s., - - -	60,000
Pipe Head'g, bl. Staves with Shingles,	- - -	10,000
Snake Root, Jenzang, ²⁰³ &c.,	- - -	2,000
		£334,000

This Colony has no Trade with any foreign Plant'n except to some of the Dutch Islands of St. Eustatia, and Curracoa; from thence, they some Times smuggle in some Fr. Sugars and Rum. To prevent this, the Collectors and Nav'l Officers are directed to be very careful in inspect'g their Clearances, and search'g their Vessels, but the Co'try is so Extensive, with many Creeks and Bays, y't they run their Goods before they come to Enter at the Custom Ho., but I cannot learn y't much collusive Trade is carried on from this Dom'n. There are large quantities of Iron Oar in many Places, and some Furnaces²⁰⁴ for manufacturing it, fit to send to G. B.;

²⁰² The exports of tobacco for the period 1750-6, were: 1750, 48,567; 1751, 46,703; 1752, 48,380; 1753, 59,847; 1754, 50,803; 1755, 47,687; 1756, 28,452 hogsheads.

²⁰³ Ginseng.

²⁰⁴ There were in operation in Virginia, in September, 1732, four furnaces for the manufacture of iron, viz: one at Fredericksville, twenty-five miles south of Fredericksburg, of which Colonel Chiswell was manager; the works of Ex-Governor Spotswood, at Germanna, in Orange county, twenty miles southwest of Fredericksburg; English works on the north side of the Rappahannock river, in King George county, and the Accokeek furnace, in which Lawrence

some Appearances of Copper,²⁰⁵ but for want of proper Persons acquainted with Minerals, the People don't prosecute their Searches with Spirit. There are also Tin, Lead, and Antimony in several Places near the Great Mount's, and, I doubt not, other rich Minerals; but [for] the want of Persons of Knowledge, and [of] Monied Men, these Discoveries must be Dormant for some Time.

The Number of Inhabitants, from the most exact Acc'ts I can have, of White and Black, are 230,000, and the[y] Annually increase in Numbers. There are 50 Counties, each has a Co'ty Lt., Colo., Lieut. Colo. and Major, and according to the largeness of the Co'ty, their Militia is divided into Compa's, each Company hav'g a Capt., Lieut. and Ensign, and our Militia may now amo. to 27,000 Men from 21 to 60 Years of Age. In order to bring the Militia into good Discipline, and a proper Use of their Arms, I divided this Dom'n into four Districts, and appointed experienc'd Persons to be Adjutants, to teach the officers, and y'n the private Men their Exercise, w'ch I hope, will in Time bring the Militia into good Order and Discipline; for our whole Dependence (under God) must be on them, for we have no Forts in y's Dom'n. There was one erected at the mouth of Jas. River, but as it was built on a Sandy Foundat'n, the Sea and Weather destroy'd it, [so] y't the Guns lie dismounted, and [are] of no Use. There are two small Batteries on York River, [which] are only of Service to protect the Merch't Ships in y't River, and [are] of no Defence ag'st an Enemy y't have Force sufficient to attack them by Land, or a Ship Force to run up the River, may demolish them both. And I wish the Colony was in good

Washington was interested, in Stafford county. The three first were visited by Colonel William Byrd, at the period stated, and he gives interesting particulars regarding the manufacture, value, etc., of iron. It commanded in England £6 per ton, upon which the expense for freights and other charges was 30s., leaving a net yield of £4 10s. See "Progress to the Mines." *Westover Manuscripts*, ed. 1866—ii, pp. 50-76.

²⁰⁵ Colonel Byrd also mentions, in 1733, mines of Copper, Lead and Silver, on the south side of James river. One of the first, was operated by Drury Stith. See "Journey to the Land of Eden." *Ibid*, pp. 3-45.

Circumstances to build Forts of some better Materials than Wood; but the small Funds w^{ch} the Assembly here is able to raise, are not equal to so considerable an Undertaking; and in War, with't some of H. M'y's Ships of War, y's Domin'n w'd be subject to the Insults of small Privateers. This is highly worthy of [the most] serious considerat'n. [Of the] Indians: The tributary Ind's, subject to the Rules of this Gov't, are much reduced and very inconsiderable; there are at pres't only the Pamunkey²⁰⁶ and Nottaways, their Numbers together, are not above 60 fight'g Men, they are seated among the Inhabit'ts and live in Peace and Amity with them. The other Nat's of Ind's y't are near us, and profess Fr'dship and League with the English, are the Six Nat's to the No'wards, the Catawbas, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Creeks to the So'w'd. The different Nat's on the River Ohio, the Picts, Twightwees, and Shawnesse to the Westw'd, if they be not seduced by the Fr., who are between Us and them. This Colony has always been happy, and in firm Peace with the Ind's till lately, the Fr. have, by Threats and fair Promises, seduced some of the Ind's from the B. Interest, and with great injustice invaded H. M'y's Lands, plundered and Robbed many of his Subjects, and carried many of them to Quebeck. The Fr. do not make regular Settlements, but build Fortresses as marks of Possession,

²⁰⁶ A treaty appears to have been made with the Pamunkey, and Chickahominy Indians, some little time prior to 1753, as by an Enactment provided in the Randolph, and in the Bland MS. Laws, and incorporated by Hening, as of such date, "the commissioners of York are required that such persons as are seated upon the land of Pamunkey or Chickahominy Indians, be removed, according to a late act of Assembly made to that purpose." *Hening*, i, p. 380.

A small settlement of the descendants of the Pamunkey Indians—combining with the original blood, that of the white and negro races, still exists on the Pamunkey river, in King William county, with ancient immunity from taxation. Their interests are represented by trustees appointed by the State Assembly, who are also the arbitrators of all disputes arising among them, which their chosen chief, or local magistrate, may be unable to adjudicate. They have the benefit of Christian ministration, and a school is now in successful conduct in their midst. They scarcely number, at present, of all ages, and both sexes, more than three-score.

with't Justice or any Shadow of Right to the Lands where they build their Forts, and make Incursions among our frontier Settlement's (who lie scattered for the Benefit of the best Lands) and rob them of their Cattle, Corn, &c., and often murder them. This is the miserable Situat'n of this Colony at pres't, and with't Aid from G. B., by the Infatuation and Neglect of the Assemblies on this Cont't, must rem'n a Prey to the Enemy's Depredations. The Revenue within y's Dom'n, 2s. on every Hhd. of Tob'o exported, abat'g an Allowance of 10 ¢ C't to Masters of Vessells, for pay'g it in Bills of Excha.; 2dly, Fifteen Pence ¢ Ton on all Ships and Vessells trad'g here, comonly called Port Duties; 3dly, Six Pence ¢ Head on every Passenger imported; 4ly, Fines and Forfeitures for Breaches of the Penal Laws, Contempts of Courts of Justice, Breaches of the Peace, or Convict'n of Felons or Tresspasses; 5ly, Rights for tak'g up Lands, which is 5s. for every 50 Acres. The three first Branches of the Revenue are appropriated by the Act of Assembly for rais'g the same, as are also the Forfeitures for Breaches of the penal Laws, for and towards the Support of Gov't, and its Contingent Cha's, and for maintaining Forts and Fortifications. The casual Fines and Forfeitures in the fourth Branch, were first appropriated to the Support of Gov't by Warr't from King Chas. the 2nd, and have continued so ever since. The last Branch, of Rights for Land; was established by Order of the Gov'r and Council, in the Year 1699, to supply the defect of Importat'n Rights, on which only, People were then entitled to take up Lands, and since y't Time, it has made a considerable Addit'n to the Revenue. All these Revenue's together, amo't, Comunibus Annis, to ab't 6,500£. The establish'd Exp's of Gov't, includ'g Gov'r and Council, and other Officer's Salarys, amo'ts to Yearly, as by particular Acc't below, to 4,345£. The extra Exp's, Incidents, &c., are not easily to be computed, because they rise and fall as the Exigences of Gov't require, and at pres't are very high, by [reason of] Messengers, Expresses, Repairs of Gov'r's Ho., and other Incidents, as also, Alarms of Invas's from Ind's, or other great Exp's in Pres'ts to Ind's, repairing Fortificat's, and many other Affairs, that makes me incapable to fix any annual Sum on these different Dutys and Services, w'ch now amo'ts to a considerable Sum. The Estabnow p'd out of lishm't the stand'g Revenue, are as follows:

The Gov'r's Salary ꝑ Ann.,	-	-	-	-	-	£2,000
Gent. of the Council, ꝑ Warr't,	-	-	-	-	-	1,200
Judges and Officers of O. and Ter. Courts,	-	-	-	-	-	200
Auditor Gen'l of Plantat's, ꝑ Warr't, ²⁰⁷	-	-	-	-	-	100
Solicitor of Virg'a Affairs, ²⁰⁸	-	-	-	-	-	200
King's Atto'y Gen'l,	-	-	-	-	-	70
Clerk of the Council,	-	-	-	-	-	100
Four Adjut's, each £100, ²⁰⁹	-	-	-	-	-	400
Armourer,	-	-	-	-	-	12
Gunners of Forts,	-	-	-	-	-	47
An Allow'ce for Ministers to Preach before the Gen'l Court,	-	-	-	-	-	16
						£4,345

A further Allowance for each Sermon preached before the General Assembly. The Rec'r Gen'l²¹⁰ holds his Place by Pat't from H. M'y, and is allowed 5 ꝑ Ct. on all the Money he receives. The Deputy Auditor acts by Com'o. from the Auditor Gen'l of the Plantat's, and has in lieu of Salary 5 ꝑ Ct. on all the Money he audits. The Bishop of London's Comissary has an annual Salary out of H. M'y's Quit Rents, of £100 ꝑ Ann. The King's Atto'y Gen'l, has also an additional Salary from the same Fund of 70£ ꝑ Ann. These are the only establish'd Cha's on the stand'g Revenue. The foregoing is a true state of the Dom'n of Virg'a in the different Branches of its Constitut'n.

R. D.

²⁰⁷ Then, John Blair.

²⁰⁸ The agent at London, then, James Abercromby.

²⁰⁹ Two of these, were George Washington, and George Muse of Caroline county, at that time, field officers of the same regiment.

²¹⁰ Then, Richard Corbin.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE SACHEMS AND WARRIORS
OF THE GREAT NATIONS OF THE CHEROKEES
AND CATAWBAS.

Nov'r 4th, 1754.

LOVING BROTHERS:

As our Enemies, the Fr., are now in Arms to dispossess You of Y'r hunting Grounds on the River Ohio, and threaten Vengeance ag'st You and all the Fr'dly Ind's of the English, I am now raising Forces, and shall, very early in the Spring, send a great Number of our Warriors to dispossess them of the Lands w'ch they have unjustly invaded on the Ohio. I, therefore, am now to entreat Y'r Assistance, and if You will be so kind [as] to Send a good Number of Y'r Warriors to defeat the designs of the Fr., You may be assured of a Supply of Powder and Lead at the Ohio, and You may further be assured of the sincere F'dship of Y'r Brethren, the English; and [I] am also convinced, that Y'r Assistance will be very agreeable to our friendly Ind's to the No'w'd; and I always shall rem'n with true Love to You and Y'r Nations. From Your

Affect. and Loving Brother.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN LEWIS.

Nov'r 5th, 1754.

SIR:

I have paid all the Soldiers in the Virg'a Regim't till the 29th of last Month, and Colo. Stephens has my Direct's to send Money for paying Y'r Compa. You are to be in readiness to march to Wills's Creek on the first Notice from Gov'r Sharpe, who now Com'ds the Forces, or by Order from Colo. Stephens. I am now recruiting more Men; if you can get any with You, I desire You may enlist them, and if You want Money for that Service, if Colo. Patton, or any other Person, advances it, draw on me, and I will pay it. I desire You may send Y'r Lieut., Mr. Savage, to me, that I may send him to the Eastern Shore to recruit, and if absolutely necessary to have a Lieut. in his room, You may engage one for the present, and he shall be paid, tho' I

think You may do with't one for the Time You rem'n in Augusta. I have spoke to Colo. Patton about Y'r Provisions, but I expect You will be very frugal in y't and every Thing else. I remain, Sir, Y'r friend.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JONATHAN BELCHER, GOVERNOR OF THE JERSEYS.

Nov. 8th, 1754.

SIR:

I wrote You a Let'r ab't 3 Mo's ago, w'ch rem's unanswered. Our Assembly met last Mo., and voted 20,000[£] towards conducting the necessary Expedit'n to drive the Fr. from the Ohio. His M'y also has been graciously pleased to send me 10,000[£] for the same Purpose, and [has] appointed Mr. Sharpe, Gov'r of M'yl'd, to com'd the combined Forces. In Consequence of these Supplies, I am now recruiting Men to join those at Wills's Creek. Mr. Sharpe has been with me, and is now gone to the Camp, but, on serious Consultat'n, we are of Opinion y't 2,500 Men will be absolutely necessary for repelling the Force of the Fr.; in Course, the above Supplies will be greatly short of paying the Cha's of the Expedit'n, without the Aid of our neighbouring Colonies. I therefore hope You will be able to prevail with Y'r Assembly to give Us a proper Assistance; if so, I shall be glad if you can raise a Number of Men to March to Wills's Creek, either this Winter or very early in the Spring. I shall be much oblig'd for the Favo. of a Line from You, and be assur'd I am, with great regard and Esteem,

Y'r Ex's

Most Obed't, humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DeLANCEY.

Nov. 8th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of the 5th ulto., & C't. Legge, with the Money Y'r Assembly rais'd tow'ds conduct'g the pres't Expedit'n, I duly rec'd. When I see Maj'r Clark, I shall speak to him on the Dem'd. I have supplied the two Compa's from Y'r Place with several Necessaries y't the Cap'ts sh'd reimburse, as Contingent Charges. Our Assembly met last Mo., and voted His M'y 20,000£ for the Expedit'n. His M'y was graciously pleased to send me 10,000[£] in Specie, and [to give me authority,] on Occasion, to draw for the like Sum, and [has] appointed Mr. Sharpe, Gov'r of M'yl'd, Com'd'r in Chief of the combined Forces, who came here to consult on a Plan of Operat's, tho' the above Supplies will come greatly short of defraying the Expenses, as we are of Opinion [that] not less than 2,500 Men will be necessary to drive the French from the Ohio. Mr. Sharpe is going to the Camp, and, if tho't proper, is to march over the Allegany Mount's this Winter, or to provide every Thing for a Strong Push early in the Spring. If he sh'd succeed in taking the Fort on the Ohio, we [have] propos'd his march'g his Forces to the Fort on Buffalo Creek, and so to Lake Erie; in y't Case, it will be absolutely necessary y't You reinforce the Fort Oswego, as it's probable they may make an Attempt upon it; but, I shall hereafter keep You duly apprised of Mr. Sharpe's Motions. The Fort You recommend to be built at Venango will not answer, as it lies in a Bottom, surrounded by Hills y't Com'd it. I am now recruiting and raising all the Men I can, to join those at Wills's Creek, and am in hopes of Compleating the Forces of this Dom'n to 1,000. Y'r Advice, Informat'n and Intelligence, with Freedom, will always be very agreeable to me. I have sent a Compa. to our Frontiers, being apprehensive the Fr. and their Ind's will make Incursions on our back Settlem'ts. I am sorry the Six Nat's were dejected on the defeat of Colo. Washington; and I hope when they are informed of the Preparat'ns we are mak'g, y't they will show their regard to Us in Opposing the Designs of the Fr. in invading their Lands, who, we are endeavouring to

drive off. I heartily wish You Health and much Prosperity,
and am in great Truth,

Sir, Y'r Obed't, h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR MORRIS, OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

Nov'r 8th, [1754].

SIR :

I have the Pleasure of Y'r Letter of the 12th Oct'r last, and take this Opp'ty of congratulating You on Y'r safe Arrival at Y'r Gov't, and Sincerely wish You Health and all the Blessings due to a good Gov'r. Our Assembly met last Mo., and after strong Solicitat's and Argum'ts, have voted 20,000£ to enable me to conduct the necessary Expedit'n. His M'y was also graciously pleased to send me 10,000£ in Specie, and [has] appointed Mr. Sharpe to com'd in Chief the combined Forces ag'st the Fr. on the Ohio. He has been here and consulted Measures for the Operat's, either this Winter or early in the Spring, w'ch he will be Judge of w'n he gets to the Camp, where I presume he will soon be. I am, in Consequence of [the] above Supplies, raising of Levies to send to Wills's Creek w'th all Expedit'n, but I must observe, the above Supplies will come far short of answering the End in driving the Fr. from the Ohio, as I think [that] not less than 2,500 Men can be employ'd to do the Business essentially. It gave me much Surprize to see in Y'r Papers y't Y'r Assembly is adjourn'd to the 2d of next Mo. with't granting any Assistance. I am sorry they sh'd have denied it, w'n the Enemy is so near our Frontiers, and if Supplies were now granted, the Time is short enough to make proper Preparations, even if the Expedit'n sh'd be retarded to the Spring. Pray, Sir, endeavour to rouse them from their lethargick Supineness, to their Duty to the best of Kings, and to their own Preservat'n. My eyes have been strongly fix'd on Y'r Province for a considerable Aid, and I am still in hopes I shall not be disappoint'd. A Colony of Y'r great riches and Number of Inhabit'ts, to rem'n unactive in so imminent Danger, surprizes me, and must, all well-wishers to these Colonies. Tho' they may plead some

religious Tenets for their Excuse, yet, as there are great Numbers in the Province not so unjust and unreasonable in their Tenets as to run the Risque of loosing their Lives, Liberties and Properties, it may be reasonably expected y't a considerable Force and an agreeable Supply sh'd be granted by Y'r Assembly, and tho' they are late in doing it, yet I hope, at least, they will show Themselves good Subjects, and attend to the Law of Nature—Self-Preservat'n. I am sorry for the Death of the Half-King, but hope Monecatoocha will supply his Place well, with a strong respect to the English Int't. I have ordered a Considerable Pres't (to Wills's Creek) for him and the Ind's y't are with him. I have no doubt but the Fr. will infest our Frontiers with small Detachm'ts from the Fort on the Ohio. I have ordered a Compa. of 50 Men for their Protect'n, and have directed the Lieut's of our frontier Counties to raise Numbers of the Militia, as Occasion or Intelligence may reach them, to oppose the malicious Designs of our Enemies. It will be much Pleasure to me to keep up a strict Correspondence with You, as it may tend to the Service of the Crown and these Colonies. I wish You a happy, easy, and long Gov't, and am, with great Respect,

Sir, Y'r most ob'd't, humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Nov'r 12th, 1754.

SIR :

I send by this Sloop, to the Care of Maj'r Carlyle, all the Things I c'd purchase here y't You tho't necessary for the Expedition, and enclos'd, You have a particular Acc't of Them. I have a pretty many recruiting Officers in many of our Counties; their Success I cannot as yet acquaint you of, but I shall be glad to know your determinat'n as to Y'r March. I much dread we shall not be able imediately to raise the Number of Forces I think necessary for You to march with, but hope during the Winter Months to enlist many; every Thing in my Power shall be done. Pray write me the Number at Wills's Creek. I refer Colo. Innes to You, if he inclines to continue

on the Expedition; he is an indefatigable, honest Man. I am with great Respect,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Nov'r 12th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of the 3d Curr't I rec'd, and am surprized at the Style and Substance of it. You wrote me before I sent You the Money by Mr. Lyon, [that] You had a few Pistoles left, and I tho't y't Money w'd have served You some Time; if you wanted more, there was a more mannerly way to Ask for it. If I had not conceived You equal to the Disposal of the Money, I sh'd not have taken so much Notice of You, and I never doubted your giving a just Ac't of Y'r Disbursements. As to answering Y'r Let'r more minutely, [it] was not in my Power, from the Hurry of Business; but y't, still shews the greater Confidence I placed in You, for if any Thing irregular had been done, I sh'd then have wrote You. I know not Y'r Inclinat's, but w't I proposed to Mr. Sharpe was for Y'r Service, if You do not like it in y't light, I must refer You to him, and with him You may consult w't you most incline to; I suppose he will be with You as soon as This. What You mean by flying, and such idle Expressions, I cannot say, or answer. Our Forces, I hope will be greatly increased, as I have seven officers recruiting. The allowance of the Committee You may receive, and You know my Promise at parting, if You can confide in me. As to the Ind'n Pres't, You surprize me, w'n I consider You had my Orders to Mr Cocks to deliver You it all, if wanted, and now [it] is actually on the road to You; Y'r Surmises and Suggestions are therefore Groundless and unjust, the badness of the Roads, is the just reason they are not with You before this, and so, Y'r Excuse to the Ind's is no otherways than just. Tho' in Y'r Let'r You neither tell the Number of Ind's or of w't Nat'n, or do You let me know w't Forwardness You are in with the Magazine or Barracks. I think these are two essential Points You sh'd not have Omitted,

and indeed, I think the whole Letter is both unmannerly and inconsistent, or c'd I have expected such Jealousy or Mistrust of my Promise from You. However, I cannot help continuing my regard for You, and accordingly shall be glad to Serve You. I have by Jenkins, sent 10£ more; this, with the former, You must give me Acc't of Disbursements and receipt thereon, y't I may carry it to acc't. Colo. Fairfax, now here, tells me what he wrote to Mr. Cocks, was to have the Particulars of the Delivery of the Goods. I wish You Health and Happiness, And am,
Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN RUTHERFORD.

Nov'r 12th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r with't date in answer. As I presume Gov'r Sharpe is with You before this Time, I recomend Y'r Speaking to him ab't the 10 £ c't, or any other Thing relating to Y'r Compa. I shall at all Times be very glad of seeing You, or doing You any Service in my Power, and I am,

Sir, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MR. COCKE.

Nov'r 12th, 1754.

SIR:

I much approve of Y'r Conduct in forwarding the Goods agreeable to Colo. Innes's Order. I am sorry they are so long detai'd by the Waters, but hope they are at the Camp by this [time], if not, pray do w't You can to forw'd them; and I desire You will send me a particular Acc't of w't is sent, y't I may compare it with the Original Invoice.

I am, Sir, Y'r Fr'd, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Nov. 13th, 1754.

SIR :

The Bearer hereof, Thos. Burney,²¹¹ lived some Years among the Twightwees, as a blacksmith ; he may be of some service, and [I] believe he w'd go to the Twightwees with an Escort of some Ind's. He wanted a Co'n, but I did not think it proper, to give him one, but I offered him 2s. 6d. $\frac{1}{2}$ Day, if he w'd, on Occasion, work at his Trade, and be ready to go Messages. I send him to You to examine him, and if You find he can be of service, You may increase his Pay to 3s. $\frac{1}{2}$ day, or more, if You see proper. I cannot say much to his Character, as he once disappointed me in a Message, to the Twightwees ; he s'd it was by Sickness, but now promises all in his Power for the Service of the Expedit'n ; I therefore refer him to You, and am,

Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Nov'r 15th, [1754].

SIR :

This will be delivered to You by Mr. Lewis, who is strongly recommended to me by Capt. Legge, as he has served his Time in the Navy. I have appointed him Lieut. of the Train of Artillery, w'ch I did to prevent his being superceeded in Case any half-pay Officers shou'd be sent out. But as he appears to me an active Young Gent., I w'd not have this pres't Appointm't prevent his rising on Occasion, and agreeable to his Behaviour. I therefore recommend him to Y'r Countenance, and am,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

P. S.—I have this Day engag'd two Smiths, with their whole Apparatus and Tools, w'ch [I] shall send up about a Fortnight or three weeks hence.

²¹¹ Thomas Burney was present at the Logstown Treaty.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

Nov'r 14th, [1754.]

SIR:

I send two Sloops; they bring the Clothing for the 3 Ind't Co's; As also the Goods as ~~þ~~ inclos'd Invoice, w'ch You are to take Care of till You receive Gov'r Sharpe's Direct's about them; he talk'd of sending them to Wills's Creek, but as I know no Person there, You are to land them with You till You receive his Orders. I have great Compl'ts from the Camp for want of a Commissary to take Care of the Provis's., &c., and to see them properly issued. You are allowed a Deputy; either he or You must give constant Attend'ce with the Forces; if Y'r other Affairs will not permit Y'r so doing, write me, y't I may appoint another Person who will discharge the duty more exactly, for they write me there is great Waste and great Uneasiness for want of such a Person. There is no Salt at the Camp, [I] therefore desire y't You will send 10 bls. up immediately. Give the Sloop from Hampton good Dispatch, as I believe she is on daily hire. There comes in her, Recruits with a Lieut. and Serg't; they must be provided with Necessaries, and if the Other Men are not march'd, they may join them. Otherways, if possible, to follow them, or, endeavour to get Gov'r Sharp's Orders about them. I am, with respects,

Sir, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—I think the Capt's of the Ind't Compa's must be at the Charge of Waggonage for the Clothing.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN.

Nov'r 16th, 1754.

SIR:

I have the Satisfact'n by Mr. Cleland to send You a Copy of my Let'r ~~þ~~ C't Legge, to w'ch be referred. I have a Message from the Cherokees offering their Assistance by furnishing us with some of their Warriors w'n wanted. As I propose

raising w't Men I possibly can to march towards the Ohio in Feb'ry or early in March, and as a Number of Ind's will then be of great Service, I propose sending a Message to the Catawbas and Cherokees to supply me with w't Warriors they can spare, to meet our Forces near the Ohio, where I shall provide them with Powder and Lead. And as I know You have great Int't with these Nat's, I desire You will back my Desire to them as it is for His M'y's Service. You have been misinformed in regard to the Ind's that were lately here, belonging to the Catawbas and Cherokees, of their losing their Way, coming to Y'r Gov't and committing some outrages; it must be some other Ind's, for those that went from this, [place] got all safe Home with't any Misfortune. I have been happy with Mr. Wragg²¹² and Cleland's Compa.; they are both very agreeable Gent'n.

I wish them a happy return to You, and I rem'n,
Sir, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

Nov'r 16th, 1754.

R't Hon.:

Inclosed, You have Copy of my last, and I now send You the Acc't of His M'y's Quit Rents, and [of the] 2s. 7d. Hhd.

²¹² William, son of Samuel Wragg, from England, and great grandson of Dug  , of Montpelier, France, (whose granddaughter, Mary Dubose, was William Wragg's mother), was born in South Carolina, about 1714; educated in England; many years a member of the South Carolina Assembly, and in 1753, of the Council; opposed, in 1759, the policy of Governor Lyttleton, which led to an unfortunate war with the Cherokee Indians; a talented and eloquent lawyer, he was offered the post of Chief Justice, but declined it. His convictions prevented his espousing the cause of Independence upon the rupture with the mother country. Embarking for England, he was shipwrecked and lost on the coast of Holland, in September, 1777. A monument in Westminster Abbey depicts the event. He published in 1769, "Reasons for not concurring in the Non-Importation Resolution."—*Ramsay's History of South Carolina*, ii, pp. 532-8.

revenue, ending 25th Oct'r last, as also the List of Shipping from Lady Day till Michaelmas,²¹³ to w'ch I beg [you] to be referr'd. His M'y has been graciously pleas'd to order 10,000[£] in Specie, and a C't to draw for 10,000[£] more. The Sec'y of State writes me y't His M'y desires the above Sums to be replac'd from the 2s. ½ Hhd. [revenue] by Warr'ts for y't Purpose. That revenue is the only Fund I have to call upon on any emergent Occasion, for His M'y's service, therefore, I most h'bly represent to Y'r Lordships, the great Hurt and Loss to the Expedit'n if y't Fund sh'd be applied as above, and therefore, earnestly entreat Y'r L'dship's Int't to prevent any Warr't to be issued on y't head. Our Assembly have voted 20,000£, w'ch, with the above Supply, will be greatly deficient in conducting the Expedit'n, and indeed I am still of Opinion, with't two Regiments of Men from B., we shall not be able effectually to defeat the unjust Invas's of the Fr. In Consequence of the above Supplies, I am raising Men and providing Provis's for them, w'ch takes up most of my Time, and y't with very great Fatigue; however, if I can gain the point I have in View, in driving the Fr. from His M'y's Lands on the Ohio, I shall think my Time and Trouble very well recompenced, and I beg to assure You, y't every Thing in my Power shall be done with Spirit and close Assiduity. A great Misunderstanding subsist[s] between the regular Officers of the Ind't Compa's, and the Officers appointed by me, the former will not rank with them, or do Duty with them; this may be of fatal Consequence in the Time of Action. I have wrote two Let'rs to the Sec'y of War on the head, but have not rec'd his Answer. The Appointm't of Mr. Sharpe to comand in Chief, does not obviate the difference. I have, therefore, pray'd for blank Commissions, as was done in the Expedit'n to Carthagena, w'ch will put the officers of the whole Forces on a greater equality, and therefore, I hope His M'y will be graciously pleased to grant them. The Fort and Magazine near the Allegany Mount's is finished, w'ch I now intend to be the Place of rendezvous for all the Forces. Gov'r Sharpe is gone up there, and I soon expect to have his report thereon, and the Time he proposes to march over the Mount's, w'ch I am of Opinion will

²¹³ In the Almanacs of the period, March 25, is designated as "Lady Day," and September 29, as "Michaelmas."

not be till the Spring. I rem'n, with great Deference and due respect,

R't Hon., Y'r L'dship's most ob'd't humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

Nov'r 16th, [1754].

R'T HON.:

Inclos'd, I send Y'r Lordships the Acc't of His M'y's Quit rents, and the revenue of 2s. 6^d Hhd., ending the 25th of Oct'r last, to w'ch please be referred. His M'y was graciously pleased to order me 10,000^l in Specie and C't, to draw for 10,000^l more for conducting the Expedit'n ag'st the Fr. unjust Invasion of His M'y's Lands on the river Ohio. The Sec'y of State writes me y't it is His M'y's Pleasure y't the s'd Money sh'd, by Warrant, be replaced from the 2s. 6^d Hhd. That revenue is the only Fund I have to call upon, on any Emergency, for His M'y's Service. I w'd, therefore, hope y't no Warr't sh'd issue at this Time for re-imbursem't of above Sums from y't Fund, as I am fully convinced it will be an essential Prejudice to His M'y's Service here. The Backwardness of our Assembly in not granting proper Supplies, has been of very great Hurt to the Expedit'n, but y't, and w't His M'y has graciously been pleas'd to grant, will be greatly deficient in paying the Forces necessary, providing Provisions, &c. I therefore h'bly pray Y'r L'dship's Int't in preventing any Warr'ts for Money from the 2s. 6^d Hhd. till the Expedit'n is ended. I am now fully engag'd in raising of Men, and am in hopes, before the Spring, to increase the Forces of this Dom'n to 1,000 Men, but I am convinc'd, y't all we can do here, will not be sufficient to drive the Fr. from the Ohio. I have earnestly desired two regim'ts of Men from G. B., w'ch, with the new undisciplin'd Forces rais'd here, I hope will be able to defeat their Designs, but with't y't Aid and [a] proper Supply of Ordnance Stores, I dread the Consequence. I am in hopes Applicat'n will be made to Parliam't for a Supply; For I assure Y'r Lordships that, in my Opinion, there never was, since Britain had a Settlement on this Cont't, an Affair of greater Consequence to the

Nat'n, and therefore worthy of the Considerat'n of the B. Parliam't. I have [done] and shall continue to do every Thing in my Power, with Assiduity and Spirit, in discharge of the Com'ds from His M'y, and it will give me the greatest Pleasure if we are properly re-inforc'd and supported from B. to give a strong Push in the Spring, w'ch I w'd fain hope may be the finishing stroke in driving these unjust invaders from His M'y's Lands on the Ohio, and nothing in Life I do so much desire to see. I am, with great deference and dutiful respects,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's most ob'd't h'ble servant.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.

Nov'r 16th, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

Inclos'd, You have Copy of my last Let'r, to w'ch I pray [you] to be refer'd. In Consequence of His M'y's generous Supply, and the Vote of our Assembly for 20,000*£*, I [am] raising of Men, and am in hopes to compleat the Number of our Forces to 1,000 Men, but I am fully of Opinion, all we possibly can do here will not be sufficient to drive the Fr. from His M'y's Lands on the Ohio. I therefore am in great Hopes of a re-inforcem't of two regim'ts from G. B., w'ch, joined with our raw undisciplined Men, may be sufficient to drive off the unjust Invaders. An unhappy Difference subsists between the Officers of the Ind't Compa's, and those appoint'd by me; the former refuse to rank or do duty with the others. In Case of Act'n I fear this may be of bad Consequence. Colo. Washington on y't Acc't has resign'd his Comiss'n²¹⁴; the other Officers, I have prevail'd

²¹⁴ Washington resigned his commission in October, because under the newly devised military establishment of Governor Dinwiddie of ten independent companies, of 100 men each, there was no rank above that of Captain, and these were severally subordinate to those holding commissions from the King, the effect was to reduce Colonel Washington to the rank of Captain, and to place him under officers whom he had commanded. He remained in private life, at Mount Vernon, until the arrival of General Braddock, who called him to his staff, by letter dated March 2, 1755.

to continue in Com'd till I hear from Home. I therefore entreat Y'r Applicat'n to His M'y, if he will graciously order out to me blank Comis's in the same Manner as was practic'd on the Carthagena Expedit'n, w'ch will bring the Officers on an equality; whether it may be tho't proper to grant Comis's for Field Officers, as was done, or only for Capt's and Lieut's, I submit. I must say, I think it will be greatly for the Service to have two Maj'rs appointed for the Virg'a Forces, and I h'bly recomend J. Innes, Esq'r, to be one of them; he Com'd in Chief before Gov'r Sharpe's Appointm't, and in Case of Death, or any other Accid't, he is a proper Person to Succeed. He had a Commiss'n in S'r Wm. Gooch's regim't at Carthagena; and as I think him a very good Officer, I beg h'bly to recom'd him to His M'y's Favo. for a Maj'r's Commiss'n. Our Ho. of Burgesses sent me an Address to recom'd to His M'y's Favo. the officers I had appointed. I send You a Copy of their Address and h'bly desire they may be recomend'd accordingly. The Fort and Magazine for Proviss's and Stores, near to the Allegany Mount's, are finished. Gov'r Sharpe is gone there, and I soon expect his report thereon, w'ch [I] shall transmit to You. As this Ohio Expedit'n is the most essential, and of the greatest Consequence to the Nat'n and His M'y's Empire on this Cont't, in Course, [it is] of greater Considerat'n than any Expedit'n undertaken by the B. Subjects since they had any Colonies in America, I h'bly think it merits the Considerat'n of a B. Parliam't, and I gladly hope they w'd chearfully grant proper Supplies for the Conducting it with Spirit, this, is my h'ble Opinion at this Distance. Whatever may be done at Home, I know not, but I beg Leave to assure You, y't every Thing in my Power, with Assiduity and Spirit, shall be executed with great Chearfulness, and if we can but succeed in defeat'g the unjust and malicious Designs of the Fr., I shall think my Trouble well recompensed. I troubled Y'r Hon'r in my former Letter for some Ordnance Stores, &c., w'ch I hope will be sent out by very first Opp'ty, y't nothing may retard our Operat's early in the Spring. As I have the Expedit'n very much at Heart, I dread any Disappointm'ts, w'ch makes me so earnest in writing, w'ch I hope You will excuse. Inclos'd, I trouble You with an Address from the Council of this Dom'n to His M'y, w'ch I desire You will please to present to His

royal Hands. I endeavour'd with our Assembly to decimate the Militia, and those the lot fell on, if they c'd not go, to get an able bodied Man for the Expedit'n, but c'd not prevail; they pass'd an Act for Vagrants,²¹⁵ &c., w'ch I now enclose You, it may be of some Service, but not so effectual as I c'd wish; however, I shall do every Thing in my Power to raise as many Men as possible, but am sorry that the Province of Pennsylvania remains obstinate in not granting a mutual Supply; y't Colony is more numerous of Inhabitants y'n any on the Cont't, and very much exposed to danger from the Fr. Incursions, but they seem to me to be siez'd with a Lethagick Supineness, not to take proper steps to evade the imminent Danger, by joining in a suitable Supply. I am in hopes Mr. Morris, their New Gov'r, will be able to raise their Spirits to a proper Observat'n of their danger. I am, with great deference and respects,

R't Hon., Y'r most ob'd't humble Serv't

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD HALIFAX.

Nov. 16th, [1754].

R'T HON.:

My last to You, was the 25th Ult'o, to w'ch I beg [you] to be referred. In Conseq'ce of His M'y's gracious Supply, and the Vote of our last Assembly, I am raising of Men, and hope, during the Winter mo's to be able to send a good No. The Fort and Magazine near the Allegany Mount's are finish'd, and I propose that to be the Rendezvous of our Forces, as we can collect them. Gov'r Sharpe is gone there, and I soon expect his report in regard to its situat'n, &c. It's a monstrous Thing to think of the Supineness and Backwardness of our neighbouring Colonies in

²¹⁵ The act passed in October, 1754, vi. *Hening*, pp. 438-440, is entitled "An Act for raising levies and recruits to serve in the present expedition against the French on the Ohio." Section ii. empowers justices of the peace of the several counties "to raise and levy such able-bodied men, as do not follow or exercise any lawful calling or employment, or have not some other lawful and sufficient support and maintainance."

granting Supplies. So. Car., Pensylv'a, or the Jerseys, have granted none. Pensylv'a, tho' a rich Colony, and very numerous in Inhabit's, and at the same Time so much expos'd to the Incursions of the Fr., to be so back'd and Easy in the Time of Danger to withhold their Aid, gives me real Concern. They have great Numbers of Germans, among whom there are many roman Catholicks, as also in M'yl'd, that I dread if the Fr. sh'd be permitted to make a Settlem't on the rich Lands of the Ohio, that by sending Invitations to them, from their religious Principles, they may be prevailed on to go to the Ohio and join the Fr. in Expectat'n of large Grants of Land. The Germans in Pensylv'a live all in a Body together, as if in a Principality of Germany, may they not in Time throw off their Obedience and Submission to the B. Crown? It was, I think, a very imprudent Step in the first Settlem't of y't Province not to mix them in their Settlem'ts with the Engl., and have English School Masters, &c. Whereas, there are now many Thousands cannot speak one word of English. How to address this, y't I should think of great Consequence, I must submit to those of greater Penetrat'n and Abilities. There is a Scheme sent home from N. York for uniting the B. Colonies on this Cont't. It does not become me to give my Opinion thereon, But as I wrote Y'r L'ds. some Time ago, my Tho'ts for regulating the Colonies, and the Trade, with the Ind's, I am still of the same Opinion on that divid'g the Colonies into two Districts of No. and So., y't the Meetings of Commiss'rs will be more regular, and the Affairs of each District more concisely enquired into, and easier regulated, y'n under one Council of the whole B. Empire here; but this I h'bly submit to Y'r L'd's more superior Judgem't, and hope Y'r L'ds. will excuse my Freedom in writing my Opinion thereon, w'ch I w'd not to any other Person. I still am affraid, y't all we can do here will not be sufficient to drive the Fr. from His M'y's Lands on the Ohio, I therefore have repeatedly pray'd for two regim'ts to be sent from G. B., and proper Supply of Ordnance Stores, &c. I am convinced no Expedit'n in America was of so much Consequence to the Nat'n, and His M'y's Empire on this Cont't, as the pres't, and am further affraid, with't speedy Supply from Home, y't it may prove too late if the French are allowed a quiet Settlem't on the Ohio; and I am of Opinion, y't the pres't Expedit'n is much worthy the Notice of a B. Parliam't to grant

proper Supplies. Whatever may be done with You, I assure Y'r L'ds. y't every Thing in my Power, with great Assiduity and Spirit, shall be done in Conducting this very essential Service. The Fatigue I have in raising Men, and provid'g Provisions, &c., is very great, but if I can accomplish w't I have in View, of driving the Fr. from the Ohio, I shall think my Time and Trouble well rewarded. I h'bly beg Leave to assure You, I am, with great Deference and dutiful respects,

R't Hon.,

Y'r L'd's much obliged and most obed't h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO EARL GRANVILLE.

Nov'r 16th, [1754.]

R'T HON.:

My last to Y'r L'ds. was the 25th ulto., to w'ch I beg [you] to be referr'd. Y'r Agent, Mr. Corbin, sent me £162, 10s. this Mo., w'ch is the £125 St'g Excha., 30 ¢ Ct., for w'ch Sum I send my Bill on Messrs. J. & C. H[anbury]. In Consequence of the Mo[ney] ordered me by His M'y, and the Mo[ney] voted [by the] last Assembly here, I am earnestly engag'd in raising Men and provid'g Provis's, &c., for the Campaign in the Spring. As this Dom'n has constantly been in tranquil Peace, and military Affairs not well understood, makes my Transact's for the Service very tedious; however, [I] am in hopes, during the Winter Mos. to be able to raise a good number of men, but I much dread, all we can do will not be sufficient to drive the Fr. from His M'y's Lands on the river Ohio. I therefore have great hopes of a reinforcem't of two regim'ts from G. B., and a Supply of Ordnance Stores, w'ch I have earnestly desired in my Letter to S'r T. Robinson; And as this Expedit'n is certainly of Greater Consequence to the Nat'n and His M'y's Dom's, y'n any yet undertaken in America, I h'bly think it requires the Notice of a B. Parliam't for a considerable Aid and Supply, y't it may be conducted with Spirit, and y't imediately, with't Delay, otherwise the Fr. will fortifie themselves on y't river and increase in Numbers, y't hereafter it may be difficult to dislodge them, w'ch

I h'bly refer to Y'r Considerat'n and Superiour Judgm't. If Y'r L'ds. agrees with me in opinion, I h'bly hope for Y'r Int't in strenuously recomend'g such Assistance as may be judged proper, and y't imediately, without delay. The Fort and Magazine near the Allegany Mount's are, finished, and I propose y't to be the general rendezvous of our Forces as they may be collected. Gov'r Sharpe, who Comd's in Chief the Army, is now there, and I hope soon to have his report in regard to the Situat'n, &c. Our neighbouring Colonies have been very backw'd in their Supplies for the Expedit'n. So. Car. has not yet granted any. Pensylv'a the best Peopled Colony on this Con't, has not granted Us their Aid. The Jerseys, I hear, incline to assist if Pennsylvania will; however, their Dilatoriness and want of just Spirit in doing it early, gives Opp'ty to the Enemy to strengthen Themselves and take Advantages of our Supineness. I shall, notwithstanding these Obstacles, do every Thing in my Power, with Assiduity, diligence and Spirit, for the Service of the Expedit'n, in hopes of proper Aid from G. B. I have the Hon'r to assure Y'r L'ds., y't I rem'n with great deference and due respects,

R't Hon.,

Y'r L'd's much obliged, and

most obed't humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

Nov'r 16th, [1754.]

SIR:

My last to You was the 25th Ult'o., w'ch [I] hope came safe to Hand, and I refer You accordingly to it. I wrote You y't I had Int't enough with our Council to settle Y'r Salary at £200 ^p Annum, and I further prevail'd, [with them,] to pay You one half-Year's Salary to end the 25th Oct'r, for w'ch You have my Bill on Messrs. J. & C. H. for £100. Messrs. Wragg & Cleland, of So. Car., are now with me. I recomended You to be Agent for that Province, they only objected, it w'd be disagreeable to the People, while You was Agent for No. Carolina. I told them I believed You w'd resign y't if You was sure of being Appointed for So. Car. I s'd w't I tho't proper. You may write

on the Head to Mr. Glen, Cleland, or any other of Y'r Friends. I parted with our Assembly on very good Terms, and seemingly much pleas'd with my Administrat'n. I shall endeavour to keep them in Humour. If they do not fall into Parties, I doubt not of succeeding. At pres't, every Thing is on a good Footing. I have wrote to Sir T. R. the absolute Necessity of having two regim'ts of Men, with the Ordnance Stores formerly applied for. The Mo. sent me, the C't I have to draw Bills, and the 20,000[£] voted by our Assembly, will be greatly short of paying the Soldiers, Provis's, &c., I therefore have h'bly recomended Applicat'n to Parliament for a Supply for conducting an Expedit'n of the greatest National Service y't ever was undertaken in America. As the Misunderstand'g still subsists between the Officers of the Ind't Compa's, and those of my Appointm't: I have wrote him to procure blank Comiss's from His M'y, to make all the Officers on an Equality; and I have further desired the Appointm't of two Maj'rs, and in particular Jas. Innes, in Case y't any Accid't sh'd happen to Mr. Sharpe, y't he may succeed him. I therefore desire Y'r close Applicat'n at his Office, for Success on my different Applicat's. I have wrote the B'd for Trade, L'd Halifax, pretty much to the same Purpose. I am at pres't very anxious and diligent in raising Men, and providing Provis's, to make a vigorous Push early in the Spring, but I fear, with't Supply of Men, &c., from B., we shall not have Forces sufficient. So. Car., Pensylv'a, or Jersies have not granted any Aid; the lethargick Indolence and unactive Spirit y't possesses these People, is not to be accounted for, and m^akes our Expedit'n still go heavy on, tho' I shall do every Thing in my Power for the Service; but I sincerely hope all the Well Wishers to the B. Nat'n, and the Colonies on this Cont't, will exert their utmost Int't at this critical Juncture, and w't is to be done must be immediately, for Delays afford room for the Enemy to strengthen Themselves, w'ch if tacitly submitted to, it will be difficult if not impracticable to dislodge them from His M'y's Lands, on the Ohio. The Council have sent an address of Thanks to His M'y, for His paternal Care and seasonable Supplies; I have inclos'd it to S'r T. Robinson, to be presented to his royal Hands, enquire w'n presented, and I presume it will be put in the Gazette. You will by this Opp'ty have a Packet to the Bishop of London, w'ch I desire You to deliver with

Your own Hands; it contains an Address from the Clergy to His M^y—Copy You have here enclos'd, Also their Address to me, and my Answer, w^{ch} they desired You w^d have incerted in the News Papers, the last You will find in our News Paper here inclosed. I formerly did write for a Comissⁿ to com^d the Forces now rais'd in this Domⁿ, if not tho't proper, do not press it. I have the Expeditⁿ so much at Heart, I will conduct it in any Shape, and I am certain no Person c^d have undergone greater Fatigue and Trouble, but if Success attends, I think my Troubles fully recompenc'd. I wait for a thorow Directⁿ in regard to the Arrears of Quit rents, as I wrote You in my last; if not yet come out, pray get the Opinion of the B^d of Trade thereon, that I may bring them unpatented Lands properly to the Rent Roll. I have wrote to [the] Sec^y of State and [the] Treas^y, in regard to the Warr^{ts}, for repaying the Money sent me from the 2s. 7^d Hhd. and I hope the reasons I have offered will prove more effectual to Stop the Warr^{ts} being sent me. I think I have nothing further material to write You, but wⁿ You incert the Addresses in Y^r publick Papers, send me some of them, to shew the Clergy y^t their Desire is comply'd with. I wrote to my friends, Messrs. J. & C. H[anbury], for Cloathing, &c., for our Men, as they are full of Business, pray call on them, that they may be sent quickly out. The Journals of last Assembly are not fairly transcribed or printed, so [I] cannot transmit them at this Time, but [will] probably by [the] next Ship. I wish you Health and H^{appiness}, and am most sincerely,

Sir, Y^r affect. F^d, and h^{ble} serv^t.

P. S.—On delivering the Packet to the Bishop of Lo[n]don,²¹⁶ ask his Consent, after printing the Clergy's Address to his M^y,

²¹⁶ Thomas Sherlock, D. D., (son of William Sherlock,) a polemical divine and author, born in London in 1678, received fellowship at Cambridge; in 1714, master of Catharine-hall, Cambridge, and was promoted to the deanery of Chichester in 1716, after which he entered into a controversy with Bishop Hoadly, in defence of the corporation and test acts. In 1725, he published "Discourses on Prophecy," intended to obviate the infidel objections of Anthony Collins; in 1728, succeeded Hoadly in the Bishopric of Bangor, and in 1734, in that of Salisbury. He was offered the primacy on the decease of Archbishop Potter, in 1747, but he refused

to print theirs to his L'ds.²¹⁷ Please desire his L'd's Favo. to ordain Mr. Jas. Garden, recomended to him by our Comissary, w'ch will be very agreeable to me, as he is greatly recomended as a worthy, deserving Man.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN.

Nov'r 18th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 11th. C't Polson's refusing my Orders delivered him by You, gives me Concern. If the Officers begin to contemn Com'ds, w't may not the private Man do? I have wrote him, and till he gives me a very satisfactory Answ'r, I shall suspend doing as, the Offence deserves. You sh'd have sent me Acc't of w't Arms You have, and w't are wanted; however, I have sent up in a Sloop, that I think must be at Belhaven before this, 500 Arms. You must be careful in issuing them, and [to] keep an exact Acc't. You do not mention whether You can have Shoes and other Necessaries with You; if there is any to be purchas'd, buy them, and I will pay for them. The Officers are much to blame for offering to go to Annapolis with't Leave, and let them know they are not to be absent from their Duty, with't Gov'r Sharpe's, or my Permission. I doubt not, Gov'r Sharpe has given You Orders in regard to Y'r March, and in case You cannot purchase Shoes, I shall endeavour to buy some here and send [them to] You. What You are ordered to send to Wills's Creek, I suppose are sent up by two Vessells from this [place]—the Acc't of them is sent to the Gov'r and Maj'r Carlyle. I am still much hurried, and therefore must refer You to Gov'r Sharpe for Orders. I wish You Health and Success, and am,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

it; and, the following year, he was translated to the see of London, where he remained till his death, 1761. He was the author of the "Trial of Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus"; and his Sermons are among the best specimens extant of English pulpit eloquence.

²¹⁷ These, together with a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, and his reply, are given in *Perry's Church Papers of Virginia*, pp. 415-426.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN POLSON.

Nov'r 18th, [1754].

SIR:

I comm'd Colo. Stephens to order Capt. Waggoner and You to go out to recruit. Mr. Waggoner obey'd Orders, and I observe, you refus'd. No Man deserves a Comiss'n y't does not know how to obey Com'ds. Your refusal is a very ill Precedent, and till I hear w't You have to offer for so acting, I shall suspend doing w't I know the Fault deserves. Y'r Answer is immediately expected by

R. D.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THOMAS WALKER.²¹⁸

Nov'r 22d, 1754.

SIR:

As I have this Day appointed You Adjut't of the Frontier Counties, I am to desire You by Virtue of the s'd Co., to

²¹⁸ The ancestors of Dr. Thomas Walker, by tradition, were from Staffordshire, England. Captain Thomas Walker, was a Burgess from Gloucester county, Virginia, in 1662, and again, in 1666, is so listed with the rank of Major. His grandson, Thomas Walker, lived in King and Queen county, and married there in 1707. He was the father of Thomas Walker of the text, of "Castle Hill," Albemarle county; born January 25, 1714; died November 9, 1794. He is believed to have been the first white man who explored Kentucky. In 1753, Colonel Joshua Fry recommended to the Virginia Assembly, an exploration with the view of the discovery of a route to the Pacific coast, and according to the Rev. James Maury, (see *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, 1853, pp. 389-92) his "worthy friend and neighbor, Dr. Thomas Walker, was to be the chief conductor of the whole affair." He was a member of the House of Burgesses, of the Virginia Convention of 1775, and of the Council in 1777; one of the commissioners to treat with the Indians after the defeat of Andrew Lewis, and again, to run the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina. He married twice, first in 1741, Mildred (Thornton), the widow of Nicholas Meriwether; second, Elizabeth Thornton, a cousin of General Washington. A deduction of his descendants is given in the "Memoir of Colonel Joshua Fry," by Rev. Philip Slaughter, D. D., and they comprise the honored names of Lewis, Fry, Duke, Gilmer, Wirt, Maury, Lindsay, Rives, Thornton, Page and others.

endeavour to list w't Men You can, for the Expedit'n to the Ohio. At [the] same time, You are to apply to the Magistrates of each Co'ty for such Men [as] they may take up and order on the Expedit'n, agreeable to a late Act of Assembly,²¹⁹ and You may give Y'r receipt accordingly for them, to be transmitted to me, and w't Cha's You may be at in Cloath'g and maintain'g them, it shall be p'd by,

Sir, Y'r F'd.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN STEWART.

Nov'r 26th, 1754.

SIR:

Last Night I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 24th; I was obliged to send a Lieut. with 44 Recruits for Alex'a, about 14 Days ago, but w'n Mr. Fraser comes from Hampton, I shall send him up to You. I observe You have 45 Men at Petersburg, but you complain of the great Exp'ce, w'ch surprizes me, as y't is as cheap a Place as any in the Co'try, if on a proper Manage, by having them together in one House, supply them with fresh Beef, Pork and Bread, either Ind'n Meal or Wheat Flour, and they may dress their own Victuals. This, I think, very practicable. As to their Desert'n, they sh'd be closely watch'd, if there was no Risque of y't, I think they w'd be full as well there, as at Alex'a for some time. I have sent to your Place, 500 small Arms, &c., but if I had an Opp'ty, I sh'd send some to You. If the Weather sh'd prove good, and You can make the Number 70, I shall be glad y't You may hire Mr. Gordon's Schooner, agreeing with him for the run up, and puting in Proviss's for them Yourself. In y't Case, I think Fraser sh'd go up with them, to take proper Care of them. I am glad Mr. McNeill has been of Service to You. I shall watch an Opp'ty to send a few Muskets, &c. If You can purchase some cheap blue Clothing for them, do [so], and Shoes and Stock's, I will pay the amo. [of cost]. I have wrote Home for 1,000 Suits of Clothes, and other Neces-

²¹⁹ Cited in Note 215, p. 405.

saries, w'ch I expect in Feb'ry, w'ch, pray inform the Men of for their Encouragem't. I am surpriz'd the Com'n People sh'd be so inconsiderate as to prev't y'r enlisting; the Magistrates sh'd interfere and support you. I am sorry for Mr. Hood's Indisposition, w'ch must be a Loss to You. A[s] Cash is scarce; I send You by the Bearer, Jas. Hogg,²²⁰ 100£, and I doubt [not?] of Your Frugality in the Managing of it, and as the Weather is pretty severé, You may continue recruiting some Time longer y'n w't I formerly mention'd. I shall order the Atto'y Gen'l to file an Informat'n ag'st Wm. Yarborough and Edw'd Holmes, to appear in the Apr. Gen'l Court. Send me the Names of the three Constables who must be summon'd as Witnesses, for examples must be made of such unjust and injurious Actions. I wish You c'd fix on some of the Mobb y't insulted Mr. McNeill, y't I might be able to make examples of the Ringleaders in such Cases. You should apply to the Justices for redress, however, if You can find out some of them with proper Witnesses, I shall take Care y't that they shall be punish'd, and bro't down here to answer for their Insults, and let the People know, y't whoever prevents You or Your People in raising recruits, shall be prosecuted according to Law. I hope Fraser may give You a good Acc't of the 50 Pistoles You gave him. I wish You Success in Your further Proceedings, and desire You will keep me duly advis'd of Your future Transactions. I rem'n,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

If You can procure me 2 Doz. of good, new Hams, well cured, to go in [the vessel of?] C't Randolph,²²¹ I shall be oblig'd to You. Speak to Mr. Hood; they are for a Pres't, and I will pay the Cost of them.

²²⁰ Probably the brother of Captain Peter Hog.

²²¹ Captain Edward Randolph, of the Baltimore.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN STEWART.

Nov'r, [1754].

SIR:

This comes by Mr. Fraiser, who I have appointed Adjut't of the Virg'a Forces; and as I have sent a No. of Small Arms to Alex'a, I think it most suitable that the whole Recruits may be together under his Care, to teach them the use of their Arms. You are, therefore, to hire Mr. Gordon's Schooner, and send in her w't Recruits You have at Petersburg, to touch here and take in all we can get between ye Place and Hampton, and so to proceed to Alex'a. Take their Names, Size, Complexion, &c., and purchase as much Provision as may be necessary to carry 70 or 80 to that Place. If You come here Y'r Self, I shall consult with You whether proper to go to Alex'a, or remain, recruiting. I am, Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

As the Weather is very cold, they will want some Blankets, w'ch [I] desire You to purchase.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MR. CHARLES DICK.²²²

Dec'r 2d, 1754.

SIR:

I have a Letter from Mr. Warner Lewis,²²³ who informs me he has sent to Y'r Care 168 bls. Flour, w'ch I desire You will take Care to forw'd to Winchester, and from thence to the Magazine near Wills's Creek, and I hope You will get the

²²² A merchant in Alexandria, and one of the trustees named in the act incorporating the town. The family of Dick was long on terms of intimacy with that of Washington, and Dr. Elisha C Dick was one of the attending physicians of the President in his last illness.

²²³ This is presumed to be Warner³ Lewis, grand-son of Robert¹ Lewis from Brecon, Wales, who settled in Gloucester county, Va.; and the sixth son of John² and Elizabeth (Warner) Lewis. He married Eleanor, widow of William (son of Sir William, Governor of Virginia) Gooch, and daughter of James Bowles, of Maryland. He was a Burgess from Gloucester county in 1777.

Waggonage as cheap as possible. If You do not go to Winchester, pray write to Y'r Friend there to procure Waggons at the least rate, to forw'd the Flour from thence to the Place aforementioned. As many Recruits will probably be sent to Fredericksburg, I desire You will take the Trouble of providing them with Provisions. You may retain some of the Flour for that Service, and purchase Beef and Pork to give them, for w'ch I will pay You. The allowance given them, is one Pound of Flour, each Man, ³/_p Day, and a lb. of Beef or Pork; but as I suppose Beef will be pretty Cheap, if You allow them something more than a lb. of Beef, it will be proper. If they want Shoes or some Clothing, consult with the Officer that has the Care of them, and grant them a necessary Supply, w'ch shall also be paid. Y'r former Acc't was pass'd [by] the Council, and shall be p'd to Y'r Order. And for the Trouble You may now have in forwarding the Flour and supplying the Recruits, You shall be duly paid. [I] Intreat You to send the Flour forw'd at the cheapest Rate for Waggonage. As I do not doubt Y'r Care in every Thing, I rem'n,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MR. ROBERT TUCKER
NORFOLK.²²⁴

Dec'r 2nd, 1754.

SIR:

I agreed with You for 40,000 lbs. [of] Flour. I have, since Y'r Agreem't, rec'd a Let'r [stating] y't its impossible to trans-

²²⁴ "Robert Tucker, merchant," was appointed an alderman in the charter of the Borough of Norfolk, dated September 25, 1736. "He at one time had twenty-one living children; but now no male descendant bears his respected name." (*Forest's Sketches* pp. 56, 68-70.) In the list of subscribers to the edition of 1752, of Virginia Laws, he appears as "Colonel Robert Tucker, Norfolk." The names of Robert Tucker, and of Robert Tucker, Jr., appear among the "Sons of Liberty," as signers to the resolutions adopted in opposition to the Stamp Act, March 31, 1766. Robert Tucker was a Burgess from Norfolk in 1756, and his son, Robert Tucker, Jr., in 1767-9.

port the Flour from Fredericksburg to the Camp, at this Season of the Year, therefore, it will be of no Service to the Expedit'n. I am, therefore, to desire to be off that Contract, w'ch I hope will be no Loss to You; but if it sh'd be any Loss I will pay w't You think You may suffer thereby, for to send it to Fredericksb'g to lie useless there, will be of great Prejudice and Loss to the Public, w'ch I hope You will, in Y'r generous way of Think'g, consider, and therefore, desire You will not send it up. Y'r Answer will oblige,

Sir, Y'r Very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN STEWART.

Dec'r 4th, [1754.]

SIR :

I rec'd Y'r Let'r, and am in hopes You have by this Time made Y'r Number of Recruits 60. I, therefore, desire You will, with all expedition, ship them on board the Schooner You mention, and w't Agreem't You make, shall be comply'd with. Order her to touch at Mr. Burwell's²²⁵ Ferry to take in the Recruits now in this Town. The Deserter You put in Irons, order him on board with the others—his Punishm't to be suspended till they get to the Camp. The Rioters, y't so much abused Mr. McNeill and the others, I have directed the Att'y Gen'l to prosecute in the April Court. You are, therefore, to give Acc't of w't Evidence You have to be sumoned to the Tryal, for I am determin'd they shall be prosecuted to the Extremity of the Law. Y'r Let'r, and Mr. McNeill's Declarat'n, I have given to the Att'y Gen'l, so y't I cannot so minutely answer Y'r Letter, but as I expect to see You soon, I shall advise with You whether proper to [proceed to] the Camp or remain Recruit'g. I rem'n, with kind Respect,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

My Service to Mr. Hood; I am oblig'd to him for his Intent'n in providing 2 Doz. Hams to go by Capt. Randolph.

²²⁵Lewis Burwell, a member of the Council, and as its President, in 1751, the acting Governor of the Colony.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK.

Dec'r 4th, [1754].

SIR:

Y'r favo. of the 26th Ult^o., I rec'd from Mr. Finnie. I am much obliged for Y'r kind Informat's and Calculat's, w'ch appear to me to be very just, and I wish I had known so much before; it w'd have prevented my purchas'g Flour down here, w'ch, before it reaches the Camp, it will make it excessive dear. I am determin'd to have a Person at the Camp to make Purchases of all kinds of Provis's, and to lodge the Money with him to make due Pay't, but as yet, have not fix'd on any, and as I know y'r own private Business enhances most of Y'r Time, I cannot think of Troubling You further than the Transact'g and dispatch'g Affairs at Fredericksburg. I shall be glad if You c'd immediately send a Qu'ty of Salt up, and enclos'd, You have a Letter from Mr. Donald²²⁶ to Mr. Cunningham,²²⁷ at Falso.,²²⁸ who has a large Qu'ty of Salt. If You possibly can send up fifty Sacks, I shall be much oblig'd. The Flour now with You, must be sent to Winchest'r, at least 40 bls., for the Use of the Recruits, as they come to y't Place, and if the Forces are not supplied with Flour, I desire a Qu'ty may be sent them for their imediate Supply, till I can find a proper Person to rem'n at the Camp to make Purchases agreeable to Y'r Scheme, but [I] cannot think of purchasing Hogs, till Salt is ready to Cure them; and how we are to be supplied with Cask to pack it in, I desire Y'r Advice therein. The Waggonage hitherto has been a great Imposition on the

²²⁶ There were several merchants of this name, Scotchmen, doing business in the Colony at this period, or a little later. Among the subscribers to the Virginia Laws of 1752, appear "James Donald, Chesterfield," and "Robert Donald, Hanover," and it is believed that William Donald was also engaged in trade at Williamsburg at this period.

²²⁷ William Cunningham, and William Cunningham & Co., extensive merchants, were the proprietors of branch stores in several counties of the Colony.

²²⁸ Falmouth, on the Rappahannock river, opposite Fredericksburg, was erected into a town by Act of Assembly in 1727. The trustees named were "Robert Carter and Mann Page, Esquires, Nicholas Smith, William Thornton, John Fitzhugh, Charles Carter, and Henry Fitzhugh, the younger, gentlemen." It has never been more than a small village, but always a busy and wealthy one.

Public, and the Owners trifled and made a Property of Mr. Carlyle's Ignorance, or ill Conduct, in the first setting out. Gov'r Sharpe is to purchase eight or ten Waggons in Pennsylvania for the Service of the Expedit'n; when purchas'd, four or five of them, [to be] employ'd from Win'r to the Camp, may bring the Co'try People to a proper Reflect'n on their Folly in not employing the[ir] Waggons in the Service at a moderate hire. I will pay for the building of flat bottom'd Boats at the different Runs of Water, if they can be done immediately, for this Service, w'ch [I] shall be glad if You can get proper Persons to do it with Dispatch, and the Use to the Person y't has the Care of them, with the Benefit of Ferriage from private People, for their own Use. I shall also be willing to pay the Charge for making a new Road, as it will so much shorten the Distance from Win't'r to the Camp; but as I am a perfect Stranger in those Counties, I wish You w'd take the Trouble of employing proper Persons to put in Execut'n this, and the Building of Boats. Mr. Carlyle was allowed for some Horses and Waggons y't were lost in the Service; whether they be those You ment'n, I know not, but the poor People are not to suffer this Loss. I wish You w'd direct a Survey on the Provis's lying at So. Branch, &c.; if spoiled, better be Condemned as useless, than load the Co'try with the Charge of Waggonage further. Pray advise me the Sum of Money necessary to be lodged at the Camp for the Present. You know they may have more as wanted, by sending me an Express, and let me know any Thing further y't may occur to You for the Service of the Expedit'n, and write me fully on return of the Express. Next Week I shall send 100 Recruits to Y'r Town. I think if You hire a proper House while they rem'n with You, they may be able to dress their own Victuals. I shall send an Officer with them.

I rem'n with kind respects,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

P. S.—Pray write me if the Forces have any Flour sent, for I have had great Concern on y't Acc't, and how many Recruits You have with You. Pray give the Express all possible Dispatch.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

Dec'r 12th, 1754.

SIR :

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 4th, and note its Contents, but have not Time to peruse Y'r Acc't. I suppose the £15 advanc'd by Colo. Washington for Capt. Mercer's Compa. is to be stopped from the Pay of y't Co'y? There is orders gone for building Boats over the different Runs. Mr. Carlyle is blameable in not having Salt at the Camp, w'ch I expected he had sent long since. I have ordered 200 Bush's from Fredericksburg. I have sent up some recruits to Y'r Town, and shall this Week send 130 more, with Orders to march immediately for Winchester. I therefore desire You will send two or three Officers to y't Place to receive them and to keep them under due Discipline, and have ordered a large quantity of Flour to Winchester for the Use of the Forces. You are to Comand the Virg'a Forces till further Orders,²²⁹ and tell the Officers I expect they will obey Y'r Comands, and if any are refractory or disobedient let me know, or if they are not diligent in the Discharge of their Duties. If You can purchase Shoes for the Men that want, I shall allow of it. I expect a large quantity from London, with other suitable Clothing, but I fear will not be here till March; therefore an absolutely necessary Supply to them for the present, will be requisite. I send You, according to Y'r Desire, 50£ by the Bearer. Capt. Wagener had 100[£] for enlisting money of me. I wish You health, and am,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK.

Dec'r 12th, 1754.

SIR :

Y'r Let'r of the 7th, I duly rec'd, and note its Contents. The Bearer brings You the Balla. of Y'r Acc't, in w'ch is in-

²²⁹ It appears that both Colonel Washington and Lieutenant-Colonel Muse had resigned their commissions.

cluded 20£ for Y'r Trouble. I also send You 100£ for the Service of the Expedition. I propose joining Mr. Walker with You, to be joint Commissaries, and shall send for him; if he accepts, shall send him up with Money, and I hope You will agree to it. You shall have a handsom[e] Appointm't. One of You, I propose, should always remain at the Camp. You may do it in Turns as may be agreed between You, and the other to make Purchases below to be sent to the Camp; and it will be proper to have a Person at Winchester, to provide Necessaries, to agree for Waggon[s] and forw'd the Goods to the Camp. I think, if You have no Objection, that Mr. Cocks²³⁰ will be a proper Person; in that Case, he must have a yearly Salary, w'ch I must leave to You, and some Money lodged with him to pay the incumbent Cha's. I think You have no Occasion of a separte Comission for building the Boats, &c., as You may engage for the Paym't, and the sooner You direct them to be built the better, and this Let'r is sufficient Authority for You to Act. If You have sent Flour to Winchester, and if any Officers are with You, send the recruits to that Place, where they probably will meet the Forces from Alexandria. I shall send up this Week, or beginning of next, 130 recruits with one or two Officers, to march to Winchester. If Salt is sent to the Camp, I shall be glad You make a Purchase of Pork in proportion to the Salt for curing it. Inclosed You have Let'r to the Justices of Prince Wm. Co'ty, which I hope will answer. I am extremely hurried with a multiplicity of different Affairs, y't I cannot now enlarge, but by Doct'r Walker I shall write more fully. I shall look out for Negro Coopers, tho' I fear Success, as the Owners of such do not care to part with them, but [I] shall do my Endeavour. If you can purchase or hire, I shall be very well pleased. I beg You'll get w't Flour You can to Winchester, and the Baggs to the Camp. I rem'n, with great respect,

Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

²³⁰ Captain William Cocke, before mentioned.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Dec'r 12th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of 25th of Oct'r I rec'd three Days ago, but I kept the Messenger till the Council met. My Letter You complain so much of, I think was a proper Answer to Yours, where You mention Diffidence on the delivery of the Present to the Ind's, w'n at same Time You had my Orders to receive the whole Goods. Y'r mentioning Feathers in Y'r Cap, when I was in the Strongest Manner recommending You to Gov'r Sharpe; and some other Things, I think wrong, w'n F'dship has be[en] so sincere between Us, and of so long duration, it concerned me much to find You diffided [*? sic.*] in me, however, I am willing to forget the Substance of that Letter, and to assure You my regard and Esteem continues the same as formerly. I now send You a 100[£] by Jenkins. You must send me a receipt for three hund'd, y't I may carry it to Acc't of that Expedit'n. Y'r Treaty with the Ind's was read in Council, but I think it's not proper at this Time to publish it; the more silent we are in our Transact's, the better. I am now determin'd to send a Comissary to be with the Army, and w'n I can fix on a proper Person, shall send him up with Money to buy Provisions, &c. There are two regim'ts, or 1,000 Men, coming from Britain, and I propose making the Virg'a Forces 800 Men; the Officers are recruiting, and I think have tolerable good Success. I send them up to join the others as fast as I can. The Supply of Provisions is w't I have most in my Thoughts, and I hope to have sufficient at the Camp for six or eight Mos. The Council do not agree to send 4 black Belts of Wampum to the Six Nations, but I shall write the Gov'r of New York to engage them to take up the Hatchet, w'ch I hope they will chearfully do w'n they see the Number of our Forces, w'n collected into a Body. I am glad You sent to the Catawbias, and shall be glad if a confirmed Peace can be establish'd between them and the Northern Ind's. You must excuse my enlarging at this Time, as I am very much engaged with a Multiplicity of Affairs. I sincerely wish You Health and Prosperity, and am,

Sir, Y'r affect. h'ble Serv't.

P. S. Trent's Acc't, You must Pay as You engag'd it, tho'

very high Charg'd, but I suppose it's Philad'a Money.²³¹ We never have agreed to give Horses to the Ind's, but as You have done it, it shall be allowed. Croghan does not deserve to be p'd for Stobo's Let'r, because he kept it so long, and a Copy was sent to the French. You know it come open to You. Inclosed [are] two Letters [which] came to my Hands yesterday.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LIEUTENANT JOHN HAMILTON.

Dec'r 12th, 1754.

SIR :

I rec'd Y'rs of the 7th, with Acc't of Y'r disbursements, but have not Time to examine it. I have sent You 60£, and I desire You may get w't recruits You can, and carry them by Water, or march them up to Alex'a. I have appointed Mr. Jno. Blagg,²³² Ensign, so that he may be assisting to You, and help You to conduct the recruits as above.

I am, Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

²³¹ Pennsylvania had a paper currency as early as 1723, when was emitted £1,500 in bills of credit bearing five per cent interest, loaned on land security, or plate of treble the value, deposited at the loan office; they were made a legal tender with the interest and one-eighth of the principal payable annually. They were early counterfeited. The volume in 1745, was £80,000; increased in 1746 by £5,000, and in October the same year £5,000 more were issued for change and to redeem old and worn notes. After the defeat of Braddock, the Assembly voted £60,000 for the King's use, to bear date January 1, 1756, and to be redeemed in taxation; of this, £30,000 were issued in August. The public exigencies and the alarming situation of the Colony, caused, in 1757, 1758 and 1759, £300,000 to be scattered, making a total circulation of £385,000. A further issue of £36,650, to reimburse the military agent of the colonies at Philadelphia was voted by the Assembly, but it was opposed by the Governor and Council, and the King, in June, 1760, pronounced the act null. The value of the dollar had been fixed by the merchants of Philadelphia, in 1742, at 7 shillings and 6 pence. *Phillip's Paper Currency of the American Colonies*, i, pp. 1-26.

²³² Lieutenant John Blagg was present as a member of a court-martial held at Winchester, May 2, 1756.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE.

Dec'r 12th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 1st. I am sorry Mr. Perkins has been so dillatory with his Flour, but hope e'er this he has sent up 20,000 lbs. I agree with the Gen'l, y't a Comissary sh'd always attend the Forces, and as I know it must be inconvenient for You, I shall appoint a proper Person for y't Duty. If You will take Care of w't comes to Y'r Place, to be forwarded to the Camp, You shall be p'd for Y'r Trouble. The want of Salt at the Camp, I must charge to Y'r Neglect. You told me You had [a] Qu'ty on the road, but I am told none is arrived there. The Pork, &c., left at the So. Branch, I cannot acc't for it's being left there; if sent to the Camp, [it] might have been used, and now I fear it's spoiled. How it came to be left half-way from Winchester, You only can answer. I wish You Health, and remain,
Sir, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Dec'r 17th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of the 10th I rec'd last Night. I am glad of Y'r safe return to Annapolis. I am much surpriz'd y't the Fort built at Wills's Creek is in such Situat'n as to be comanded by an Emenence near to it, it was ill judged w'n begun, not to consider y't, and I much approve of Y'r ordering another to be built on that Eminence. The want of Provis's in the Camp gave me very great Uneasiness on receipt of Y'r former Let'r, w'ch is much owing to the Indolence and Neglect of the Comissary. To prevent this for the Future, I appoint two Comissaries; one, Mr. Chas. Dick, a Person of Fortune and well-known in the back Counties, and one, Mr. Thos. Walker, a Person of Fortune and great Activity; the first is to make Purchases and order the Provis's to be deliver'd at the Camp, and the other is to receive and pay for them, and see them properly issued to the Men.

This step, I hope, will, for the Future, keep the Forces properly Supplied, and I shall send Money from Time to Time to make punctual Paym'ts. I propose paying each Commissary £200 p^a Ann., and they are to have an Agent at Winchester to forward every Thing to the Camp, and I shall send up blank Bonds to tie down the Venders to a punctual Compliance with their Contracts, a List thereof to be sent to the Commissary at the Camp, and my Proposal is y't one of them, or a Person properly Qualified, always attend the Forces. These Gent. were appointed by the Council, whose Advice I took, as being a Stranger to them, otherwise, I sh'd [have] gladly comply'd with [the request for] the Gent. You had in View. I shall write them, if possible, to encourage the People to Stall-feed some of their Cattle and [to] engage a large Q'ty of Bacon. Y'r calculat'n for supplying 3,000 Men for 8 mos., I think very accurate, it's a large Qu'ty to provide so late in the Year, and the greatest Difficulty will be providing Cask and Salt. Mr. Carlyle told me w'n here y't he had sent a Qu'ty of Salt to the Camp, w'ch now surprizes me y't there was none there. I have order'd Mr. Dick to send a Qu'ty immediately, w'ch I doubt not is done, and desired him to hire negro Coopers or hire Carpenters to go to W's Creek, to make Cask for packing the Provisions in. The Charge of Waggonage I conceive will be monstrous large, and I think the most frugal Method will be to purchase 20 for the pres't, w'ch I presume You may get in Pensylv'a. The Qu'ty of Barrels wanted are not to be procured here in two Years' Time. If Salt is to be purchased reasonable with You, if a Qu'ty was put in Barrels, it w'd answer in some Degree, and indeed, Pork salted in Bulk may be kept till April, but then it sh'd be barrel'd up. As for Hogs, Mr. Dick writes me he can procure 1,000 or more, delivered at W's Creek, a[t] 2d. p^a lb., w'ch is better than buying at Mr. Carter's. It is surprizing y't Carlyle was so very neglectful as not to have Salt to cure the Beef. You acted very properly in hiring Herdsmen to take Care of the Cattle. I am under Surprize, and uneasy y't Carlyle has not p'd the People; he rec'd from me £905 7s. 10d. for 306 Head of Cattle, in w'ch was included those bo't by Mr. Gist, and he was pres't w'n I p'd him, and Mr. Carlyle was p'd in Oct'r for all the Waggonage and one or two bo't in the Service, and every other dem'd he bro't in ag'st the Public. I must, there-

fore, esteem him unjust in not paying the poor People and I shall immediately write him properly on that Head. He received from me £1,299 12s. 9d. (besides the above sum), to pay for Provisions and other Necessaries supplied the Independ't Compa's, and he rec'd from the Treasurer the Ball'ce due on Acc't of the Virg'a Regim't. Mr. Gist rec'd £45 to pay to Mr. Montour, but by the Acc't sent, appears he p'd him only £20; w't other Monies he had, was from Carlyle to pay for the Cattle, the particular Sum I know not. Mr. Montour's Acc't is very unfair; he had no Orders to raise the Men Charg'd; he had the Comiss'n to protect him in Case he sh'd fall into the Hands of [the] French, as he is proscribed by them; he was to attend on the Camp, [and] go out upon Scouts w'n order'd by the Comand'g Officer. He shall be allow'd his own Pay, but y't of his Men, sh'd be vouch'd by the Comand'g Officer. I esteem the man, and procur'd him a standing Salary as Interpreter, of £25 ^{per} Ann. After the Skirmish at the Meadows he went home from the Camp, and yet Charges his Men's Pay till the 26th of last Mo. The Acc't is made up for him by some of the Woodsmen, who are a very bad sett of People. He may be a very useful Man if kept from these Wretches. If he is allowed his own Pay and Salary, he cannot expect to be p'd as Interpreter at the last Treaty. I dare say Johnston's Beeves are included in the 306 I p'd, and am convinc'd all the Supply of Flour was p'd; they, therefore, do wrong in not paying him. Gist was never employ'd by me to make any Contracts; if he was by Mr. Carlyle, he is to answer for him. If You desire it, I will pay for the Beeves at Mr. Cresap's, when I know the Amo. I am not a Judge of the Value of Waggons, &c., but as they are much wanted, I think You sh'd purchase 20, and when You write me, I shall either send Money or Bill of Excha. to pay for them; four of them to be sent from W's Creek to Winchester, will be constantly employ'd in carrying Provis's, &c., to the Camp, and probably may have the good Effect of engaging the Country People to hire their Waggons at moderate Prices. I shall be glad if the Method You propose of convey'g Provis's, &c., from Bellhaven by rock Creek, Connegocheck, &c., may prove successful, but I fear in Freshes the Battoes can't go up; in Sumer they will want Water, but a Trial will not be amiss. In the mean Time, I have ordered flat Bottom'd Boats to be built on all the runs from

Winchester to W. Creek, such that will receive a Waggon. And I am told by cutting a new road from W. to W. Creek, they can shorten the Way 30 Miles, w^{ch} I have ordered to be done. I shall endeavour to procure some Carpenters. I think there is at Alexa., Cartridge Paper, Flints and Match; the other Things I shall endeavour to procure. I shall send some Wampum; rangers are a very necessary People as Scouts, but pray be on Your Guard in respect to the Traders, who appear to me to be an abandoned set of Fellows, however, if You can pick out such [as] You can confide in, they will be of great Use on many Occasions. Mr. Cox, I know no more of him yⁿ a small knowledge of him formerly in Bermuda, but his Character with You is the only rule to guide in Affairs of y^t nature, and therefore will, by no means, interfere. Mr. Burney²³³ was very solicitous with me for a Commissⁿ, w^{ch} I, by no means, tho't him equal to, but proposed his acting as Armourer at 2s. 6d. ^{per} Day; he refus'd, and pray'd my Let^r to You. Colo. Stephen wrote me You had advanced him some Money for recruiting. The So. Car. Co^y sh'd be supplied with Blankets, but this Colony will not pay for them; as they are a very good Compa, I think the Capt. may draw for such necessary Supplies; the New York Compa's must pay for theirs. It was entirely right and kind of you to send to the Catawbas, informing them of the Warriors y^t were gone out agst them, to put them on their Guard, and I shall be very glad the Meeting at Winchester may succeed for a Peace between the No^{'ern} and So^{'ern} Ind^{'ns}, [which] I have had greatly at Heart. At y^t Treaty it was agreed y^t Monecatoocha sh'd carry a black Belt of Wampum and a Hatchet to the Six Nat's at Onandago, acquainting them y^t some of the Six Nat's, Shawannesses and Delawares, had taken up the Hatchet agst the French, and desiring them to do the same. If this c'd be effected, it w'd be of great Service in engaging many Tribes of Ind's to join Us. Colo. Innes desires me to send four Belts of black Wampum for this Domⁿ, M^{'yl}d, Pensylva. and N. York, w^{ch} is wrong, but have now wrote the Gov^r of N. York on y^t Subject for his Int^t with these People to declare themselves in our Favo., and if he see proper to send a black Belt in behalf of this Colony, a Let^r from You to him on the same Subject, I think w'd be

²³³ Thomas Burney, before mentioned.

proper. I am sorry for the Acc't Colo. Innes sent You of the Arrival of 1,100 French and 70 Arondacks at the Fort. I am in Hopes the Intelligence is false: first, because Ind's cannot count Numbers, and as they must pass Oswego Fort, the Gov'r of N. York promised to give me due Intelligence of any Numbers y't passed y't way, but we must conclude they will bring as many Forces as they possibly can by the Spring of the Year, And I have reason to expect 1,000 regulars from G. B. in six Weeks. The Transports were taken up in Oct'r last, and Comodore Keple, in a 50 Gun-Ship comes their Convoy. I also doubt the 400 French and Ind's at the Head of the Ohio, or the 300 Families settled at Mud Creek.²³⁴ I shall be very glad to have those Acc'ts contradicted. I am glad You have ordered Colo. Stephen to march, and y't You will review them. There is a Compa. of 50 on the Frontiers of Augusta y't shall join the others when You write me to y't Purpose. Your Presence at the Camp will undoubtedly be of very great Service. I therefore hope Y'r Assembly will not sit long, and y't they will consider properly our present Situat'n, and Grant You a further Supply. The Cherokees and Catawbas, I think, are strongly in our Int't. I have wrote Mr. Glen to influence them, and to perswade a Number of their Warriors to join our Forces near the Ohio early in the Spring. And I am fully convinced a Message to the Twightwees by a safe Hand will be of great Service, as they have hitherto appeared strong Enemies to the French. If they knew our Intent's they may be of great Use in galling the Enemy in Y'r rear, or at [least] prevent a thorow Junct'n of their Ind's. The sooner this is done, I think, the better, but it must be by such a Messenger [as] You can confide in. What You order Colo. Innes to pay the Independ'ts for building the Fort, shall be allow'd him. What Capt. Polson dem'ds a Court Martial for, I know not, unless it is on this Subject. I ordered Colo. Stephens to send him and Capt. Waggoner to go a recruiting. He refused going, on w'ch I wrote him a Let'r on the Subject, w'ch he has not answered. I was angry [that] he refused my Orders delivered him by Colo. Stephens, for w'ch I think he deserves a severe

²³⁴ Mud, or Muddy Creek, was a tributary of French Creek, on which Venango, now Franklin, was located.

reprimand, at least, if not something worse. I must, therefore, refer this to You.

I am sorry the Guns are only four Pounders. Those at the Camp are of the same Size. Capt. Arbuthnott says they are six Pounders, and Charges 15℥ ⅔ p's for them. He says You spoke for four Compleat Seamen, w'ch he will send at 18d. ⅔ Day. I admire [*sic*] Capt. Clark is not ret'd to his Duty.

Now, having answer'd Y'r Let'r, I am to acquaint You y't I have recruited 44 Men, sent to Alex'a, and this Week sent in two Sloops to Fredericksburg, ab't 150, and in a short Time I hope to send the like No. I have Officers in Different Places recruiting, and w'd gladly hope to make the No. from this Dom'n from 800 to 1,000. I much want to know w't Pensylva'a Assembly have done. If they raise Money, we may depend on a Supply of Provisions from y't Colony. Your Calculation of Provis's for 3,000 Men I think just, but how to Supply the Salt and Cask I know nòt, for the carrying these two Articles to W. Creek will be near three Times the Amo. of the first Cost. I can purchase Barrel'd Pork and Beef, but the same extraordinary Charge will attend them. Pray write me y'r Answer and Thot's thereon. And please forward the enclos'd by the most speedy Conveyance. It's in regard to the Treaty, y't if Mr. DeLancey shall think it proper to send a black Belt to the Six Nat's, y't he w'd send one for this Dom'n. Pray order two or three Officers to Winch'r to receive the Recruits, as there will not be sufficient with them to keep them in proper Order. I have been very much fatigued since parting, and [am] likely to continue [so]. but if it sh'd answer the Affair in View, I sh'd be very well pleas'd. I shall order the Prisoners to Belhaven, and give the Officer the Liberty of walking the Town. My wife and Girls join me in kind respects, and I am, in great Truth,

Y'r Ex's most humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DELANCEY.

Dec'r 17th, 1754.

SIR :

I am to acqu't You y't the 18th of Oct'r last there was a small Treaty at our Camp at W's Creek, between Colo. Innes and some Ind's, Viz't: Scaruniata [and] Moses, Warriors of the Six Nat's, Laputhia, the Shawnah King, Jescoma, a Delaware, and Monecatoocha, Chief on the Ohio, w'n, after long Consultat'n, they unanimously took up the Hatchet ag'st the Fr., and sent Monecatoocha with a black Belt of Wampum and a Hatchet to Onondago, desiring the Six Nat's to declare themselves ag'st the French, and desired that this Colony, M'yl'd, Pensylva'a, and N. York, sh'd each of them send a black Belt and Hatchet to engage them to declare ag'st the Fr. As I am a great Stranger to the Customs of the Six Nat's, I therefore take the Liberty of tak'g Y'r Advice in this Affair, and if You think such a Step as proposed, is regular, I shall be oblig'd if You incline to send one for Y'r Colony, y't you w'd accompany it one for this. I am fully convinc'd if they were to declare, y't many Tribes of Ind's w'd join Us, but I must leave this to Y'r Superior Judgm't. I have Acc't Yesterday y't there is arrived at the Fr. Fort 1,200 Fr. and 400 Ind's from Canada; as I conceive they must pass Oswego Fort, I am will'g to think it false, or You w'd have acquainted me therewith. I expect in a Mo's time 1,000 regulars from G. B., as I am informed the Transports were taken up in Oct'r. I have been engag'd in recruiting for our regim't, and hope to make their No. 800 or 1,000. With w't Force can be collected together, Gov'r Sharpe will make a Push early in the Spring. The Fr. are in high Hopes of strong reinforcem'ts from France; if so, it [will] probably be known at Home, and an equal Number sent to our Aid. I shall be oblig'd to You for an Answer and am, with great Sincerity,

Y'r Hon'r's most obed't humble serv't.

P. S.—The enclos'd came to my Hands a few Days Since; I give You the trouble of Sending it as directed.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK.

Dec'r 19th, 1754.

SIR:

I every Minute expect Mr. Walker in Town, and am in Hopes of Y'r agre'g to his being join'd with You as Commissaries to provide Provisions. I shall by him send up a Sum of Money to pay for the Provisions. I wish You c'd send up five or 600 Bush's of Salt to the Camp. I am sensible of the great Charge attending it, but it must be bore with, for purchasing Beaves and Pork with't Salt will be useless. I therefore recomend to You to send w't Qu'ty of Salt You possibly can get Waggons to carry it; and if You can prevail on some of the Planters to Stall-feed a Number of Cattle for the Spring You are to agree with them for an advanc'd Price, as may be settled between You and them. This comes by Mr. Finnie, to whom I have given some Money to pay the Recruits in part of their Pay; and the sooner they march for Winchester the better; where I have ordered some Officers from Alex'a to be there to receive them; and I think each Man may carry as much Bread as may serve them on their March, and a Waggon with Meat-Kind will be proper, as they cannot be supplied on the Road. Pray speak to the Officers with You, y't they march them with all convenient Speed. I sh'd have wrote Capt. Waggoner, but it's uncertain his being With You. If he is, You may shew him or any other Officer this Paragraph of my Letter to You. I remain With great respect,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

Dec'r 20th, 1754.

SIR:

Y'rs of the 11th ^{to} Mr. Wood I duly rec'd, and observe it's Contents. Colo. Stephen writes me he gave the Mo. to each Capt. to pay their respective Compa's, w'ch I think was right. I am sorry if y'r private Dem'ds were not p'd. I have sent

Colo. Innes 300£, w^{ch} I conceiv'd w^d have p'd the Workmen at the Fort and other Conting't Cha's. I have looked over the Acc't You have now sent me, and cannot help finding fault with You in not sending Salt to the Camp and to endeavour to procure Cask for packing the Meat. At [the] same Time I am Surpriz'd You sh'd buy more Beaves with't having sufficient Salt at the Camp to cure it. It's true [that] Gov'r Sharpe writes me [of] the great Clamour in the Camp from many People y't rem'n unp'd for their Beaves, &c. You know I p'd You £905 7s. 10d. for the Cattle bo't to the Time You was in Town, and the purchas'g more with't Salt to cure them, I think is irregular. You also must remember y't I p'd You £1,299. 12s. 9d. for the Independ't [Company], so when You left this [place] there was Nothing due. If You had come or sent at the Court, the Comittee w'd have met and pass'd Y'r Acc'ts; y's is w't You wrote me in a former Letter You w'd do. There is since y't a large Charge for Waggonage and other Things y't must be adjusted by the Comittee, and I shall not undertake to settle y't Acc't, as Vanmeter's²³⁵ Acc't of Waggonage sh'd have been in Y'r former Acc't. As to Cromwel's and Gist's Charges for Services done, I conceive they were doing Y'r Duty, and therefore ought to be p'd by You. As I observe You are in Advance, I send You by the Bearer £150, w^{ch} You must repay me w'n Y'r Acc'ts are pass'd, for I will nor interfere with any Acc'ts y't are to be given in to the Comittee. Colo. Innes writes me y't the Comissary's not residing at the Camp has been of great disadvantage. I have, therefore, appointed Mr. Chas. Dick and Thos. Walker to be joint Comissaries; one of them to be always with the Forces, w^{ch} will be more regular y'n sending a young Man there. You cannot justify Y'rself in not having a large Qu'ty of Salt at the Camp in the Mo. of Oct'r, and w'n You was here You told me there was a Qu'ty sent up; w'n Mr. Sharpe was there, there was no Salt, and it was Y'r Duty to provide Casks.

I know no Business Mr. Gist had to do in Town, therefore his being detain'd so long can be no Excuse. I did Contract for a Qu'ty of Flour; but You forgot if You say You knew

²³⁵ Jacob Vanmeter was one of the Commissioners from Augusta county, who met at Pittsburgh, May 16, 1775.

Nothing of it. You know the Acc'ts of the Independ'ts. I engag'd to pay the Virginia Regim't with the Comittee; but you blend them together. You have an Order from Colo. Innes on Mr. Hunter, w'ch, no doubt, will be paid; but I am too much engag'd with Affairs to settle other People's Acc'ts. Colo. Stephen has done well in ordering 20 Head of Cattle to be Stall-fed. I wish you have done the same with all You purchas'd Since You left this. I cannot direct the Clothing of the Fr. Prisoners; but if they are provided with some coarse Cloth to keep them from the inclemency of the Weather, as it's a piece of Charity, I will see you p'd. And if the Officer will give his Parole of Hon'r he may walk the Town, but not to go out of the Limits. Let y't be done to Colo. Fairfax. I shall still desire You will take the Trouble of forwarding any Thing y't may come to Y'r Town for the Use of the Army, w'ch I expect will soon be greatly reinforc'd by two regim'ts from G. B. The News from the Camp of the reinforcem't of the Fr. I cannot think they are so many, but no doubt in the Spring they will bring all the Forces they can. I am, Sir,

Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN.

Dec'r 20th, [1754].

SIR:

I rec'd Y'rs of the 10th with the List of Men. I have sent from this [place] to Fredericksb'g this Week, 150 recruits, and hope soon to send up the Same Number. Let the recruits have necessary Clothing, and no doubt it will be allowed. I wish you were once in a Body together, and so y't every Capt. have his particular Co'y. Then you w'd the better ascertain their Pay, disbursing w't has been advanc'd to the new rais'd Men, but this I cannot conceive can properly be done till You get to W. Creek, where, I find, Gov'r Sharpe has ordered You to march. W'n this is done, You must write to the Gov'r's Treasurer for Money to pay them, and send me the roll with the Acc't of Pay due, and probably if he is not in Cash

he may desire to borrow of me. Mr. Carlyle writes me You have 20 of the Cattle I p'd for, at Y'r Plantat'n to be stall-fed. I wish You had many more, as we have not Salt to cure them, and I hope they will be fit to kill in March. If You can engage the Planters to Stall-feed a Qu'ty, they shall be p'd in Proport'n. Lieut. Towers writes me he inclines to resign his Com'o. I am sorry any y't were at the Meadows sh'd decline serving. However, if he is determined, you may allow him, for I can have 100 at the Pay he complains of. I have made two Capt's—one Stewart,²³⁶ and another Cocke²³⁷—on their engaging each to raise their Co'y. Stewart's is rais'd, and gone from this to Fredericksb'g, and he will be up next Week himself. This I write You y't the former Lieut's may not think they are slighted. The Necessity of having Men rais'd is the only reason. Capt. Polson writes me he did not refuse going to recruit. He says the Money was too small to divide among the Officers to recruit. You know I only ordered Capt. Polson and Capt. Waggn'r, and I tho't 50 Pistoles each was sufficient for the pres't. Let all differences subside, and live in Harmony together. I presume by this Time You have Gov'r Sharpe's Orders to send some Officers to Winchester to meet the recruits sent up, and the soon'r they are there the better, tho' I expect by the Time this Messenger returns, Your whole Force will march from Alex'a to y't Place. I am sorry the Arms are not so good as the former. You must have them all sent to Winchester to give to the new-raised Men. Write to any of Your Acquaint's in the back Counties to make w't Bacon they can, and it shall be bo't and p'd for in ready Cash. I wish You Health, and am,

S'r, Y'r Friend

²³⁶ Probably Walter Stewart, mentioned *ante*, p. 320. Captain Robert Stewart, afterwards promoted Major, was engaged in the action on the Monongahela, and in August, 1755, was voted by the Virginia Assembly thanks and a gratuity of £100 for his gallant behavior.

²³⁷ Thomas Cocke, mentioned in note *ante*, p. 271.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LIEUTENANT JAMES TOWERS.

Dec'r 20th, [1754].

SIR:

I am sorry You incline to resign Y'r Com'o.; I was in hopes none of the first Officers w'd have tho't of that. The Mo[ney] I have will not admit of augmenting the Pay at pres't, w'tever may be done hereafter. Many young Gent. are daily apply'g for Lieut'cy's, so if You continue determin'd to resign, I have wrote Colo. Stephens to receive it. I wish You well, and am,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN POLSON.

Dec'r 20th, [1754].

SIR:

Colo. Stephens wrote me You did not care to go a recruit'g with't my Orders or Mr. Sharpe's. My Orders were to give You and C't Waggener 50 Pistoles each, w'ch I tho't might do for the pres't. He wrote more modestly of You than You have done of him, to say he ought to learn his own Duty before he accuse You of Neglect of Yours; this is a very great reflect'n on Y'r Senior and Superior Officer. As I desire every Thing may subside, I have wrote Colo. Stephens y't You all sh'd live in Harmony together with't invidious reflect's. I shall be glad to hear y't Love and Friendship may subsist among the Officers of the Virg'a Regim't.

I am, Sir, Y'r Fr., &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL WASHINGTON.

Dec'r 20th, [1754].

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Letter, but at pres't cannot order You the Money You say [is] due you as Adjut't. W'n the Council meets,

I shall let them know Y'r Dem'd, and if they agree with me, it will be p'd.

I am, Sir, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S COMMISSION TO CHARLES DICK
AND THOMAS WALKER.

*R. D., Esq'r., Gov'r, &c., To Chas. Dick and Thomas Walker,
Esq'rs :*

By Virtue of the Power and Authority given me by His M'y's imediate Com'ds to conduct the present Expedit'n to the Ohio ag'st the French and encroachments on the King's Lands, I, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in the Fidelity, knowledge and good Conduct of You, C. D. and T. W., Do hereby appoint You to be joint Comissaries for Provis's and Stores, to be purchas'd and provided for the Forces intended for the Ohio. And I hereby give You full Power and Authority to contract, agree for and purchase such Provis's as may be tho't necessary for a due and proper Supply for the afores'd Forces. And You hereby have Power and Authority to press Horses, Waggon, Boats, &c., y't may be necessary for convey'g the Provis's to the Camp or to attend the Forces on their March, Conduct'g Yourselves agreeable to the Act of Assembly in like Cases provided. And I further hereby order and Comand all Officers, Civil and Military, to be aiding and assist'g to You in the discharge of Y'r Appointm't. Given, &c., 28th Dec'r, 1754.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

Dec'r 20th, [1754].

SIR :

My last to You was 16th Nov'r, w'ch I hope You duly rec'd, and refer You thereto. I wrote You Mr. Glen had wrote me several Let'rs in a very odd Style. Mr. Dobbs was then

here. He was very much disoblig'd at the Style and Substance of them, and I believe wrote his Opinion thereon freely to L'd Halifax. In Case of any Enquiry or Dispute thereon, I think it proper to send You Copy of his two last Let's, and the report of the Committee in y't Gov't. His public Let'r I do not animadvert on, or the report of the Committee, but w't he intends as a Let'r from himself, I have made Marginal Notes thereon. You may keep them entirely secret to Y'rself, unless You sh'd find it proper for my Service to shew them. You also have my Answer to his above Let's. He is a very copious writer. His Let's are generally several Sheets, and indeed may be curtail'd much, and to the same Substance and Purpose. I have been strongly engag'd in raising Recruits, and am in Hopes by the Middle of Feb'y to compleat the No. of this Dom'n to near 1,000 Men. I hear his M'y is graciously pleas'd to order two regim'ts from Ireland to our Assistance. This is only by report. The maint'g of so great Numbers will be difficult at once to get Provis's for them. I wish I had got previous Notice, or probably they may bring some Provis's from Ireland. I hope they will be here soon, and I expect Applicat'n will be made to Parliam't for an Aid to the Expedit'n. I am now to Comiss'n two Commissaries to purchase Provis's, and to lay them in at the Magazine at W. C. near the Allegany Mount's. I shall do every Thing in my Power, and y't with the greatest Diligence. This Ship going so soon prevents my writing to the Public Officers, and indeed our last Acts are not fairly engross'd, but [I] hope [tley] will be ready soon for transmitting. I send You my 2d Bill on Messrs. H. for £100 for Y'r ½ Year's Salary, ending in Oct'r, in Case the former miscarried, and I rem'n, most sincerely,

Sir, Y'r F'd.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DOBBS,²³⁸ OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Dec'r 21st, 1754.

SIR:

The enclos'd came to my Hands last Week from our Camp, and [I] have desired Messrs. Watson and Cairnes to forw'd it to You. The Let's to the Capt's of the King's Ships were sent me by C't Arbuthnott, and I pray Y'r favo. to forw'd them to So. Car. Inclos'd You have our Magazine, w'ch contains a Paragraph from the English Gazette, by w'ch You will observe they intend to send us a large reinforcem't, and y'ts its further ordered to raise two regim'ts in N. England, to be comanded by Mr. Shirley and S'r Wm. Pepperell. The greatest Uneasiness I am under is the providing Provis's. I have Comission'd two Commiss'ys for y't End to contract for all the Provis's they possibly can. The Men of War and Forces may be soon expected. I have tolerable Success in recruiting, and am in hopes of compleat'g our No. to 1,000 by the Mo. of Feb'y. As I understand Y'r Assembly has been some Time siting, I shall be glad to know in w't Temper they met You and w't they have done. I most sincerely wish You Health and all the Happiness You can desire. My Wife and Girls join me in kind Complim'ts to Your

²³⁸ Arthur Dobbs, a native of Ireland, Governor of North Carolina from November 1, 1754, till his death at Town Creek, N. C., March 28, 1765. He was a man of letters, of liberal views, and had been a member of the Irish Parliament, and distinguished for his attempts to discover the "Northwest Passage." He adopted conciliatory measures towards the Indians, but his administration was a continued contest with the Legislature on unimportant matters, displaying on his part an ardent zeal for the royal prerogative and an indomitable resistance on the part of the colonists. Author of "An Account of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay," 4to. London, 1748; "Trade and Improvement of Ireland," 8vo. Dublin, 1729, and "Captain Middleton's Defence," 8vo. 1744. He married Anne, daughter of Captain Osburn, of Drogheda, and had issue: Conway Richard, (who remained in Ireland, served as High Sheriff of Antrim, and whose descendants are still in possession of Castle Dobbs); Edward Brice, mentioned in the text as the commandant of a company from North Carolina, subsequently Major, and who was a member of the Council of the Province; Frances, and Mary.

Son and Nephew.²³⁹ I wish You and the Young Gent. a merry Xmas, and always am,
Y'r Ex's most Ob't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK AND THOMAS WALKER, ESQ'RS.

Dec'r 28th, 1754.

GENT.:

I have this Day Sign'd a Com'o., appoint'g You joint Commissaries for Provis's and Stores for the pres't Expedit'n to the Ohio. I therefore think it necessary to give You the follow'g Orders and Instruct's: That You first lay in a large Qu'ty of Salt at the Camp now at W's C., and y't in Proport'n to the Salt You may have there, You are to purchase Pork, agree'g with the People to deliver it at the Camp, where You are to pay them for the same, accord'g to y'r Agreem't. There are a good No. of Beeves now at or near the Camp. I desire and order You to have them killed and salted accordingly. You are to endeavour to provide w't Casks You can to pack the Provis's in, and I desire You may hire as many Coopers as You can for y't End, agree'g with them by the Day, or so much for each Cask they may deliver. You are to send a Messenger to Connegachege, or any other proper Place in Pennsylv'a, to encourage the People to bring You Flour, for w'ch You will pay them ready Money. I have been inform'd they will deliver it at the Camp at 12s. 6d. p' C't. And I find it extremely necessary y't one of You remain at the Camp to receive and pay for the Provis's, to see them properly secured, and to issue 1 lb. Flour, 1 lb. Beef or Pork each Day for every Soldier, w'ch I think is to be done to each Compa. in a Weekly order, and the Officers of each Compa., no doubt, will order a Serjeant to see the Provis's properly delivered. As to the Provis's You are to provide, I do not restrict their Qu'ty, as we are not certain of the No. of

²³⁹ Richard Spaight, who was the paymaster of the North Carolina troops under Braddock; Secretary of the Province in 1756, and February 4, 1757, a member of the Council. He was the father of Richard Dobbs Spaight, Governor of North Carolina, etc.

Forces y't may be employ'd, but I believe they will not be less than 3,000, for this No. [you] may easily calculate the Qu'ty of each Species. I think You cannot purchase less than 600,000 w't of Flour. I cannot tell w't Conveniences there are at the Camp for storing the Provis's; if wanted, You must make Use of the Ohio Compa's Store, for w'ch they shall be duly p'd. Keep good and clear Acc'ts of Y'r Paym'ts, tak'g receipts for the Money You pay, to be delivered to me in Case I sh'd want to transmit them Home. I have now deliver'd You 2,000£ to begin Y'r purchases, w'n y't is near exhausted, send down a proper Person to me, and You shall be duly supplied, and any Contracts You may make on Acc't of the Expedit'n, I shall support You therein. I shall be glad if You can purchase four Waggons and Horses to be employ'd from Win'r to Wills's Creek, w'ch probably may bring the Planters to a reasonable hire for their Wag-gons. And You are to appoint a Person at Win'r to do the Duty there and to forw'd Things to the Camp. And as many Things may occur y't I cannot foresee, I must leave every Thing to Y'r Prudent and good Managem't, but desire You may consider the Season of the Year requires the greatest Dispatch in laying in the Provis's. I recomend to You to purchase all the Bacon You can, and if You can get some Beeves Stall-fed, it will be very proper in Apr. and May. As I doubt not You have the Good of this Expedit'n as much at Heart as I have, I therefore put great Confidence in Y'r Diligence and imediate Purchase of Provis's. Wishing You Health and Happiness, I rem'n
Y'r Friend, &c.

P. S. Each of You are to have 200£ p Ann. as Salary, and any extraordinary Exp's will be allow'd You.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK.

Dec'r 28th, 1754.

SIR:

This will be delivered You by Mr. Thos. Walker, who brings Y'r Com'o. to be joint Comiss'r with him, w'ch I hope will be agreeable to You. He also has some Instruct's for the

Managem't of Y'r Appointm't, but I c'd not be so explicit on the Affair as I c'd wish, but hereafter w't ever you may think necessary, write me, and you shall have Direct's agreeable thereto. He has rec'd £2,000, w'ch he carries with him to the Camp to pay for the Provis's as they come in. I hope You have sent a Qu'ty of Salt, w'ch is the necessary Affair for curing the Provis's. Mr. Carlyle writes me he has sent up 200 Bush's, but that's a Trifle to w't will be wanted, as we are likely to have a large No. of Forces in a short Time, so I desire You will send a considerable Qu'ty up, y't there [may] be no Loss for the want thereof. Mr. Walker has given Security for his Conduct, and I have desired Mr. Withers²³³ to sign the Bond as Security for You. I hope You have ordered the Boats to be built, y't the Forces or Provis's may not be delayed at the different runs of Water. When the Money now sent is near expended, send down, and I shall give You a further Supply. Excuse brevity, being much hurried, and I rem'n,

Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—I hope the Recruits were march'd for Win'r. The Flour in bls. may be kept with You, and at Winchester, y't in Baggs to be sent to the Camp.

²⁴⁰ William Withers, the private Secretary of Governor Dinwiddie, was born in Lancaster, England, in 1731, and came to Virginia in 1745, as the heir of an estate called "Chotank," in Stafford county, devised by a relative, John Withers, by will dated August 29, 1698. His estate had been sold by Sarah Withers, the daughter of the testator, to Augustine Washington, who had devised it to his son Samuel. The title of Washington being contested by Withers, the rights of the latter were satisfied by the consideration of £600, and the transaction affirmed by Act of Assembly. (*Hening*, vi, pp. 313-16). Withers was first employed in Nansemond county as clerk by Anthony Walke. He afterwards found like employment in Williamsburg, and located finally in Dinwiddie county, at a place still known as "Kingston." He married in 1761, Priscilla Wright, of Nansemond county. Their descendants include the worthy names of Atkinson, Adams, Broadnax, Clay, Draper, Grammer, Hawkins, Lay, LeVert, Walke, and Wright. For a deduction of them, see *Slaughter's History of Bristol Parish*, 2d ed.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Dec'r 28th, 1754.

SIR:

I hope this will be delivered You by Mr. Thos. Walker, who is joined with Mr. Dick as Commissaries for Provisions, &c.; he comes to reside at the Camp, and has Money to pay for Provis's as they come in. I recomend him to Y'r Friendship, and he has a pretty Sum of Money. I wish You to take him into Y'r Tent for Safety. He is a very honest, Good natured Man. We may very soon expect a good reinforcement from G. B., w'ch will require a large Qu'ty of Provis's. Advise the Bearer the most proper Method to secure a Qu'ty of Flour. I believe Mr. Dick will contract for Pork to be sent to the Camp. I am very much hurried, and can only add my sincere Wishes for Y'r Health, &c. I remain,

Sir, Y'r affect. Friend and h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK.

Dec'r 29th, 1754.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r by Mr. Stewart, w'ch is pretty fully answer'd in my Let'r by Mr. Walker, who left this [place] this Morn'g, and I suppose will be with You before this reaches You, and I repeat my Desire of having a good Qu'ty of Salt at the Camp, and must refer You to my above Let'r. I approve of Y'r Salting Pork in Bings till You can get bls., and I am of Opinion a large Qu'ty may rem'n dry salted and sent out so, but this I must refer to You and Mr. Walker. The providing Provis's is w't I have chiefly in View, and my greatest dependence is in Y'r Industry and Care, and I shall secure a Qu'ty below to be sent up to Y'r Place. You must lay in some Pork at Winch'r, to supply the Forces on their March. I have a Let'r from Capt. Fraser, complain'g of want of Small Arms; I order'd some for him at Hampton, but he sailed with't them. I have now ordered all at Alexa'a to be sent to Winch'r, where the recruits will re-

ceive them. Let Fraser know this, as I am so hurried I cannot write him. I w'd not, by any means, have You come here at present, as the Season of the Year requires double Diligence to secure w't Provis's You can. I remain, with respect,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL SPOTSWOOD.²⁴¹

Dec'r 29th, 1754.

SIR:

You was so kind as to promise to cast some Iron Shott y't are wanted for the Expedit'n. The Diment's are to be 3 Inch's 5-10 Diam'r. Y'r Favo. in Ordering a No. of them will be very obliging, and You shall be duly p'd by,

Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LIEUTENANT JOSHUA LEWIS.²⁴²

Dec'r 29th, 1754.

SIR:

Your several Let's I rec'd. Am sorry for the Mistake of the Dimentions in casting the Iron Shott. I have wrote Colo. Spotswood, if not yet cast, to alter the Dimensions to 3 Inches 5-10, agreeable to Y'r Let's. I wish You Health and Prosperity, and am,

Sir, Your Friend, &c.

²⁴¹ Colonel Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, 1710-1722. See "*Letters*," etc. *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, New Series, vol. i.*

²⁴² This was doubtless the Mr. Lewis mentioned *ante*, p. 398.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

Dec'r 29th, 1754.

SIR :

I rec'd Y'r Let'r by Mr. Stewart with't Date. You send him for Money to pay the Men, w'ch You think will amo. to 1,200[£]; this is a Gross Guess, and cannot possibly be near y't Money, as you know it is agreed to stop 2d. ⁸/₉ Day from their Clothing. In my last I told You each Capt. must furnish a roll of their Men, w'ch, being attested by You, will plainly shew the just dem'd from each Compa. However, to encourage the Men to march with Alertness, I send You by Mr. Stewart 1,000[£], which I am perswaded will pay the whole, and You must furnish me with seperate Muster rolls from each Compa., with the Capt's receipt on the back of it, to be laid before the Comittee. It was lucky the Treasurer was in Town to desire the favo. of me to advance the above Sum; and Indeed I should have p'd it with more Chearfulness if they had been at W's C. to assist building the Fort, &c. I suppose You will now very soon march for y't Place. I sent up 100£ to Fredericksb'g to pay some of the recruits. Below You have the Names and date of the Officers appointed since I saw You here. I have ordered Cloth'g from Home, and have given w't c'd be pick'd up here for the recruits. You must send imediately all the Small Arms You have, to Winch'r for the recruits, tak'g a receipt from the different Commanders for the No. delivered for the Use of his Co'y, and transmit me Acc't thereof. You must pay Your own Balla. out of the Money now sent, and transmit me a Copy of Y'r last Acc't. w'ch made [£]22 14s. in Y'r favo. The Hhd. of rum belongs to Gov'r Sharpe, and was sent by his Order. The granting of Furlows for so many Men, and their Pay running with't any Service, is a great load on the Country; their being so long unemploy'd I hope will incite them to double Diligence w'n they come to the Camp. I wish You Health and Success, and am,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL FAIRFAX.

1st Jan'y, 1755.

SIR:

Y'r favo. of the 26th Ult'o I duly rec'd, and enclos'd You an Ensign's Com'o. for Mr. Wood; let him know it's on Your Applicat'n and recomendat'n y't he gets it, and hope he will behave accordingly. I have taken all the Measures I can to provide Provis's for the Forces, but I still fear y't I shall not be able to provide a proper Qu'ty. I hope those from B. will be here the end of this Mo. Maj'r Carlyle is certainly blamable in regard to Salt; he told me, when here in Oct'r. y't there was a Qu'ty sent up, and believe it was charg'd in his Acc't given the Comittee. As to Mr. Gist's coming down with him, I do [not ?] know for w't Intent. It gives me Concern for the many Complaints ag'st Mr. Carlyle; his Acc'ts never have been correct, and those given me, want Amendm't. With the Complim'ts of the Season to You and Y'rs and many repetit's thereof is the sincere Wish of,

Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN WAGGENER.

Jan'y 1st, 1755.

SIR:

I rec'd Y's by Y'r Bro.,²⁴³ who I have given an Ensign's Com'o. I hope he will behave agreeably therein. I have sent Mo[ney] to Co. Stephens to pay the Forces to the last of Dec'r. Capt. Stewart, who I suppose is now with You, p'd his recruits till the time they left Petersburg, and I sent 100£ by Mr. Finnie to pay among the rest of the recruits, so y't I can spare no Mo[ney] at pres't. I have ordered all the Small Arms from Alex'a, to meet You at Winch't'r; I expect You will march there with all Expedit'n. There was some Arms at Hampton, but Mr. Fraser did not tarry to receive them and 30 Tents; but I

²⁴³ This was probably Edmund Waggener, killed at the defeat of Braddock.

have ordered them immediately up to Fredericksburg, or Alexa'a. Send down the Acc'ts of enlisting Y'r Men, and give C'r for the Money You rec'd, y't they may be laid before the Comittee. I wish You a good Junction with the rest of the Forces, and I remain,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

P. S. Colo. Stephens has my Orders to receive the Muster roll from each Capt. of their Company, and give them Mo[ney]; to pay them, w'ch he must transmit to me, with their respective receipts thereon. I desire the two Smiths, with their Tools, may be sent immediately to the Camp.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

Jan'y 1st, 1755.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'rs, and am glad the Officers have had so good Success in recruiting, and I expect on return of this, You immediately march for Winch'r. The gent. Officers must remain easy some Time with the Comiss'ns they have, and they sh'd consider, if at home, they w'd have served some Years and p'd a considerable Sum, e'er they had the rise they now have, but I shall always have a regard for them according to their Seniority. I gave You my reasons in my last Let'r for appointing Capt's Stewart and Cocke. I think Mr. Bullett requires Notice, and shall [accord it to him] as soon as I can with Conveniency. You ment'n one Mr. Hamilton, with't his Xtian Name. I am glad of the Character you give of him, and some time hence I hope to advance him. The Officers of the new recruits have the Acc't of their advance, and I desire You to order each officer to send down the Expende of recruiting, and the No. each Person enlisted, to be laid before the Comittee. Supply Y'r Men with Frugality with Cloths to keep them from the Inclemency of the Weather, and Send down the Acc'ts, with't any regard to the 25s. p Man, formerly allow'd. You no doubt have rec'd the Money sent You by Mr. Stewart, w'ch will, I hope, pay all Y'r Men to the last of Dec'r.

If Gov'r Sharpe has not contradicted Y'r Orders, I desire You make all possible haste to the Camp at W's Creek.

I am, Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Jan'y 2d, 1755.

SIR:

I have waited with impatience to hear what Y'r Assembly and y't of Pensylva'a have done in regard to their grant'g Supplies for the Expedit'n. By a Ship from Londo. I underst'd His M'y and the Ministry are very Sanguine in grant'g proper Supplies of Men and Ordnance Stores. The Transports were to sail from Gravesend to Ireländ the 1st of Nov'r, to bring over two regim'ts, and y't Mr. Shirley and S'r Wm. Pepperell were to raise two regim'ts in New England; the Officers all nominated for these regim'ts, w'ch, I presume, is to make a diversion ag'st the Fr. to the No'ward. The Forces from Irel'd may be expected here the End of this Mo. or early in Feb'ry. The providing Provis's is w't I have greatly in my Tho'ts. I have sent the Comissaries to the Camp with Mo. to purchase Flour and Pork in the frontier Count's, and am endeavouring to purchase a Qu'ty of Pork here, to be sent to the Camp. I have found here two Mortars and 40 Shells fit for Service, with the two p'r of Wheels You desired to be made. I desire Y'r Advice whether to order them to Fredericksbug, Alexa'a or rock Creek; if to the last Place, pray write me the Person's Name I am to recomend them to be forwarded by, and if you think y't the best Convey'ce, I must send the bld. Pork to y't Place. I shall earnestly endeavour to provide a large Qu'ty. I have had pretty good Success in recruiting. I believe our Forces from this Gov't are now ab't 500, and hope by the Middle of next Mo. to make them at least 800. The Cha's of recruit'g run very high. Pray, have you ordered the Purchase of 20 Waggons and Horses? Let me know if I shall send you Bills of Excha. to pay for them. You desired the Guns from Capt. Arbuthnott to be charg'd to you, and the Hhd. of Rum; they are sent up to Alexa'a, and enclos'd

You have the Acc't thereof, if You desire me to pay it, it shall be done. As you wrote me You intended to order the Forces at Alexandria to march to the Camp, I have sent Mo. to pay them to the last of Dec'r, and have desir'd them to march immediately if they have Y'r Orders so to do. It's a Pitty they have been so long idle, they might have been Serviceable at the Camp; there are 200 at Fredericksburg, w'ch I have ordered to Winch'r to join those from Alexa'a, and there will be Provis's for them there. And I ordered the Comissaries to endeavour to purchase 4 Waggon, if possible, to reduce the monstrous hire of Waggon, in w'ch Article we have been greatly impos'd on by an extravagant Charge. Pray write me w'n you intend for the Camp. I have been endeavour'g to procure Carpenters and Coopers, but as yet have had no Success. I sent to Fredericksb'g two Smiths with Bellows, Anvil and Tools, with Orders to proceed directly to W's Creek. As I expect a Supply of Ordnance Stores I suspend purchas'g any for the Pres't. Let me know w't is immediately want'd, y't I can purchase here. The Assembly of No. Car. is now Sitting, but w't they have done I know not. I wrote to all my Friends at Home the Necessity of a Supply from the Parliam't, w'ch I have some reasons to expect. I heartily wish You Health, and Success in Your Conduct'g the Expedit'n, and I rem'n, With very great regard and Esteem,

Y'r Ex's most obd't humble servant.

P. S. I presume You will hire Men to drive the Waggon by the Year?

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Jan'y 7th, 1755.

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of the 12th Dec'r I did not receive till last Night, and Y'rs by Mr. Wolstonholme,²⁴⁴ of the 26th Dec'r, I rec'd a few Days ago. The two Comissaries I appointed are ordered, one of them [to] rem'n with the Forces, and I suppose one of them is with the Camp before this; the other is to travel the frontier Counties to engage Provis's to be drove to the Camp. I gave

²⁴⁴Daniel Wostenholme, merchant at Annapolis, Maryland.

them the 2,000^l this Mo., and w'n y't is expended, to send down a careful Person for more. Their Orders from me are to provide all the Beef and Pork they can purchase, and have ordered them to send up a Qu'ty of Salt to cure them. There is a Qu'ty gone from F'bg. I mention'd 1,000 Bush's, or more, if possible, to be carried out. I recomend'd the making of large Troughs to dry Salt—w't they c'd, till b'ls c'd be provided. They also have my Orders to purchase all the Bacon they possibly can, and to have many of the Cattle Stall-fed all this Winter, and to engage to pay for them accordingly. I sent up blank bonds to tie the Venders down to a punctual Compliance with their Agreem'ts, and as You propose being so soon at the Camp, Y'r Presence and Direct's will be of great Service. I approve the Carriage by Horses preferable to Wag-gons, if a proper Number can be purchas'd, for the reasons You so justly assign, but as [to] the Carriage of the Provis's w'n the Forces march, I did not mention to the Comissaries. Therefore Y'r direct's on y't Point will be necessary. No doubt it's full Time the Cattle at or near the Camp sh'd be Slaughtered and Cured, and no doubt they will take proper Care of the Hides and Tallow, and I think there sh'd not be less than four Mo's' Provis's in the Magazine. The Forces expected from B. (w'ch I wrote You of in my last) I am told bring three Mo's' Provis's from Irel'd, but as I have no certain Acc't thereof, I w'd continue to provide all we can, and after Your Troops begin to march, I agree with You y't they sh'd always have a Mo's' Provis's on the Place wherever they encamp. I left it discretionary with the Comissaries to purchase w't Provis's of the different Species they c'd, at same Time not to make a larger Purchase y'n they had Salt to cure, so y't I cannot determine on Johnson's or Cresap's Beeves, but if there is Salt enough, to be sure they will be glad to take them; if they have not Salt, can they be stall-fed till the Sumer Mo's? I, therefore, must refer this to Your Direct'n. I was in hopes Pensylva'a w'd have granted an Aid; if so, I was in hopes of hav'g a large Qu'ty of Flour from thence, but I have not heard w't they have done. I wish You had purchas'd a few more Waggon, and a trusty Person to go to Lancaster to buy Horses will be of great Service.

I thot't it convenient, for fear of Delay on Potomack river to

send many Things and some recruits to Fred'b'g, but, as I am informed y't there will be a good Supply of Ordnance Stores, I shall be glad with Y'r Advice to send them to rock Creek, and if the Qu'ty be large, divid'g them to F'cks'b'g and rock Creek may be more eligible for Dispatch. I fear the Comissaries will meet with Difficulty in purchas'g Horses. I have desired them to buy three Waggons to be employ'd from Winch'r to the Camp. Mr. Carlyle sent me a Copy of the Acc't sent You, but as his Acc'ts must pass the Comittee, I w'd not peruse it, but as usual, complain'g much the want of Money. I sent him 150£. I wonder Gist sh'd have spent Montour's Money; he produc'd an Order from him, and he rec'd the Mo. accordingly.

The Com'o. to Montour was to com'd a Party of Ind's as Scouts, w'ch You will see by the Com'o., and indeed to protect his Person. I never did hear before I rec'd Y'r Letter y't he had a Company of White People, and indeed I suspect it's a Trick of the Woodsmen, who are always plodding for Mo. After the Skirmish at the Meadows he went to his own House, and if the People he says he listed, had rem'd with the others, they might have claim'd their Provis's, but keeping them, as he aledges, so long in Pay and providing them with Provisions, appears to me an Imposition from the Traders and Woodsmen. As to himself, I have a good Opinion of him, and shall be directed by You w't to give him, or in w't Stat'n to continue him, as he may be of Service, but as to his men and their Maintenance so long, appears to me an Imposit'n; if he belongs to the Forces, he sh'd have march'd with them and rec'd Orders, w'ch he has not done. I am surpriz'd of the Reinforcem't You mention being repeated to You with't any Intimat'n thereof from Mr. DeLancey, w'ch, from former Letters, I had reason to expect, if they pass'd Oswego Fort. I am sorry Y'r Assembly is prorogued with't grant'g a fresh Supply, but as they are to meet You soon, I hope they will come with warm Inclinat's to support the Expedition. I heartily wish our Forces were join'd to those at W. C. for fear the Fr. sh'd surprize y't Place, and indeed our People may be properly employ'd if there. I observe you have ordered Colo. Stephen to collect all his troops in order to march from Belhaven, but the sending for those at Fredericksburg to join those at Belh'n, is, I conceive, wrong, as F'b'g is as near Winchester as B—n, they lie in a Tryangle, w'ch made me order them at F'b'g to march to Win't'r

where they w'd meet the other Forces from Belhaven, if this is agreeable to You, You may contradict Y'r former Orders on that Head, as it will save a march of 50 Miles from Fr'g to B—n. I gave no Orders for our Forces to be divided into separte Companies, till they were all collected together, as there were but very few Men in this Country's pay when You was here, but now, by recruiting, they may be properly settled in Companies. The Officers I have appointed since I saw You, were obliged to raise different Numbers [of] Men. I send You a List of the Officers that have received Comissions from me, and the Ensigns marked with a X, I think may be preferred to Lieut'ys, but I shall wait for Y'r Approbat'n therein. I find our People are very retentive of having our Forces Com'd'd by Officers appointed by me, and from this Colony, which I suppose You will agree to. I have ordered the Shott for the Brass Pss. to be cast 3 5-10 Diameter, but I dread getting them done in Time, tho' I have wrote very pressingly to Colo. Spotswood on y't Head. Capt. Arbuthnott was here lately, and says his Sailors will not go under 18d $\frac{3}{4}$ Day. I told him to let me have 4 at that Pay. The small brass Gun at York, I hear is not very good, and getting the Shott is difficult, therefore, I think we better suspend it, as there are many Ordnance Stores expected out, w'ch I presume will be all of an equal Calabar and Shott with them. I have sent up two Smiths with bellows and Tools to F—g with Orders to send them directly to the Camp, w'ch with those You have engag'd, I presume will be sufficient. I send You by Mr. Wostenholems a Packet from Eng., w'ch I rece'd last Night, w'ch I suppose will give You a distinct Acc't of the Forces intended for this Place, the acc'ts I have are very Superficial, and not to be depended on further y'n y't the Transports were to sail from Gravesend for Ireland the 1st of Nov'r, and y't we may expect 1,500 Men. Who is to Com'd them is uncert'n, but I suppose they will send a Gen'l Officer, tho' probably under Y'r Com'd. You may have the Com'd of our Forces and those raised in Y'r Province. Upon my Arrival to my Gov't I found War subsisted between the No'ern and So'ern Ind's, w'ch I was very anxious to reconcile and make Peace between them. The May following I sent a Pres't to the Ind's on the Ohio. At y't Time the Fr. and their Ind's had taken a Town of the Twightwees, killed several of our Traders,

and many of the Twightwees, in particular their King, whose Heart, I hear, was roasted and eaten by the Fr. Officer. Part of the above present was sent to the Twightwees, with an Invitation to their new King and some of their Warriors to come to Winch'r to receive a further Pres't. They accordingly came, and assured us of their fix'd F'dship, and y't they never w'd be reconcil'd to the Fr. I did again invite them to Win. last May, hav'g still in view the mak'g a firm Peace with our F'dly Ind's to the No'w'd and the So'w'd. The Fr. taking our Fort and Sett'l'g on the Ohio, I think was the only reason they c'd not come, or the other Ind's I expected to y't Place, but if w't is reported of their having killed many of the Fr. and their Ind's be true, they appear to me to be firm in their F'dship to us, and I think a Messenger sh'd have been sent to them before this, as I wrote you by Burney. He wrote me you had employ'd another Person, but yet I do not think it too late to let them know we are determined to support them and protect their Lands. If You send them Word of the Preparat's we are making, [it] may be of great Service, but it must be by a Trusty Messenger. We have nobody here y't can make a proper Belt of Wampum to send them, but I shall, by [the] very first Opp'ty, send Wampum to the Camp to make a Belt of to be sent to them, and I think no Time is to be lost in Sending them a Message. I understand by Colo. Innes y't some of the No'ern Ind's are to meet some of the Catawbias at Winch. next Apr. Pray w'n You come to the Camp consult w't will be proper to be done on y't Meeting. As Apr. is the Time our Gen'l Court meets I cannot possibly attend in Person, but if a Commissioner from me be necessary I will send one. That every Thing under Y'r Conduct may succeed to Y'r and my Desire, is the sincere Wish of

Y'r Ex's most oblig'd h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—Last Night I rec'd a Let'r from one Mr. John Marke, from N. York, who comes recommended by L'd Halifax, &c. He proposes to shew a Model for a floating Battery to carry two Mortars and 32 Twenty-four Pounders, and many other Schemes. He proposes com'g to the So'w'd, and probably may call on You.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Jan'y 11th, 1755.

SIR:

The Bearer hereof, Mr. Robert Calender, bro't me Y'r Bill on me for £447, 4s. 6d. which I immediately p'd, and this Day I rec'd Y'rs of the 8th, and I am much of Opinion You had better meet Y'r Assembly, and endeavour to perswade them to grant a further Supply. The Packet by this Bearer was wrote some Days ago for Mr. Wostenholems, but he is not yet come from Hampton, to y't Let'r I pray to be referred. The Bearer also brings You a Packet from Engl'd, w'ch I wish safe to Y'r Hands. The Packets I have from England do not require the imediate Meeting of our Assembly, as it is chiefly to endeavour to get further Supply of Mo'y, w'ch I cannot at this time expect, as they c'd not know at Home the Vote of £20,000. Last Night S'r John St. Clair²⁴⁵ arriv'd here in His M'y's Ship Gibralter, and with him two L't Colo's for the two Regim'ts to be raised to the No'w'd, and they propose paying their Respects to You soon. S'r Jno. St. Clair is appointed Q'r Mast'r Gen'l of all the Forces; he and I go for Hampton To-morrow Morn'g, to provide an Hospital for the Forces expected from Ireland, w'ch he says may be daily expected to arrive. On his Return here he proposes going for W's Creek to give some Direct's for building Barracks for receiving the Troops expected. Therefore, I conceive it very proper, You shou'd send Y'r Orders to W's Creek to direct so many People as may be wanted to compleat that essential and necessary Business. I find that the two Regim'ts expected are to be compleated to 700 Men each, by a Supply from the Recruits raised in these Colonies of 400 Men. I have agreed with the Bearer for 100 Horses with Saddles, Bridles, Belts, &c., and forty to be delivered at W. Creek the first week in Feb'y, and Sixty the first of March, for w'ch he is to have

²⁴⁵ St. Clair remained for a long time in service in America. On the 20th March, 1756, he was made a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixtieth regiment; in January, 1758, received the local rank of Colonel in America, and February 19, 1762, was made a full Colonel. He is said to have dwelt near Tarbot, in Argyleshire. At the defeat of Braddock, he "was shot through the body, under the right pap."—*Sargent's Braddock's Expedition*, p. 285.

10℥ 8 pss., and is to carry 200 w't of Flour on each Horse, to be p'd at the Market Price. I wish You Health and Happiness, and am,

Sir, Your most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR MORRIS.

Jan'y 14th, [1755].

SIR:

This will be delivered You by L't-Colo. Ellison,²⁴⁶ who, with L't-Colo. Mercer, are Comission'd by his M'y for the two Regim'ts to be rais'd in the No'ern Colonies, and are on their way to the Place of their Determinat'n. I have waited with Impatience to hear the result of Y'r Assembly, and hope they have generously voted an handsom Supply for the necessary and essential Exedit'n. His M'y has been graciously pleas'd to order two Regim'ts of Foot from Irel'd, to assist us in defeating the unjustifiable Invasion of the Fr. on His M'y's Lands on the Ohio. The provid'g of Provis's for such a No. of Forces I have much at Heart, and must entreat Y'r Assistance. Can You engage with any Person in Y'r Gov't to supply 600,000 lbs. of Flour to be delivered at the Magazine at W. Creek, w'ch I earnestly entreat You to engage to be d——d there on the most reasonable Terms and with all imaginable Dispatch w'ch will be of essential Use for His M'y's Service, w'ch I am perswaded You have as much at Heart as I have. Pray, can any Qu'ty of Salt Beef be purchas'd with You, to be d'd at same Place, and the price thereof? If Y'r Assembly Votes a proper Supply, the Amo. of above may be p'd from y't; if not, as the Service is not to be hurt for want of Provis's, I will engage to pay the Amo. thereof. I am greatly engag'd in making proper Provis's for the Forces y't are daily expected, y't I cannot enlarge further y'n to acquaint You I have raised about 600 Men, and I hope by Middle of next Mo. to compleat them to 800, and I w'd

²⁴⁶Robert Ellison was commissioned Colonel of Sir Peter Halket's regiment, November 22, 1755.

gladly hope y't His M'y's paternal Care of his Subjects in these Colonies will create a proper Spirit in each Legislature to grant mutual Supplies for the Comon Cause. I remain, with due Respects and just regard,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ'R,²⁴⁷
PHILADELPHIA.

Jan'y 14th, [1755].

DEAR SIR:

Y'r kind Letter by Mr. Donald I duly rec'd, and he sincerely acknowledges the F'dship You was so kind as to shew him. Y'r Observat's on the pres't unhappy Situat'n of our Affairs on this Cont't are very just. His M'y and the Ministry at Home take the unjust Invasion of the Fr. on the Ohio sincerely into their Considerat'n, and have ordered out two Regim'ts from Irel'd with large Ordnance Stores, and appointed Gen'l Braddock to com'd, who, with the Forces, are daily expected. The Supply'g them with Provis's is w't I have much at Heart, and fear it will not be possible to effect it in this Dom'n. I have, therefore, wrote to Gov'r Morris for 600,000 lbs. of Flour from your Province, to be d'd at our Magazine at W. Creek, at a certain Price as may be agreed on; but as I have no great Acquaint'ce with y't Gent., I fear Delay, w'ch may be of ill Consequences. Doth not y'r Colony grant a Supply? if so, the Amo. of above may be p'd out of it, but rather than to have any Disappointm't, if You will speak to the Gov'r, and if he declines to order the above Qu'ty, if You will be so good as to make the Purchase, to be d'd as above, I will reimburse You in Cash or by Bills of Excha. Please speak to the Gov'r on this head in a proper Manner (as you well know) not to give offence, and on

²⁴⁷ Presumably, the son of William Allen, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, (see note, *ante* page 16,) and who entered the Revolution as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Continental service, but in 1778 raised a regiment of Pennsylvania loyalists. "He was noted for wit, good humor, and for affable and gentlemanly manners."—*Sabine's American Loyalists*, 2d ed., 1864.

his Answer You know how to comply with the above Request. I know I have no right to ask this Favo., or w'd I do it if it was not for the Service of this necessary Expedition, w'ch I hope will plead my Excuse with You. And be assured at all Times You may freely Command,

Sir, Y'r affect. h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DELANCEY.

Jan'y 14th, [1755.]

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of the 29th Nov'r I rec'd two Days ago. Capt. Mark wrote me a Letter about his floating Battery, &c., but as he wrote he w'd not be above a Fortnight at N. York, I have not answer'd his Let'r, believing he intended this way. If he comes I shall do him any Service in my Power, w'ch please tell him, if still with You. This, I hope, will be d'd You by L't-Colo. Ellison, who, with L't-Colo. Mercer, are appointed to the Regim'ts to be raised in the No'ern Colonies. His M'y has ordered two Regim'ts to our Assistance, w'ch are daily expected. The provid'g Provis's for such Numbers, I have much at Heart, and am under Apprehensions it will be very difficult. I have, therefore, wrote Gov'r Morris to assist me with Bread kind from his Province. There has been at our Camp, at W. Creek, the Heads of some Nat's of Ind's y't last Year had joined with the French, but have desired to be rece'd into the Friendship of the English, and have promised to behave for the Future with great Faith and Sincere Affect'n to us and our Interest. There is an Affair prevails at the Camp y't the N. York Comissioners at Albany have concluded a Neutrality with the Caghuawaga Ind's., the Chief Nat'n in Canada in the Fr. Int't, and y't this is only to support them in their Trade from Albany with the Fr. If this is true, I think it's a sordid Step to Trade with our Enemies in any Shape after they have so notoriously broke the Peace by Invading His M'y's Lands and taken of his Forts, and such Trade at this Time must be very destructive to the B'h Int't and the Affairs we have in View; the Consequences thereof I hear is y't

a great Number of our Ind's are actually gone to Canada to make a Peace with the Fr. and to receive Pres'ts. Pray, is this true? I entirely agree with You y't some Forts sh'd be built among the Six Nat's, and at same Time all possible means sh'd be used to get them to take up the Hatchet against the Fr., w'ch I think w'd not be difficult if properly informed of the many Forces we shall have on the Ohio in a short time, and if this c'd be effected by a new Treaty at Onondago, I think may prove of essential Service, but the Comissioners at Albany are tho't by many to have too near a Connect'n with the Fr. out of lucrative Views. I tho't it necessary to apprise You of this, being convinced y't You will give no Countenance to such inconsistent and unjustifiable Conduct. I shall be glad of Y'r Answer to the above, and desire to assure You I rem'n, with great respect,

Y'r Hon'r's most humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR BELCHER.

Jan'y 14th, 1755.

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of the 2d Dec'r and its Duplicate I duly rec'd, and observe Y'r Assembly had projected a Bill w'ch is sent Home for His M'y's Approbat'n, by w'ch they had given ab't 6,000*£* St'g as an Aid in the present Emergency, and y't You c'd not expect an Answer to their Pet'n to the King till the Spring. Delays now are very unseasonable, and I heartily wish their Grant of above Money had imediately taken Place. This probably will be delivered You by Lieut.-Colo. Ellison, who, with Lieut. Colo. Mercer, are appointed to the Regim'ts to be raised in the Northern Colonies, and I desire to refer You to them for News from Engl'd. His M'y having ordered two Regim'ts from Irel'd, I daily expect them, and the Com'd is given to Gen'l Braddock, who is expected with the Forces from Irel'd. The providing Provis's for so many Men I have much at Heart, and makes me very uneasy. However, shall do all in my Power. I hope by middle of next Mo. I shall compleat the Number of our Forces from this Dom'n from 800 to 1,000. All Y'r Let'rs but y't of the

eight of Apr. came to my hands. I am very much hurried, must, therefore, leave off; with my sincere Respects, I rem'n
Y'r Ex's most humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHIRLEY.

Jan'y 14th, [1755].

SIR:

I hope this will be delivered You by Mr. Ellison, who is appointed L't Colo. to the Regim't You are to raise and Com'd, and I heartily wish it were soon completed. Gen'l Braddock is appointed Com'd'r in Chief on this Expedit'n, and I think may be daily expected with two Regim'ts from Irel'd, and we have a good Q'ty of Ordnance Stores expected out.

His M'y's paternal Care of his Subjects in these Colonies, I hope will meet with suitable Returns from the Legislature of each Colony, by a mutual Supply for conducting this essential Expedit'n with a proper Spirit. Our Colony have voted 20,000£, and in Consequence thereof, I have raised 800 Men, but the providing Provis's for such Numbers I have much at Heart, and I fear it will be attended with great Difficulties. I am, therefore, to beg the Favo. of You to speak to some of Your Merch'ts to purchase 300 Quintals²⁴⁸ of dried Cod Fish, hire a small Sloop to land it at Alexa'a, the head of Poto'k River in this Dom'n, and [I] hope they will purchase it at the most reasonable Price. The Amo. thereof and the F't of the Vessell I will imediately pay in Cash or Bills of Excha. on Londo., at the Curr't Excha. with You, but, Sir, I must beg the Favo. of You to direct the Merch't to purchase and forw'd the above with all imaginable Dispatch. We have Acc'ts here y't the Fr. on the Ohio are reinforced with 1,100 Fr. and Ind's from Canada, but I hope it will not prove True. However, if the Regulars arrive in Time to be on the Ohio the Beginning of Mar., [they] will be of essential Service, as at y't Time I believe the Lakes and Rivers will not be open for their sending more Forces and Provis's down y't River, and I have much De-

²⁴⁸ The English quintal was 112 pounds, the French 100.

pendence on Y'r Regim't and S'r Wm. Pepperell's²⁴⁹ making a strong Diversion near Canada. Pray God grant Success to our just Expedition, and enable us to drive our Enemies from the Lands they have so unjustly Invaded. I shall be much obliged for a Letter from You on the pres't Situat'n of our Affairs, and be assur'd I rem'n, with great Esteem and Respect,
Y'r Ex's most ob'd't humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Jan'y 15th, [1755.]

DEAR JAMES:

Y'r Let'r of the 2d came to my Hands the 13th, and [I] observe its Cont'ts. I have Y'r Receipt for 300[£], w'ch will be a Voucher to me; the whole I have charged to Y'r Acc't, with the Money p'd Carlyle, and w'n I see You the Acc't shall be regulated as You may think proper. Colo. Hunter has the Sales of the Pork ready, as is mine on the Books, whenever

²⁴⁹ Sir William Pepperell, Bart., born at Kittery Point, Me., June 27, 1696; died there July 6, 1759. His father, William, came from Wales to New England as an apprentice to a fisherman. The son, originally a merchant, possessed those characteristics of mind and body which fitted him for a military career in a country exposed to Indian hostility. He attained distinction: member of the Council from 1727 until his death, and was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1730. He commanded the expedition which captured Louisburg, June 16, 1745, for which he was, in 1746, created a baronet. Visiting England in 1749, he was made a Colonel in the British army; became Major-General in 1755, and Lieutenant-General in 1759. He was for thirty years one of the commissioners to treat with the Eastern Indians, and as President of the Council was acting Governor of Massachusetts from the death of Phipps, in March, 1756, until the arrival of Pownall in 1758. He published "Conference With the Penobscot Tribe," Boston, 8vo, 1753. His grandson, William P. Sparhawk, Harvard University, 1766, died at London, December 17, 1816, aged seventy, assumed his name, and was created a baronet, October 29, 1774. He was a loyalist, and the vast Pepperell estates were confiscated in 1778. He was allowed £500 by the British Government. He was one of the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society.—*Drake's Biog. Dic.*

You think proper to call for it. The Article You men'n y't are in Mr. Carlyle's Acc't are very irregular, as he had no Orders to supply Y'r Regim't with any Thing but Provis's and Waggon's. Y'r Let's to Watson & Co., and those for No. Car., shall be forwarded in a few Days. I am sensible Mr. Carlyle did not do his Duty, but hope before this, Mr. Walker is at the Camp, by whom I sent 2,000 £ to buy Provis's; tho' I fear it's so late in the Year there will be great Difficulty in procuring sufficient for the Number of Forces expected. Carlyle saying he had no Business with any but the Virginians, is not true, for I have p'd him large Sums for the Ind't Companies. I never doubted of Y'r industrious Care of every Thing for the Public Service, and I am still pleased with Y'r whole Conduct, and shall be glad if You can remain till the Forces from B. arrive, they are daily expected.

I am glad of the last Congress You had with the Ind's, and wish You had been more particular as to the different Nat's, but cannot think it proper to print it, my reason [I] shall give You at Meeting. Where was Mr. Montour, who was ordered to attend the Camp to interpret? I have sent a Qu'ty of White Wampum, I have no black, it must be bought. I know y't Whiskey and Tob'o are very necessary, and w't You have purchas'd will be allow'd. I wish You had sent Word w't Money You wanted, if You will draw on me by return of Jenkins, I will send Money to pay the Dem'ds ag'st You at Winch'r. There will not be much object'n ab't the Horses, and I am in great Hopes Y'r different Treaties with the Ind's, will be of great service to the Public. Capt. Trent is vastly impudent in regard to his Dem'd for the Timber, the Cooper [had] best take w't is wanted anywhere, with't asking Quest's. I agree with You in hav'g a considerable Qu'ty of Land [a]round the Fort You have built, kept for the Public, and I wish I c'd get some Hands to manure Part, and plant Corn, if You possibly can effect such a Thing, the Cha's shall be p'd, but [I] cannot get any Person here to go up to undertake it, w'ch w'd be very useful on the different Acc'ts You ment'n. We shall soon have Mortars, Coehorns and all other Ordnance Stores from England. I will endeavour to buy Match Coats or small Blankets. I wish You to write w't You think will be proper to be done at Winch'r, in Apr. next, if You think the Ind's will meet there. Y'r Colony must stand charg'd for the Blankets You gave to Y'r Regiment.

Fraser was Lieut. of the Fort w'n taken; he left his Duty and went to his House; he was sent for before the Fr. landed, but refused coming to his Duty, w'ch angered the People here. However, in a proper Time I shall endeavour to serve him. I rec'd Y'r Acc't of Goods suitable for an Ind'n Pres't, but it will not be possible at present to have these Goods for this Sumer. As to Croghan, I have no Opinion of him, his whole Views are Self Int't. As to sending to the Six Nat's by Colo. Johnson, I think [it] wrong, as he is so much attach'd to N. York, and, indeed, my whole Time is taken up in providing for the Troops expected, and I doubt not, when collected into a Body, the Six Nat's will apply to us for Protect'n, w'ch will be much more eligible than fauning on them after w't pass'd at Albany last Sumer, so much in Answer to Y'r Let'r. This will be delivered You by S'r Jno. St. Clair, appointed by Com'o. from His M'y Q'r M'r Gen'l of all the Forces, and certainly is a worthy, sensible Gent., and a brave Officer. He comes to the Camp to build proper Lodgem'ts for the Forces expected. I recomend him strongly to Y'r Acquaintance. You will find him an amiable Man in Conversat'n and of great knowledge in Military Affairs. I hope he will be received properly at the Camp, and You are to join him in having as many of the Men to assist in building such Houses as he may think necessary.

I wish You Health and Happiness, and am,

Sir, Y'r aff. Fr., &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAINS GEORGE MERCER,
WAGGENER AND STEWART.

Jan'y 15th, [1755].

GENT.:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r from F——g, w'ch surprized me, as I expected You were march'd for W——r. The one Day's Delay from the Snow cannot be helped, but there has been fine Weather ever since, and I doubt not Mr. Dick has provided Provis's at W——r, and there is a large Qu'ty of Flour at F——g. Each private Soldier can carry fo[u?]'r Days' Provis's of Bread kind. You may believe, under the great hurry of

Affairs, it gives me much Concern to hear of any Feuds between You and the People at F——g. I am ready to believe You w'd not venture to write me any Thing but Truth; however, as it is an Affair wherein the Justices have misbehaved, I sh'd be glad if You transmitted me the Acc't sworn to, and summon them to be Witnesses to Y'r Compl't, y't I may prosecute this Violence in a proper Manner, as they refused comply'g with Y'r request consist't with the Act of the Assembly. A Mob will always act in a Mobish Manner. The Justice's Duty is to suppress them and not to encourage their Insolence in breach of the Peace and Prejudice to his M'y's Service. When I have a little Time, I will examine into the whole of their bad Behaviour. I agree with You y't it will be impossible to keep them in good Order while in F——g. I, therefore, desire You to march immediately for W——r, and join the other Men from Alexa'a. I have sent 30*£* to C't Mercer, to pay their trifling Debts, but w'n You come into a Town You sh'd send the Drum with a Sergeant to desire y't no Body trust them, or they will not be paid. The Drummers must do as formerly: make Drum Heads and get some Sticks turned. I have none here to spare. There is neither a Stocking or Hat to be had here or at York.²⁵⁰ I soon expect a No. of each from Engl'd and other Clothing. Tell Y'r Men w'n they arrive they shall be properly supplied. Pray, take all possible Care in march'g them to W——r. I have ordered Small Arms up, but it's impossible they can be with You in Time. I wish You well, and am, Gent.,

Y'r Friend.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN MERCER.

Jan'y 15th, 1755.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r. How You was not Comission'd as You say, before some others, I cannot Acc't for, but this You sh'd consider y't at home You might have served twenty Years be-

²⁵⁰ Yorktown, which was chartered in 1705, and, before the Revolution, was so flourishing a mart, that the Nelsons, merchants there, are said to have imported goods for the supply of Baltimore, Md.

fore You had a Co'y, and then, with a large Purchase. As You wrote Y'r Men owe some small Trifles in F——g, I send You 30£ to pay them off; the Acc't thereof, send me down. I hope You will march immediately for W——r. I wish You Health, and am,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COMMISSARIES MESSRS.
CHARLES DICK AND T. WALKER.

Jan'y 15th, 1755.

GENT.:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 4th on the 12th. I am sorry for the bad prospect You have of purchas'g Provis's. However, I doubt not You will do all in Y'r Power to get w't Hoggs You can and secure all the Bacon. If Mr. Carlyle had sent Salt to the Camp we might have prevented this Disappointment. Have You not secured the Hoggs at the Sale of Sec'ry Carter's²⁵¹ Estate? I cannot say further on y's head y'n w't I formerly wrote on leaving it to Y'r good Managem't. I expected one of You had been at the Camp to Salt the Beeves y't are there, as they must fall away daily. The Recruits are ordered to march to W——r to prevent Mutiny and Desertion, and as there is a large Qu'ty of Flour at Fred'g for them, and [I] hope a good part of it at W——r, they must do the best they can till better Supplied. I am sorry to find so much Backwardness, being in Hopes the Boats were all begun, if not finished by this Time. If Mr. Perkins keeps up to his Engagem't, the Force at W's Creek cannot want Flour, and I will endeavour to Secure a large Qu'ty from Pennsylv'a, but in the mean Time, all at F——g

²⁵¹ This was John Carter, the eldest son of Robert ("King") Carter. He was Secretary of the Colony, for which office Bishop Meade states ("*Old Families*," etc., ii, p. 111,) he paid £1,500 sterling. According to the Carter Family Chart, prepared by Captain Robert R. Carter, "Shirley," James river, he married in 1723 Elizabeth Hill, and died in 1743, leaving issue: i, Elizabeth H., who married William Byrd (the third of the name); ii, Charles, of "Shirley"; iii, Edward, of "Blenheim,"

sh'd be divided on the Road, at proper Stages, w'n the Troops march, w'ch I desire You will direct. I am sorry You complain of the Salary fix'd to Y'r Appointm't. Each of You has more than Maj'r Carlyle had, and equal to a Major's Pay, and I told Mr. Walker y't extraordinary Cha's will be allowed. I had many Candidates for Y'r Office, but the Esteem I had for Y'r Justice and Capacity, gave You the Preference. If You continue in the same way of thinking, do the Duty till the End of Mar., and I shall make You easy on y't Head, as You are sensible it cannot be done imediately, and as You have begun, I desire You may continue till I see You, or a proper Time for appointing others. The want of Pork and Beef up with You gives me much Uneasiness, and the more, as it is not to be furnish'd from this [place], and two Regim'ts daily expected from Irel'd, w'ch will increase the Dem'd, and I much fear the Consequence in regard to the Expedit'n. Pray write me w't You have done, or may expect to do. I rem'n, with very great Regard, Gent.,

Y'r most humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN STEWART.

Jan'y 15th, [1755].

SIR:

Y'rs of the 6th, I rec'd the 12th. I am sorry Y'r Recruits are still at F—g; While they are in a Town they are apt to be debauch'd, and Idleness occasions Mutinies and Desert'n. I, therefore, desire they may be march'd to W—r. The want of Arms and Tents is the Fault of Mr. Fraser. I ordered Colo. Hunter to send by his Sloop 200 Arms and the Tents, he told Fraser they were on board the Man of War and [that he] w'd imediately send for them, but he sailed before the Boat ret'd. I shall be glad to have the Mo[ney] I advanc'd each officer, bro't to a proper Acc't. Fraser has drawn on me for several small and some large Sums, w'ch I refus'd paying; he was not employ'd by me, and any Cha's he was at sh'd [have] been d—d you, to be included in Y'r Acc't, to be laid before the Comittee. I,

therefore, return You the Acc't sent me. I shall be very glad to hear of Y'r joining the others from Alexa'a at W—r. I wish under the above Disappointm't, You had sent to Alexa'a for a few Arms. Capt. Mercer is wrong to say there was none there. I sent up 500, w'ch is more than is yet wanted. You must, however, pick out some of the most trusty, and keep a good Lookout on the Seditious till You join in a Body; each Person may carry four Day's Provision of Bread kind, and I doubt not other Provis's are provided before this Time for a Supply on Y'r March. I, therefore, desire [you] if not march'd before this Time, to march immediately, and humour Y'r People as much as is Consistent. I wish you Well to W—r, and am,
Sir, Y'r Friend.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD FAIRFAX.

Jan'y 15th, 1755.

MY LORD:

The Bearer, S'r Jno. St. Clair, is appointed Q'r M'r Gen'l of the Forces on the Expedit'n for the Ohio. In his Way to W. Creek he calls on Y'r L'dship. Give me leave, therefore, by this Let'r, to introduce him to Y'r F'dship. Being a Gent. of much Merit and great Knowledge in Military Affairs, he has been at most Courts in Europe, and his Observat's on them are very judicious. We may daily expect a large Reinforcement from Irel'd. The provid'g Provis's for such Numbers, I have much at Heart. The certain Intelligence of their Com'g is so late y't I much fear making suitable Provis's for them. I wrote Y'r Lordship two Leters, w'ch rem'n unansw'd, and I hear there are no Boats built on the different Runs between W——r and W. Creek. You know I strongly recomended it w'n I had the Hon'r of seeing You, and I was in Hopes Y'r L'dship's Influence w'd have had it put in Execut'n. I have ordered the Comissaries to pay the Expence, and let me beg Y'r Influence to have them finish'd before the Forces arrive. I refer You to the Bearer for

particular News. My kind Complim'ts to Mr. Martin,²⁵² and I rem'n, with due Respects,

Y'r L'd's most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DOBBS.

Jan'y 17th, 1755.

SIR:

Y'r two Let'rs of 28th Dec'r and 4th Jan'y I rec'd two Days ago, and it gives me much Pleasure y't You keep Y'r Health, and [the] Harmony y't is begun I hope will long continue between You and the People. Y'r Speech is consist't with Y'r good Sense and Inclinat'n, and I read their Address to You with Pleasure, as they seem to set out well, and [I] hope they will consider their Int't in follow'g Y'r Advice. The 8,000[£]⁵⁵³ under Y'r Direct'n will fully support, pay, Clothe, and maint'n 200 Men for one Year, if their Pay is 8d. $\frac{1}{2}$ Day. I have wrote to the Sec'ry of State for blank Comis's, but as yet have no Answer. When I have, I shall acquaint You thereof. His M'y's Ship Gibraltar arrived her[e] 10 Days ago, and bro't S'r Jno. St. Clair, Q'r M'r Gen'l, two L't Colonels, viz't, Ellison and Mercer, for the two Regim'ts to be rais'd in N. Engl'd under the Com'd of Gov'r Shirley and S'r Wm. Pepperell. They tell me I may expect Halket's²⁵⁴ and Dunbar's²⁵⁵ Regim'ts

²⁵² Thomas Bryan Martin, who was the son of Frances, sister of Lord Fairfax, and succeeded George Wm. Fairfax, as the agent of the Fairfax estates.

⁵⁵³ See *Davis's Revisal*, 1773, pp. 171, 174, the latter act being "to prevent the Exportation of Provisions and live Stock from this Province to the French or Neutral Ports."

²⁵⁴ Sir Peter Halket, of Pitferran, Fifeshire, a baronet of Nova Scotia, was the son of Sir Peter Wedderburne, of Gosford, who assumed his wife's name. In 1734, he sat in the House of Commons for Dumferline; was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-fourth at Sir John Cope's defeat in 1745. Released on parole by Charles Edward, he was ordered by Cumberland to rejoin his regiment, but honorably refused, saying that "his Royal Highness was master of his commission, but not of his

every Day. The Transports sailed three Days from Portsmo. before them, and the Com'd of all the Forces is given to Gen'l Braddock and y't an 80 Gun Ship, a 50 and 4 Twenty Gun Ships may be expected, as Convoy to the Forces, and a large Train of Artillery with proper Officers, a Compa. of 100 Men are also expected; this is the News they bring by w'ch we may observe His Majesty's and Minister's great Care of these Colonies, w'ch I think sh'd induce them with grateful Hearts to aid this essential Expedit'n with proper Spirits. The Method You propose for raising Money by a Paper Curr'cy by erecting a

honor." The King approved of his course, and he retained his rank. Colonel of his regiment, February 26, 1751. He married Lady Amelia Stewart, second daughter of Francis, eighth Earl of Moray, by whom he had three sons: Sir Peter, his successor, also in the army; Francis, Major in the Black Watch; and James, a subaltern in Sir Peter's regiment, who, flying to the succor of his stricken father in the disastrous defeat of July 9, 1755, himself fell across the body of the former, and they died together. After the taking of Fort Duquesne, an expedition was made to Braddock's Field to bury the remains of the slain. Captain West, an elder brother of Benjamin West, the painter, led the party with a company of sharpshooters, Indian guides, and several officers of the Forty-second regiment, among them, Major Sir Peter Halket, who hoped that his kindred might not have been slain outright, but were possibly yet captives among the foe. In reply to his anxious questioning, one of the Indian guides, who recalled the affecting fall of an aged, and a young officer together, as above stated, led them to the spot, beneath a remarkable tree, and upon throwing aside the thick-fallen leaves, two gaunt skeletons were exposed, the one upon the other, as they had died. That undermost, through a peculiar artificial tooth, was identified by Sir Peter, who exclaimed "It is my father!" as he sunk into the arms of his scarce less affected friends. High and generous talents were hereditary in the family of Sir Peter Halket. His father's sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Wardlaw (for notices of whom see *Percy's Reliques*, ii, 105, and *Blackwood's Magazine*, i, 380,) was the authoress of what Coleridge would have styled "the grand old ballad" of Hardikanute.—*Sargent*, p. 294; *Olden Time*, vol. i, pp. 183, 189.

²⁵⁵ Colonel Thomas Dunbar had been Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eighteenth (Royal Irish) Foot, and April 29, 1752, was made Colonel of the Forty-eighth; superseded in November, 1755, because of his injudicious retreat, and sent into honorable retirement as Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, with a salary of £750, filling the post as late as 1765; Major-General, January 18, 1758, and Lieutenant-General, December 18, 1760, but never again actively or independently employed. He died previous to 1778.—*Sargent*, p. 267.

Loan Office on Land Security, w^{ch}, wth the Poll Tax, I think, very eligible; but the Poll Tax at 2s. w^d not be much felt, if the poorer sort w^d only deny themselves Punch for one Day at the Courts, w^d pay that Tax, but as I do not know the Number of Y^r Taxables, probably 10d. ⁷/₈ Poll may answer Y^r Expectat^{ns}, and under the Regulatⁿ of Y^r Paper Curr^y I doubt not it will be curr^t in this Domⁿ, as it will be p^d again for Y^r Comodities. I have raised 600 Men, and hope to make them 800 by middle of next Mo., wⁿ I expect all the Forces will be at W^c Creek, and it will be proper, I think, if Yours were there the next Mo. I wrote Mr. Glen pretty freely by Messrs. Wragg and Cleland, and as yet have not heard from him; those Gent. blamed him much for his improper Method of writing me and s^d, they had no doubt, but their Province w^d grant a handsom Supply. You may consider the Uneasiness I am under to provide Provis^s for the Numbers here, and those expected. I have sent to our frontier-Counties to purchase all the Pork they can; to Pensylva^a to engage 600,000 lbs. of Flour; to Boston for 300 Quintals of Fish, but if these are supplied it will be greatly deficient of the Q^{ty} wanted. I w^d, therefore, desire the Favo. of You to speak to some proper Person to purchase 3 or 400 lbs. of Pork to be p^d out of Y^r Fund, or I will pay for them in Bills of Excha. This Pork, if You can procure, may be sent in the Vessell with Your Forces either to Alexa^a on Potom. River, or Fredericksb^g on Rappahan. River; these Towns are at an equal Distance from Winch^r and W^s Creek. In the Sumer there will be wanted a good many Beeves, and if [I] c^d know the Price to be d^d at W. Creek. S^r Jno. St. Clair set out this Day for the Camp, to prepare Barracks, &c., for the Troops expected; he is a very sensible Gent., full of Spirits and active, with Discretⁿ and good Judgem^t; he d^d me a Packet for You, from the Sec^y of State, one for Mr. Glen, the other for [the] Gov^r of Georgia,²⁵⁶ all of them I send You, pray^g the Favo. of You to

²⁵⁶ Captain John Reynolds, the first executive of Georgia under the crown, after the surrender of the charter of the Trustees, was appointed, August 6th, 1754, "Captain-General, Governor in Chief and Vice-Admiral." He landed at Savannah, October 29; called together the first legislature of Georgia, January 7, 1755; established courts of judicature; secured the friendship of the Indians; resigned February, 1757,

forw'd the two Packets above to So. Carolina, as I do not want to write to Mr. Glen at this Time. I think I have nothing more to write now, but sincerely wishing You an happy and Easy Gov't, y't the People may be prevailed on to their own Int't in following the Rules You have so judiciously propos'd them in your Speech. The Gibraltar waits 3 Weeks for my Dispatches, if You have any Letters I shall take great Care of them. My Wife and two Girls join me in sincere good Wishes for Your Son and Nephew's Health, and be assured, I am, with great Esteem, and in Truth,

Y'r Ex's most ob'd't humble Serv't.

P. S. I forgot to ment'n in my Let'r, y't we have Acc't from the Ind's, y't the Fr. are reinforc'd at the Ohio with 1100 Men, and some Ind's, w'ch I have not Faith to believe; but if our Forces are once collected in a Body and near the Fort, I doubt not but many of the Ind's will join us, and many of the Fr. desert. There is to be a Meet'g of the No'ern and So'ern Ind's at Winchester, in Apr., to confirm a Peace between these Nat's, and I hope for some Warriors from them and the Cherokees to join our Forces, hav'g sent Messingers to that Purpose to them to meet us at the Ohio in Apr., as we shall undertake nothing 'till the Forces from Irel'd arrive.

Y'rs Sincerely,
R. D.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

Jan'y 18th, 1755.

SIR:

Y'r two Let'rs of Jan'y 10th and 12th, I rec'd by Ct. Cocks, w'ch surpriz'd me to see them dated from Alexa'a, as I expected You w'd have march'd Y'r Men for W——r long before this; but as You were to set out the 15th I hope this will be d—d you at W——r. I reckoned that £1,000 formerly sent You w'd have fully p'd Y'r Men, but as many Recruits are arrived, I suppose

because of a disagreement with the Council; appointed a Rear Admiral of the Blue; died January, 1776.

they increased the Dem'd. I send You now, by Capt. Cocks, £101 1s. 3d., w^{ch} I hope will be sufficient; the large Call for Money has greatly exhausted the Stock in my Hands, therefore, I desire Frugality, and transmit me a proper Muster Roll of each Comp'y, with the Capt's Receipt on the Back, for my Instruct'n.

I wish You Health, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN HOGG.²⁵⁷

Jan'y 19th, 1755.

SIR :

I rec'd Y'r Let'r, and heard some Time ago of Y'r being on the E. Shore. As You knew Mr. Savage was ordered there to recruit, I think there was no Occa'n of You, and indeed Y'r Charge in raising Men is more than any two Officers. When You had

²⁵⁷ The Hog family, as the editor is informed by Rev. Charles Rogers, D. D., LL.D., late Secretary of the Royal Historical Society, London, and who wrote a life of the "Ettrick Shepherd," seems to derive from Roger Hog, of Edinburgh, who in the reign of David II (1331), received a portion of the rents of Dalry, an estate in the vicinity, and a charter for the rents of the lands of East Kenton, in the Constabulary of Haddington.

Peter Hog (as the name is spelled in his will), son of James, born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1703, was by tradition, from settlers contemporary with him, as stated by Hon. A. H. H. Stuart; a near relative of James Hogg the "Ettrick Shepherd." He emigrated to America with his brothers James and Thomas, about 1745, and located in Augusta county, Virginia, where he married Elizabeth Taylor; commissioned March 9th, 1754, Captain (*ante*, p. 113); served continuously; delegated July 21, 1756, agreeable to instructions from Governor Dinwiddie—by a Council of War, held at Fort Cumberland—to construct a line of frontier forts which had been ordered by the Assembly (the instructions given him will duly appear in these papers); served also in the Sandy Creek Expedition in the same year; licensed to practice law May 10th, 1759, by certificate of Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas and George Wythe, examiners; appointed by Lord Dunmore, April 10th, 1772, deputy to the Attorney-General for the county of Dunmore (formed February, 1772, from Frederick, and re-named Shenandoah

Y'r Com'o. I was made [to] believe You c'd raise 40 Men. You carried up to Alexa'a only 9, and that at a very great Exp'ce. You have now been two Mo's getting 14. There is not an Ensign y't has been recruiting but has had more Success. Mr. Savage had of me £61 10s., w'ch, with the Mo[ney] You had of Colo. Stephens, I conceive is sufficient to pay for the Cha's of recruit'g 40 Men. Mr. Savage had my Let'r to Colo. Eyre,²⁵⁸ y't if he wanted more Mo[ney] he w'd please supply him. I therefore desire You to return the Order for 70£, w'ch cannot be wanted. The Charge of hiring a Vessell for 20 Men is equal to one for 40. The Forces are all march'd for W. Creek. I therefore order You to proceed directly with all the Recruits You have rais'd, either to Alexa'a or F——g, and make w't Dispatch You can to join the Forces at W. C. I think F——g the best Place, as there is Provis's there, and I

county by act of October, 1777—*Hening*, viii, pp. 597-599). He appears, by a letter from Washington to him, dated March 21, 1774, (now in the possession of his great-grandson, Arista Hoge, Esq., Staunton, Va.), to have enjoyed in a high degree the confidence and regard of his old commander. He died April 20, 1782. Under the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie, of 1754, he received personally 2,100 acres of land, and 237 additionally, in consideration of the service of his indentured servant, Duncan Fergusson, as a drummer. His landed possessions comprised also a tract of 8,000 acres on the Ohio river, near Point Pleasant, and a large tract in Mason county, Kentucky. He devised to his eldest son, James, the family seat in Augusta county, and to his remaining children, Peter, Thomas, Anne, and Elizabeth, lands on the Ohio river, upon which they settled. His descendants, in the names of Hoge, Hogg, Hall, Blair, Blackley, Hawkins, McPherson and others, are numerous in Virginia and West Virginia, and are held in high social estimation.

The editor is indebted for the principal facts here given, and for the inspection of the letter of Washington, and the license and commission referred to, (the two last now being owned by the widow of the late Hon. James W. Hoge, member of the Virginia Convention of 1861, Winfield, West Virginia,) to John Ott, Esq., Richmond, Va., whose wife is a great-granddaughter of Captain Hog, by descent from his son James.

It may be of interest to note, that Thomas, the brother of Captain Peter Hog, was killed in 1774, by the Indians, whilst on his way to Kentucky to establish salt-works there.

²⁵⁸ Lyttleton Eyre, County Lieutenant of Northampton, and its Burgess for years.

shall send near 100 Recruits from this to y't Place. You know the allowance given for Recruiting. I therefore desire You and Mr. Savage to send me over a List of the Men You have rais'd, to be laid before the Committee, as I can pay no more than they will allow.

I rem'n, Sir, Y'r F'd.

P. S.—You Sh'd take some Pains to get the Deserters to carry with You, but Dispatch is now absolutely necessary. Colo. Stephen has got Mo[ney] to pay all the Men to the last of Dec'r.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.

Jan'y 20th, 1755.

R'T HON.:

My last to You was the 16th of Nov'r, to w'ch I desire to be referred. Our Forces still rem'n at W. Creek, and have been employed in building Barracks. Gov'r Sharpe has been there, and as he conceiv'd a Hill near to the Fort built, w'd Com'd it, he thereupon has erected a small Plat form and intends to mount some Cannon on y't Hill. In the Mo. of — several Chiefs of our f'dly Indians went to our Camp and after pretty many Ceremonies, they desired a Council to be called of our officers, w'n they entered into a treaty of F'dship with us. In the Mo. of — a No. of Chiefs of other Nat's came to the Camp, many of these had last Year joined the French; they acknowledged their Errors, and desired to enter into a treaty of Fr'dship with us, assuring the Com'd'g officer of their sincere Attachm't to the B. Subjects, and y't for the Future they w'd rem'n in Strict F'dship. I sent Prest's to the Camp to be given to both these parties of Ind's. I think it my duty to acquaint You of every Step done here in regard to the Expedit'n, and therefore I send You an exact Copy of both Treaties. You will please give Allowance for the Style in treating with these Nat's of Ind's. I also rec'd a Let'r from Capt. Rutherford, Com'd'r of one of the Ind't Compa's, Copy thereof You have here enclos'd and as he ment's a Neutrality being entered into between our Commiss'rs at Albany and the Caghnawaga Ind's, the Chief

Ind'n Nat'n belong'g to the Fr. out of a lucrative View of conduct'g a Trade from Albany to Canada. This I conceiv'd to be a monstrous inconsist't Neutrality and Trade, w'n the Fr. are at open War with us, made me resolve to write to the Gov'r of N. York to make strict Enquiry into the Conduct of the Albany Com'rs and recomended a Treaty with the Six Nat's at Onondago and to engage the building some Forts in the Country for Y'r Protect'n, and to engage them to take up the Hatchet ag'st the Fr. I have not yet rec'd an Answer from Mr. DeLancey. I think it my Duty to acqu't You y't all the Provis's the Fr. have for conduct'g this unjust Invas'n on the Ohio is, as I am credibly inform'd, by a Supply from N. York and Phila'a. They carry large Qu'tys of Flour, Bread, Pork, Beef, &c., to Lewisb'g (formerly called Cape Briton), where they sell it for Rum, Molasses, and Sugar, the Produce of their Islands. These Provis's are convey'd from Lewisburg to Quebeck for the Support of their Forces, and sent to their different Forts on the Ohio. This is a very pernicious Trade, as they c'd not conduct their unjust Invas's on His M'y's Lands with't this Supply, at same Time, greatly detrimental to the B. Sugar Colonies, by a clandestine Importat'n of large Qu'tys of Rum, Sugar, Molasses, &c., to the different Provinces on this Cont't. I am, therefore, h'bly of Opinion y't the Produce of our Colonies, viz: Flour, Bread, Pease, Pork, and Beef, sh'd be enumerated and restrain'd from being Shipt from the Place of their Produce to any Place but the B. Sugar Colonies, or any other B. Colony, giving Security on Shipping them off to ret'n a Certificate of their being Landed in a B. Colony, in the same Manner as Rice from So. Carolina. This done, I am convinc'd the Fr. c'd not Supply their Forces with Provis's. The feeding our Enemies may, in some Cases, be deem'd a Xtian Duty, but surely these Enemies, y't comit the most barbarous Cruelties and unjust Act's, can have no Pretent's to be fed, to support them in their horrid Cruelties and Barbarities. I shall write the L'ds of Trade on this Subject, and shall be mighty well pleas'd if some Th'g is done to prevent this injurious Trade, w'ch I think no good Subject w'd enter on. but the lucrative, dastardly Views of some Traders have no restraint, but w't must be done by the Legislature. Y'r several Let's of the 26th Oct'r, 4th of Nov'r, &c., were d'd me by S'r Jno. St.

Clair, who arriv'd here the 10th of this Mo. with L't Colo. Ellison and Mercer and two Adjutants appointed for the two Regim'ts to be rais'd in N. Eng. I went the 12th with S'r Jno. to Hampton, to provide Necessaries for the Sick; ret'd hither on the 13th. I supplied the L't Colo's with Horses and Guides. They left this the 15th, and S'r Jno. St. Clair left this the 16th for W. C. to provide Barracks for the Regim'ts expected from Irel'd. His M'y's Com'ds, sent me in Y'r Let'r, shall meet with all due Obedience, as far as it's in my Power, and His M'y's great Goodness and Concern for his Subjects on this Cont't ought to rouse an Emulat'n and Spirit in the different Colonies, but I am sorry I have reason to complain of their Backwardness and Inactivity.

The Assembly of this Colony have lately voted 20,000[£], but I do not hear y't the other Colonies have behaved or distinguish'd themselves as grateful Subjects, but I hope this last Instance of His M'y's gracious Goodness in ordering two Regim'ts and a large Supply of Ordnance Stores, will have a proper Effect in rousing them from their Lethargick Supineness, and grant a mutual Supply ag'st the Com'n Enemy. I wish I had been acquainted with His M'y's generous Intent's in sending so considerable Reinforcem't y't a proper Supply of Provis's for these now here and those expected from Irel'd might be provided, but before I had the Hon'r of receiving Y'r Let'r the Killing Time for Beef was over, but I expect they will bring some Mo's Supply from Irel'd. I have sent two Comisarys to our frontier Counties to purchase all the Hogs they can, and I have sent Salt to W. Creek to cure them and some Beeves y't were at and near the Camp. I have wrote to the Gov'r of Pensylva'a to engage 600,000 lbs. of Flour, to be d'd at our Magazine at W. C. And I have wrote to the Gov'r of N. Eng. to send a Vessell with a Qu'ty of dried Cod Fish, these Supplies, if duly sent, with w't I have or may purchase, I am in Hopes will be sufficient till we can drive some Beeves to them, w'ch will be the End of Apr. or Beginning of May. I have enlisted here 800 Men, and shall endeavour to augm't their No to 1,000, but w't Numbers we may have from our neighbouring Colonies are very uncertain, as I do not hear any of their Assemblies (tho' lately met) have granted any Supplies, but I live in Hopes y't they will dutifully comply with His M'y's Orders, and I shall be

very glad if the whole Forces were collected in a Body early in Mar., being much in Hopes, if they once were over the Allegany Mount's, the Dress of our Regulars, with the No. of our Forces, will engage many of the Ind's to join us, and many of the Fr. to desert.

The last Acc'ts from Ohio say the Fr. have been reinforced with 1,100 White and some Ind's from Canada, and y't their whole No. were ab't 1,600, but [I] am apt to think they must be much in want of Provi's, unless supplied from our own Colonies, as mentioned before. S'r Jno. St. Clair, who, I think, is a worthy Gent., a good Officer, and indefatigable in his Business, told me y't many Horses w'd be wanted for the Carriage of Ordnance Stores, &c. Upon his Desire, I have engag'd 120, and shall, agreeable to his Desire, make the No. 250, as soon as I can have an Opp'ty of purchas'g them. And I h'bly desire You will please let His M'y know y't I will do every Thing in my Power, with proper Diligence and Spirit, for the Service of the Expedit'n. With great Deference and sincere Respects, I rem'n,

R't Hon., Y'r most ob'd't and much obliged humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

Jan'y 20th, [1755].

R'T HON.:

My last to Y'r L'ds was the 16th Nov'r, to w'ch I pray to be referred. The Gibraltar Ship of War arrived here the 9th curr't, and bro't Passengers S'r Jno. St. Clair and two L't. Colo's and two Adjut'ts for the two Regim'ts to be rais'd in N. Engl'd, and bro't Acc't of His M'y's great Goodness and paternal Care for the Safety and Protect'n of his Subjects on this Cont't, and was graciously pleased to order two Regim'ts from Irel'd, with a large Supply of Ord'ce Stores for the effectual conduct'g this essential Expedit'n to dislodge and drive the French from His M'y's Lands on the River Ohio, &c. The Forces, I am told, may [be] daily expected. I hope this distinguish'd Mark of His M'y's great Care and Goodness to these Colonies will raise a proper Emulat'n and Spirit in the different Legislatures to raise a mutual Supply for their own Safety, and to con-

duct this necessary Expedit'n; but I have great Reason, with Concern, to observe y't hitherto they have been shamefully back-w'd, but, as I hear, the Assemblies of M'y'l'd and Pensylvania are now sitting, I expect to be agreeably surpriz'd with their voting considerably for the Service. This Gov't has voted more y'n all the others put together, viz't: in Feb'ry last £10,000, and last Nov'r £20,000. The providing Provis's for the Forces now here, and those expected, is w't I have much at Heart, and I am greatly affraid I shall not be able to purchase the necessary Qu'ty that will be wanted; however, I am doing every Thing in my Power on this Head. This naturally led me to enquire how the Fr. Forces from Canada and their many Forts are supplied, and, from very good Informat'n, I am told the Chief of their Supplies are from Pensylv'a, N. York, and the other Colonies to the No'w'd of this. The Method of Supply is as follows: Many Vessells with Flour, Bread, Pork, Beef, &c., from the British Colonies, proceed to Lewisb'g (formerly call'd Cape B'n), where they are rec'd with great Marks of Fav'o, when they barter their Provis's for Rum, Sugar and Molasses, the Produce of the Fr. Sugar Isl'ds, much to the Prejudice of our Sugar Plantat's, and from Lewisb'g the Provis's are sent to Quebeck, and from thence dispersed to their Forces and Forts down the River Ohio. This Trade is carried on by People not properly to be termed B. Subjects, who from lucrative Views for their Own Advantage, do not consider the pernicious Consequ'ce of feeding their Enemies, y't have comitted the most barbarous Cruelties, and have in View the Conquest of all his M'y's Empire on this Cont't. I cannot think of this unjustifiable Trade but with great abhorrence. To prevent this for the Future I h'bly propose y't Flour, Bread, Pork, Beef, Bacon, Pork, &c., may be bro't under the Ennumerat'n Act, y't the Subjects be restrained from Shipping any of these Provis's, till they enter into Bond to carry them to some B. Plantat'n, and to bring a Certificate from the Place they carried them to in order to cancel their Bond, agreeable to the Regulat'n on Rice from So. Car.; and indeed with all due Submiss'n of Provis's from Irel'd were bro't under the same Regulat'n, I am perswaded y't France c'd not victual their Ships of War, or conduct any considerable Expedit'n for want of Provis's; and if this Door was shut, I know not c'd be supplied. It may be tho't Y's Regulat'n w'd be of great

Prejudice to Irel'd. May not His M'y's Navy be partly supplied with Beef and Pork from Irel'd? I remember w'n Marquis De Antin comd'd a Squadron of Fr. Ships of War at Hispaniola, and it was y'n tho't he had a design of taking Jamaica, there were then 30 Sail of Fr. Vessells at Cork load'g Provis's to supply y't Squadron. The B. Ministry y'n tho't proper to lay an Embargo on the Ships at Cork, took out all the Provis's y't were loaded on the Fr. Ships, and I believe the Gov't took the Provis's and p'd the Irish Subjects for them. The Conseq'ce thereof was, y't the Fr. Squadron at Hispaniola were out of Provis's, were forc'd to lay aside their Designs and obliged to ret'n to Fr. for want of Provis's and in a most starving Condit'n. My Lords these Remarks and Observat's I think my Duty to lay before You, submitting to Y'r superiour Judgem't how to remedy the Evils and to put a Stop to this pernicious and unjustifiable Trade carried on from this Continent, as also to submit to You a Regulat'n of the Provis's from Irel'd. I have been exceedingly hurried in the Performance of His M'y's Com'ds transmitted me by the Sec'y of State, and shall continue in doing my duty with Assiduity, but you may think the Concern and trouble I am under in providing Provis's for our Forces, w'n the Fr. are supplied with these necessaries from the Very People they are Invading.

With great Deference and Respect, I rem'n,

Y'r L'd's much obliged and most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SPEAKER JOHN ROBINSON.

Jan'y 24th, [1755].

SIR:

Agreeable to Y'r Desire I have given a Com'o. to Mr. Thos. Stevens to be Inspect'r at Mantapike. I have sent up 1,100£ to pay our Forces to the last of Dec'r. The recruit'g Mo[ney] am'ts to more than 2,000[£]. Provis's above 3,000[£]; and other Incidents has almost exhausted my ready Cash, y't I am now obliged to draw on the C'r given me from Home. The

End of next Mo[nth] there will be a Call for the further Payment of our Forces, w'ch are now upwards of 800 Men. If you can supply me with Money by y't Time [I] shall be glad; if not, pray write me to advance it, y't this and w't I have already p'd may the easier be allowed by the Committee. I remain with Esteem,
Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO DANIEL WOSTENHOLME.

Jan'y 24th, 1755.

SIR:

I wrote the Gov'r of Pennsylv'a last Week to provide 600,000 [lbs.] of Flour to be d[elivere]d at our Magazine at W. C., in Case the Gov'r declined purchas'g the Flour as above, I wrote to my F'd, Wm. Allen, Esq'r, to take y't Trouble on him. I was in Hopes y't Colony w'd have granted a proper Supply for conduct'g this necessary Expedit'n, and y't the Am^o. of the above Flour to be p'd out of their Supply, but y't being uncertain, I wrote Mr. Allen if he made the Purchase I w'd pay him in Cash or Bills of Excha. This I tho't necessary y't the Forces now at W. C. and those expected from Brit'n may not be disappointed for want of necessary Provis's. If you go to Phila'a speak to Mr. Allen on this subject, and let him know the Proposals of some of the frontier Settlers in giving Supplies d—d at the Camp, I herewith give You four Lett's of Bills of Excha. for 500[£] St'g each, to negotiate and procure Money for them, w'ch you are to send imediately for me. If you carry the Bills to Phil'a give Mr. Allen the Refusal of them. Make w't Enquiry you can about Provis's, and the lowest rates to be d—d at the Camp from the Co'ty of Fredericksburg. Write me frequently. I wish You Health and am,

Sir, Y'r very h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK.

Jan'y 25th, [1755].

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of the 21st I rec'd last Night. I approve of the Steps You have taken to purchase Pork, and I hope it will answer beyond Expectat'n. I am sensible the Season is pretty much over for the Purchase of Pork, or did I know of the No. of Forces from B., or [I] sh'd have been more early in providing for them. However, I hope for some agreeable Acc'ts from You after Frederick Court. I ordered the Troops to W. Creek to provide for the other Forces expected; and as there was only the Ind't Companies there, I did not know w't Attempts the Fr. might make, and indeed, from w't Maj'r Carlyle writes, they have a better Chance of Provis's there y'n at Alexa'a, as Beef, he says, was at 18s., and very scarce. I shall be glad y't You Send a Qu'ty of Flour to W——'r, w'ch will be more convenient than w'th You, tho' You must keep some for the Recruits, as they come to Y'r Town. There are 30 Tents and 350 Small Arms comes by a Sloop y't sails from York Monday next with 80 Recruits. I think all the Troops, w'n arrived, and the ordnance stores, will go to Alexa'a, as the Transports will go directly to y't Town, and I am in Expectat'n y't they will bring three Mo's' Provis's with them from Irel'd. If not, I must endeavour to send some Supplies from this [place]. I have purchas'd some Pork, w'ch I shall send up to You, and some to Alexa'a, as the Transports will go directly to y't Town, and I am in Expectat'n y't they will bring three Mo's' Provis's with them from Ireland. If not, I must endeavour to send some Supplies from this [place]. I have purchased some Pork, w'ch I shall send up to You, and some to Alexa'a, after S'r Jno. St. Clair returns here. If possible, the Forces can be properly [supplied] With Provis's till June, Cattle may then be purchased and drove after the Forces. I am doing all I can to lay in a Qu'ty of Flour till the Fall of the Year. The Pork and Flour to be lodged on the Road is only for their Support on their March, and I think every private Soldier may carry four Day's Provision of Bread kind. I cannot particularly answer Y'r Queries till the Gen'l Officer comes. I shall then Write You fully. You have done well in agreeing for the Carriage from W. to W.'s Creek at 5s.,

w^{ch} will engage them to Dispatch; but get every Thing up as soon as possible, as I w^d gladly hope if the Forces were arrived y^t they w^d be the other side of [the] Allegany Mount's by the Middle of March. I hope they have Salt enough at the Camp to cure the Beeves y^t are thereabout. I doubt not You will secure all the Provis's You can at Y^r Place and at W^r, and I am very well satisfied of Y^r industrious Care in doing every Thing for the good of the Service in w^t lies under Y^r direct'n. I shall soon send You up an Acc't of w^t Things I propose to Send to the Camp by way of Fredericksb'g. In the mean Time the Flour will keep Y^r Waggon's employ'd. The Forces, I think, must not tarry till the grass grows for their Horses; if they do, I fear by y^t Time the Fr. will be greatly reinforced. The backwardness of the People in supporting this necessary Expedit'n I attribute to a Lethargick Supineness y^t has seized many on this Cont't. I sh^d have sent You Money by the Bearer, but as You did not recomend him for y^t I did not care to send any. Mr. Finnie comes up next Week, by him [I] shall send You a Supply. I sent Money to Capt. Mercer to pay of[f] the trifling Debts due by the Recruits. I am sorry any of them called on You. Pray, if you see them, tell them to send down their particular Acc'ts of recruiting and Cha[rge]s. What Clothing You have supplied I hope You took proper Receipts from the Officers, [for] w^{ch}, with the Acc'ts, send down, and You must be p'd. I shall be glad if the Waggon's You are building can be ready soon for the Service, as You know the two succeeding Months are the Chief for sending up all we can to the Camp. I can recollect nothing further at pres't, but y^t I am,

Sir, Y^r mo. humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK.

Jan'y 29th, 1755.

SIR:

According to promise, I now send You 300£, ^{to} Mr. Finnie,²⁵⁹ w^{ch} I doubt not of Y^r frugal Disposal of. When You

²⁵⁹ Mentioned *ante*, p. 316.

want more Money give me previous Notice thereof, y't You may not be disappointed. By Sloop or Schoon'r Kichetan, under the Care of Lt. Wm. Starke,²⁶⁰ 69 Recruits, with 50 Muskets, Bayonets, Swords and Cartouch Boxes, also 8 Chests cont'g 200 Muskets, Bayonets, Cartouch Boxes, two bls. Gun Powder, and 500 lb[s]. Ball; as also by a Ship from Hampton, w'ch the above Sloop's order'd to bring to You, 6 Chests cont'g 150 Muskets, Bayonets, Cartouch Boxes, all w'ch, put in a Ware Ho., d[elive]r the Muskets, &c., to the different Officers, with Powder and Ball, tak'g their Receipts for them, and the 30 Tents, I think You sh'd immediately send them to the Camp at W. C. for the Use of our Forces.

I am Sir, Y'r F'd, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

Jan'y 31st, 1755.

SIR:

I sent You up some Money by C't. Cocks, of W——r, w'ch I hope You rec'd. I am now pretty much reduced as to Cash, but I think the necessary Clothing for Y'r Men be p'd in Apr. is much better Pay y'n they have in Common. I desire L't Mercer may rem'n in the lower Parts of the Country to recruit Men for the two Regim'ts I daily expect from Ireland. I hope the Commissioners before this have provided Provis's at W. C. I shall send from this [place] some Beef and Pork to F——g, to be convey'd to the Camp. Mr. Mercer, by my orders, has left all the Acc'ts with the Clerk of the Committee, to be laid before them at next Meeting, and I hope there will be no Difficulty in pass'g them.

I am with respect,
Sir, Y'r Fr'd, &c.

²⁶⁰ There is of record in the Virginia Land Registry, a grant to Wm. Starke of 600 acres, adjoining the lands of John Washington, in Westmoreland county, dated September 24, 1667, Book 6, p. 56. The name was represented in the Revolution, and has been frequently, also, in the State Assembly.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN HOGG.

Feb'y 1st, 1755.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r, and am glad You have raised 40 Men, with whom I desire You to proceed the most ready way for W——r and W. C., where I expect the rest of our Forces are by this Time. I do not care to recriminate on affairs, but before You left Alexa'a You was told y't Mr. Savage had Orders to go to the E. Shore to recruit, and [I] am sorry during the Time You have been there You have not had one Day to settle Y'r private Affairs. Send for Mr. Savage and tell him it's my Orders y't he proceed with all convenient Speed with his Recruits to F——g, and to join the rest of our Men at W. C. You are to take Care to render as exact an Acc't of Y'r Expen's as possible You can, as You know it must be laid before the Committee, and sh'd be sorry if it does not prove reasonable or y't there sh'd be any Deduct's, as one Capt's Acc't will be compared with others. What Money You may want, I desire Colo. Eyre to advance You, and give him Gov'r Sharp's Order You say You have on me.

I am, Sir, Y'r Fr'd, &c.

P. S.—Send Y'r Acc'ts over before You leave the E. Shore.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LITTLETON EYRE, ESQ.

Feb'y 1st, [1755].

SIR:

Y'r favo. of the 27th Ult'o. I rec'd last Night, and am oblig'd for the Kind Assistance You have given C't Hogg and Mr. Savage. I incline all our Forces sh'd be at W. C. before the two regim'ts from Irel'd arrive. [I] have therefore ordered them two Gent'n to make the best of their way with Y'r recruits to the Camp at W. C. If You will advance both of them w't Mo[ney] may be wanted to qualify their Proceeding as above, You shall be repaid in the Apr. Court. I sh'd be sorry

[if] the Men enlisted on Y'r Shore sh'd cost 2 Pistoles each; there are many d[elivered] at Alexa'a and F[redericksbur]g for little more than 30s. [each]; however, the Committee are to look over and pass the Officers' Acc'ts. I shall therefore be oblig'd if You acquaint Savage to send his Acc't over, having wrote Capt. Hog to the same Purpose. I am glad You have sent some Weathers and Fowles to Hampton, they will be very acceptable on the Arrival of the Transports.

I rem'n with respect,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DOBBS.

Feb'y 1st, 1755.

SIR:

Y'r agreeable L'r of the 9th I did not receive till the 27th. The 5,000^l Y'r Assembly has given for Aid to the Expedit'n I find is left to You either to Supply in Men or Provis's. In my last, I wrote You if You sent a Compa. in, 400 bls. good Pork will be very acceptable, as also a Quantity of Bacon, as y't is easy Carriage on Horses; and in the Mo's of May or June some Beeves to be drove from Y'r Colony to the Camp will be very agreeable, as by y't Time Salt Provis's will be mostly exhausted. The two regim'ts y't are expected are to be augment'd from 500 to 700 Men each. I have accordingly ordered the Officers to recruit for them agreeable to Instruct's. I have in our News Paper offered the Encouragem't y't is proposed for the People y't enlist in these Regim'ts, but I fear I shall not be able to get the wanted. If deficient, they must be supplied from our other Men raised for the Colony. I think for the pres't, 50 Men from You, with Provis's, is as much as can be expected from Y'r Fund, and if You please, to send them by Water to Alexa'a on Poto. River. I sent You a Packet from Londo. to the Care of Mr. Watson at Suffolk. Since y't, we have no News from Londo. or any from the Ohio than w't I formerly Wrote You. I have ordered all our Forces to W. C., for fear this fine Open Winter the Fr. on the Ohio may have Intelligence of the Supplies We

expect, and endeavour to make an Attempt on our Camp, Where there is only the three Ind't Companies. Y'r President cannot expect more y'n half the Salary and Perquisites from the Time of Y'r being appointed. I think His M'y's Instruct's on y't Head are very explicit, and indeed the Salary of Y'r Predecessor on the former Establishm't was so ill p'd y't the Presid't account'g for half the Perquisites may be a proper Settlement. When S'r Wm. Gooch left this [Colony] he made a particular Agreem't with the then President, and as I was only four Mos. from my Appointm't till my Arrival, I did not insist on any part of the Perquisites, as S'r W'm's Agent had settled With the President a Mo. before my Arrival. I think You have a right from the Date of Y'r Com'o. L'd Albermarle and myself are on an Agreem't to pay him so much Yearly. We all join in kind respects to You, son and nephew, and be assur'd I rem'n in great Truth,

Y'r Ex's most ob'd't humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN.

[Feb'y] 8th, [1755].

SIR:

Y'r Let'r of the 4th Jan'y I rec'd the 5th of this Mo. You say the Let'r I forw'd You cont'd an Order from Home for You to build a Fort in the upper Cherokee Co'try and to draw on me. As I am to remit You out of the Cr. I have to draw for £10,000, and y't You accordingly expect me to send You Bills of Excha. for 7,000£ St'g out of the Cr. I have to draw for 10,000£, I think really Y'r Desire is very unreasonable to leave me but 3,000£ to answer the necessary Cha's of the Forces now here and those expected. I wish You had sent me a Copy of y't Let'r giv'g You the above Liberty to draw on me with't a mutual Agreem't between us. Copy of the Paragraph of the Let'r I have from S'r T. Robinson on this Affair is as follows: "It is likewise His M'y's Pleasure You sh'd concert with Mr. Glen, the Gov'r of So. Car., the necessary Measures for secur'g the Cherokee Ind's by a proper Pres't and for obtain'g

forthwith Permiss'n for the building a Fort in their C'y, for w'ch Purposes You are hereby empowered to remit to Mr. Glen such Sums out of the Mo'y for w'ch the 10,000 £ Credit is now given You, as shall be so agreed between You and the s'd Gov'r." By w'ch I conceive y't the Mo'y You are to expect from me is for Pres'ts, to induce these People to give You Leave to build a Fort in their Co'y. Pray, is not Your Dem'd for Mo'y too premature before You have obtained their Consent to build a Fort? or can the above Paragraph be read in the Sense You incline to take it? Y't You and I are to consult ab't build'g a Fort, and I am to pay the whole Charge, or at least 7,000 £ St'g, a monstrous Interpret'n of S'r T. Robinson's Let'r, and a modest request to have above $\frac{2}{3}$ s of the Money sent to conduct this necessary Expedition, for building a Fort, w'ch S'r Jno. St. Clair, now here, and a very good Engineer, declares it might be built for less than $\frac{1}{3}$ d. of Y'r Dem'd. He nor I cannot imagine w't Use You can have for 300 Men w'n building a Fort among our Allies, and You can never think the Fr. will leave their Forts and Forces on the Ohio to build Forts on River Tennessee, a River indeed, I cannot find by that Name in any Drafts y't I have.

W'n His M'y order'd me to build Forts on the Ohio, he expected it sh'd have been at the Charge of this Dom'n, and no doubt the same is expected from Y'r Province, from the happy and flourish'g Condit'n it is now in, and so fully represented in Y'r Speech to Y'r Assembly; and I am of Opinion it must be recomended to You, as it was to me as above. I must differ from Y'r Opinion of the Fr. com'g to Tennessee if disappointed on the Ohio, but I fear You may have Time enough to build Forts there before we shall be able to drive them from the Ohio, as also y't Tennessee River is of as much Consequence as the Ohio. You are very fertile in Y'r Conjectures y't the Fr. will not attempt the Conquest of so powerful a Province as Virg'a, but make a Feint, and y't their real Designs are ag'st Carolina. Now give me leave to guess with You, that their Desigus are not limited to any one of our Colonies, but a general Conquest of the whole B. Settlem'ts and further; with't Conjecture, is it not plain they have invaded the Lands on the Ohio, the back of this Colony, built a Fort, and have a great Force there? Have they not plundered our People and threat'n'd

w't further they will do? Y'r Opin'n in reg'd to a Fr. Fleet touch'g at the Sugar Colonies, &c., is not impracticable, but give me leave to say very improbable, as they appear to have their Hands full in other Parts, and I hope by this Time y't the B. Int't at the Court of Spain is equal to y't of France. I can't pretend to run a Parallel between Virg'a and Car., but I sincerely wish Virg'a was in as happy and flourish'g Condit'n as You describe Car. in Y'r well worded Speech. Our Dom'n is very extensive and the People as remote from each other as any Colony on this Cont't, and I think the No. of our Negroes near the same Proport'n with the Whites as those of Y'r Colony, and therefore subject to the same Disadvantages from an Invader as any other Province, And I heartily wish You had seriously considered these Things w'n You built the Fort in the Cherokee Co'try lately, and y't it w'd have been more eligible on the River Tennessee, and I hope not too late for You to build one now, but it can never be of the same Consequence as the pres't Expedit'n in driv'g the Fr. from the Ohio, and that is the Place they propose to make the Seat of War and where they are collect'g all their Strength, and w'ch H. M'y thinks absolutely proper to drive them from y't River and is graciously pleased to order two Regim'ts and a generous Supply of all Ordnance Stores for y't Purpose, w'ch are daily expected. I observe y'r Let's to the Cherokees and Catawbas, I wish You a happy Meet'g with them and y't they may be in good Humour to grant w't You want and w't may be of Service to the pres't just and necessary Expedit'n. Y'r Express was a very tedious Time com'g. I immediately called the Council and laid before them the Sec'ry of State's Let'r, and that of Y'rs, and inclos'd You have the Copy of the Minute of Council on y't Affair, in Consequence thereof I here inclose You my B. of Excha. on Mr. J. Hanbury for 1,000[£] St'g, w'ch is really more than I can well spare, consider'g the many dem'ds there are, and will be much increased w'n the Forces arrive. I desire You will write Mr. H. y't the above Mo'y is to be made use of agreeable to the Contents of the Bill. I wish You and Y'r New Assembly may agree with great Harmony for the Good of the Com'n Cause, and if any Mo'y is sent me from You it shall be disposed of for the Service with great Oeconomy. The above, I think is a full Answer

to Y'r Let'r, and pray S'r, consider, if you have the Expedit'n properly in Y'r Tho'ts (w'ch I doubt not you have), how I am harrass'd in provid'g Provis's and other necessities for the Troops, and how unreasonable it is in You to dem'd 7,000£ out of 10,000£ for build'g a Fort. If I had not acted with great Care and Circumspection, the whole Money from Eng. w'd e'er now been wholly exp'd'd and indeed 13,000£ is actually made use of in such necessary Affairs y't was more imediately wanted, and without some further Supply from Home I dread the Consequence. I wish You Health, and us Success in our just Expedit'n, and I rem'n,

Y'r Ex's most humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DOBBS.

Feb'y 8th, 1755.

DEAR SIR:

Y'r two Let's of the 15th and 25th Ult'o I duly rece'd, and it gives me great Pleasure y't Y'r Assembly broke up in so good Humour, and y't dur'g their Siting they very properly enter'd on the Business direct'd by You with so much Spirit, and I acknowledge y't I think they did more y'n I c'd have expected, consider'g how long they have been in a very loose, lawless Condit'n. I am glad y't You intend the Com'd of the Co'y y't You raise for the Expedit'n to Y'r Son, w'ch I wish You c'd afford to make 80. I am of Opin'n y't the Com'n for Capt. Waddal²⁶¹ may be establish'd at 40 Men, under the Denominat'n of Rangers, on Y'r frontier Settlem'ts. The Sooner You can send the Co'y in here the better, and the Sloop y't brings them may, if You think fit, bring 4 or 500 b'ls of Pork and Beef, a Qu'ty of Bacon, and, if to be had with You, 4 or 5 b'ls of Rice, and to direct them for Alexa'a, on Potomack River, where I shall be glad to hear of their safe arrival. I have forwarded Y'r Let's to Colo. Innes, and presume he will very

²⁶¹ Hugh Waddell, of Rowan county, was, in 1754, a commissioner from North Carolina to treat with the Catawba and Cherokee Indians. He was at Fort Duquesne, with Forbes, in 1758.

soon settle the Affairs of the Car. Regim't. No News since my last, either from B. or the Ohio. Gov'r Sharpe and S'r J. St. Clair are now both with me from W. Creek, and they bring no News of any Consequence. The Men [are] in good Spirits, and wish for the Reinforcem't from B. Y'rs by Capt. Waddle I rec'd two Days ago. He is gone for Hampton to Co. Hunter to execute Y'r Orders. He had my Offer of any Service in my Power. I sh'd think our People y't are Debtors to Y'r Province cannot refuse Y'r Paper Curr'cy, as it will answer the Discharge of their Debts. Blue, turned up with red, I think will make very proper Uniforms.

Pork here is 40s. to 43s. $\frac{1}{2}$ bl., as in Goodness. Beef 27s. This comes by an Express from Mr. Glen. He had a Packet for You, but says the Waters were so high he c'd not go to Newburn, but have now ordered him to wait on You for an Answer to the Packet he brings You. Mr. Glen was so modest as to desire me to remit him in B. of Excha. 7,000£ St'g, out of the 10,000£ I have Credit to draw for, in order to build a Fort in the Upper Cherokee Co'try. I was ordered to advise, perswade and assist him in build'g the Fort, and I tho't $\frac{1}{3}$ of that Mo'y w'd have done, and y't Car. sh'd be at the Expence; however, I have sent him Bills for 1,000£ to shew at Home my readiness to obèy Com'ds, and to forw'd y't Fort, w'ch I believe at this Time very necessary. He gave me room to expatiate with him on the reasonableness of his Dem'd, w'n he must know the great Charge y't attends this necessary Expedit'n, and to offer to have $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of the whole of my Cr. was not kind, or did it look like a well Wisher to w't we have on the Anvil. I think he has no room to expect leave to raise recruits with You, till You have compleated Your own Compa's. I look daily for the Fleet from Irel'd, and hope to be pretty well provided to receive them. From the best Intelligence, the Fr. have not above 1,200 Men on the Ohio. The Message from Mr. Morris to his Assembly, of the Number of the Fr., was from Deserters, who's Reports are not to be depended on, his Assembly have broke up with't grant'g any aid; they are a very turbulent, refractory People. M'yl'd Assembly meets the 20th; Mr. Sharpe has Hopes y't they will do something. When any Acc'ts of Conseq'ce, I shall give You early Notice thereof. I hope the Packet from Eng., y't I forward'd You lately, came safely to Y'r Hands. I pray

God grant us Success in our just Designs in the Defence of our Religion, Liberties and Properties. My Wife and Girls join in Kind Respects to You, Son and Nephew, and I am, with Sincerity and great Truth,

Y'r Ex's most obed't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THOMAS WALKER.

Feb'y 10th, 1755.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 2d, and I approve of Y'r going agreeable to Gov'r Sharpe's or S'r J. St. Clair's Order for the Purchase of Provis's. I have wrote for 600,000 [lbs.] w't of Flour to Phila'a, w'ch, with w't You may purchase here, I hope will be sufficient. You must receive Perkins's Flour at the N't hund'd, w'ch is the usual Method of selling in this Colony. The badness of the Roads, w'ch makes all the Supplies to the Camp come dear, must be submitted to, as Y'r Wants must be supplied at any Charge. I am sensible the many Things under Y'r Inspect'n are very great; apply to Colo. Innes, and see if he can get a trusty Person to help You, and I hope in a short Time the Affairs will be more easy. I am sorry the Waggon proves bad, and the Horses. Gov'r Sharpe, now here, says he has been deceived in them, but I hope the three Waggon's bro't You a good Supply of Flour. Calender agreed with me for 100 Horses, 40 to be d——d at the Camp the Beginn'g of Feb'y, each with 200 lbs. of Flour; the Flour to be p'd for at the Curr't Price, and the Horses not to be above eight Years' old; the other 60 to be d——d the Beginn'g of Mar., and on his produc'g a Receipt, I am to pay him here. I have his obligat'n to the above Purport. I have and always had a good opinion of Y'r Capacity and Probity, and I desire You to continue in doing every Thing for the good of the Expedit'n. Calender has a Copy of the Agreem't by w'ch You will see he was to d[elive]r the last 60 Horses the first day of March. When Mr. Dick writes for more Money, he shall have it. I sent him 300£ last Week. I wish You Health, and am,

Sir, Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

Feb'y 10th, 1755.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 6th of Feb'y. You have done right in send'g Druillon and the Fr. Prisoners to Belhaven, from thence I shall soon send them to a more convenient Place. The Recruits at F'ksb'g are order'd to rem'n till Gov'r Sharpe review them, w'ch will be Tuesday next. I am surpriz'd You have so many Deserters, and am perswaded they do not want for Victuals. S'r J. St. Clair will be with You the end of next Week, w'n he will review them all, and give proper Orders for Y'r March, and a proper Advertisem't shall be put in the Papers after You describe them. The Soldiers, while in Belhaven, were guilty of many Irregularities in pulling down the Wainscot of the Ho., and leav'g them in a very dirty Condit'n, and w'n so little Care was taken, I am not surpriz'd at their hiding their Arms in Corners. After Capt. Stewart's and the other Recruits are review'd and properly bro't into the Muster Roll, they will be p'd at pres't. I cannot think there can be so much due, as Capt. Stewart's Com'o. was dated the 1st of Nov'r, and he p'd them till they left Petersburg, but let them know after [they are] review'd, &c., they shall be p'd. As You know, the end of this Mo., the Pay of the whole will be due. I w'd not have You engage for any Beeves to be d—d at the Price You ment'n, or to advance any Money. The 500£ I advanc'd to Mr. Perkins has not engag'd him to a due Compliance in furnish'g the Flour agreed for. I expect the Clothing very soon. As to w't You are in Advance, it must be pass'd the Comittee before You can be p'd. You sh'd write Mr. Carlyle to know w't he has done with the Harniss belong'g to the Sling Cart. I can say nothing [as] to the Ballances due to the different Compa's till I receive Y'r Acc't Curr't of the Money I sent You, w'ch I conceive, with the 100£ sent by Capt. Cocks, and 100[£] p'd by Mr. Finnie at F'ksb'g, was sufficient to pay all the Dem'ds to the end of Dec'r. Write to Gov'r Sharpe ab't the Contract of the Cattle, and w't he directs I shall comply with, as all the Forces rais'd are under his Com'd. I am, with Respect,

Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

Feb'y 12th, 1755.

R'T HON.:

Inclosed You will receive a Copy of my last of the 20th Ult'o, and desire to be referred thereto in regard to a regulat'n pray'd for in respect to Provis's carried from our Colonies to the Fr. Inclosed I send a true State of this Colony from the most accurate Observat's and Informat's I c'd have, and desire to refer Y'r L'ds. thereto. I rec'd an Instruct'n dated the 18th Dec'r, 1753, relating to the Method of grant'g Appeals in this Colony. I beg leave to observe to Y'r L'ds. y't the s'd Instruct'n does not seem to be calculated for the Constitution of this Dominion, inasmuch as the Inconveni's thereby intended to be remedied c'd never have happened here. That Instruct'n, after prescribing the Method of try'g Appeals before the Gov'r and Council by a Writ of Error, directs y't the Gov'r nor any of the Council, who shall have given Judgm't in the first Tryal, shall not be permitted to sit and vote at the Tryal of such Appeals; whereas, by the Laws and Constitution of this Colony, the Gov'r or Com'd'r in Chief and the Council never sit in a Judicial Capacity, but in the Gen'l or Supreme Court, from whence no Appeal lies, but to H. M'y in his Privy Council. This Method of appealing to H. M'y was settled by a former Instruct'n bearing date the 23d Day of Mar., 1726; and thereby the Judges of the Supreme Court were directed to admit of Appeals in all Cases, whether in Law or Equity, where the Matter in dispute was of the Value of £300 St'g; but the pres't Instruct'n has not extended the Sum to £500 St'g, and Sums to be Confined to Suits y't have been depend'g in Courts of Conon Law, and w'ch have primarily been determin'd by the Gov'r and some of the Council, and afterwards come before them by Appeal. From the lower Courts Appeals are allowed to the Gen'l Court in all Cases, both of Law and Equity, where the Matter in Dispute is of the Value of £10; as also by an Act of Assembly entitled An Act for reduc'g the several Laws made for establish'g the Gen'l Court and for regulat'g and settl'g the Proceed'gs therein into one Act of Assembly. The same Direct's are given with regard to receiv'g Appeals from the inferior Courts of Record.

It is further to be observed y^t H. M^y repealed by His Order in Council, an Act passed in 1748 for regulat^g and settl^g the Proceedings in the Gen^l Court upon a Representatⁿ from Y^r L^{ds} y^t the s^d Law did prohibit Appeals to the Gen^l Court for Actions not exceed^g £10, w^{ch}, by former Laws, were unlimited, and w^{ch}, therefore, Y^r L^{ds}. tho^t might be attended with great Inconveniences and detrimental to His M^y's trad^g Subjects here.

The Council being sworn as Judges of the Gen^l Court to the Observance of the foremention^d Acts of Assembly, ratified by His M^y, they conceive they are accordingly confined to them, unless tho^t proper to repeal the former Acts by a new One, w^{ch} is Submitted to Y^r L^{ds}. I also have rec^d two other New Instruct^s, one in regard to Excha. on Bills of Excha. or British Debts. The other is H. M^y's generous Indulgence and Encouragement to the Subjects settl^g on his Lands behind the Mount^s. Both these Instruct^s shall be duly obey^d and put in force. I also send by this Opp^{ty}, in a small Box, seven Acts of Assembly and the Journals of the Ho. of Burgesses, end^g the 2d of Nov^r last. As there are none of these Acts, of any extraordinary Nature, I hope they will meet with H. M^y's Sanctⁿ. I have been fully engag^d in prepar^g Provis^s, &c., for the Receptⁿ of the Forces from Irel^d y^t H. M^y has been graciously pleased to order to our Assist^{ce} to drive the Fr. from H. M^y's Lands, and I am in great Hopes y^t the next Sumer's Campaign will rid us of these disagreeable Neighbours. The Colonies to the No^wd have been very refractory, and have not given due Obedience to H. M^y's Com^{ds}, particularly Pensylva^a, an unhappy Difference subsist^g between the Gov^r and Assembly. The latter makes use thereof in not grant^g a mutual Supply, but no doubt Gov^r Morris writes Y^r L^{ds}. fully thereon. We daily expect the Forces, and I heartily wish they were here, as the Fr. on the Ohio declare their Expectat^{ns} of great Reinforcem^{ts} from France. Y^r Let^r of the 2d of July recomend^g Mr. Randolph to be reinstated in his Office, and the Reasons You are pleased to assign for y^t are so very just and good, y^t I beg leave to acquaint You y^t he has strongly acknowledged his Errors in leav^g his Office with^t H. M^y's leave, and has assured me by his Let^s y^t he will, for the Future, be very diligent in his

Office for H. M'y's Service, and behave with all due Respect and Regard to me. I have, thereupon, reinstated him in his Office of Att'y-Gen'l, and pray Y'r L'ds. Warr't to be laid before H. M'y for his Royal Signature, and Mr. Abercombie, our Agent, will wait on Y'r L'ds. for the same. Hav'g nothing further to trouble Y'r L'ds. with but to assure You I rem'n with great Deference and due respect,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's faithful and ob't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.

Feb'y 12th, [1755].

R'T HON'BLE :

Inclosed You have Copy of my last Let'r of the 20th Ult'o. Since y't, S'r J. St. Clair ret'd from the Camp at W. Creek, with him Gov'r Sharpe, and every Thing there is in good Order, but the Situat'n of the Fort S'r Jno. complains of, and thinks it w'd have been better about 30 Miles further. However, as it is finish'd, it will answer the collect'g of our Forces till the Reinforcem't from Irel'd arrives, w'ch I earnestly wish for, and daily expect. I have and shall do all in my Power to lay in w't Provis's I possibly can purchase for the Use of the Expedit'n, and I hope some Measures will be concerted to prevent the Supplies of the Fr. from our Colonies, as mention'd in my former Let'r. Copy thereof You have herewith. The Assembly of Pennsylvania is adjourned with't grant'g any Supplies. An unhappy Difference between the Gov'r and them subsisted. The Gov'r it seems, w'd not pass their vote for 20,000£, being contrary to Instruct's. It's a Pity y't this sh'd be the Case at this Time, w'n Supplies are so much wanted, and indeed I fear the Colonies will not be perswaded to grant mutual Supplies but by a B. Act of Parliam't, laying a general Tax on the Whole. At present, with't Supplies of Money or Credit, I dread we shall be strait'ned in conduct'g this necessary Expedit'n. If Mo'y sh'd be sent, may it not be replac'd from y't Gen'l Tax? I rec'd H. M'y's Warr't for replac'g the former Advance sent

me from the 2s. ²⁶² H'h'd. I sent for the Rec'r Gen'l²⁶² and the Council. He declared it was not in his Power to strike the Balla. of y't Revenue at pres't, but in Ap'l he w'd be ready, and then be assur'd I shall give due Obed'ce to H. M'y's Com'ds. Enclosed I Send You a Copy of the Minute of Council on y't Affair, and hope the Delay of 2 Mos. will not be charg'd to me, as I shall at all Times be ready in comply'g with such Orders as I may receive from Time to Time, y't can possibly be put in Execution. Inclosed I send You the Informat'n of a Deserter from the Fr., giving Acc't of their Forces from Quebeck to the Fort built last Year on the Ohio, w'ch is tho't here to be very genuine and true, but they still expect great re-inforcements from Fr.; however, if the two Regim'ts and the Ordnance Stores arrive soon, I am in great Hopes y't we shall be able to do all y't may be expected, and proper Dispositions are made for march'g and quarter'g the Troops w'n they arrive. The Fr. are extremely earnest in collecting numb's of Ind's of different Tribes even to the Westw'd of Mississippi, they threaten to attack our Fort at W. Creek, but I hope our People will be properly on their Guard, and rem'n on the defensive till our Troops arrive. Inclosed I send You the Draft of the Fort and Barracks, w'ch is named Cumberl'd Fort.²⁶³ S'r Jno. St. Clair, who is an indefatigable Gent. in his Duty, proposes the hav'g a No. of Croats to be sent here, the Reasons he assigns, and the Character he gives of those People are very strong, but I beg to be referred to his own Let'r w'ch he writes You by this Opp'ty, on y't Subject. As I have nothing further to trouble Y'r Ex'y with, but y't I rem'n, with great deference and due respects,

R't Hon., &c.

P. S.—Sir: I Omitted to acquaint You that I wrote Mr. Glen, Gov'r of So. Car., the Necessity and usefulness of support'g a

²⁶² This was Colonel Richard Corbin, of "Laneville," King and Queen county, (son of Gawin, and grandson of Henry Corbin, of "Hall End," Warwickshire, England, who emigrated to Middlesex county, Va., about 1650, and died there January 8, 1675,) born in 1708; County-Lieutenant of Essex; President of the Council, and it was through his influence that Washington was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in 1754; married Elizabeth, daughter of John Tayloe, of "Mt. Airy," Richmond county, and was living in 1783.

²⁶³ Named in honor of the Duke of Cumberland.

good Understand'g and F'dship with the different Tribes of Ind's in our Int't, particularly the Catawbas and Cherokees, and the building a Fort in the upper Cherokee Co'try, for w'ch Service I am ordered from Home to advise with and assist him. He answer'd my Let'r and sent me a Calculat'n for building s'd Fort, amo'g to £6,484 15s. St'g and desired me to remit him 7,000£ in Bills of Excha. out of the 10,001£ Credit I have leave to draw for; in the above Calculat'n he charg'd the expence of 300 Men to be employ'd in y't Service. S'r Jno. St. Clair being here as Q'r M'r Gen'l to the Expedit'n, I showed him his Let'r and he s'd he did not know w't he meant by employing 300 Men, as it was to be built among our f'dly Ind's, and he believed by proper Oeconomy it might be built for $\frac{1}{3}$ d of the Money. I call'd the Council to advise on this Affair, and they tho't his Dem'd was very extravagant and unreasonable, as he must know the great Dem'ds there is on me for Money for the Expedit'n, but y't he may see my Readiness to obey Orders from Home, they advised me to send 1,000£ St'g, w'ch I did by Bill on Mr. J. Hanbury, and I think the Colony of So. Car. sh'd furnish the rest, as they have not contributed one Farth'g for the Expedit'n, and I hope this Step will be approved at Home.

I am, &c.,

P. S.—Mr. Abercrombie is appointed by the Council, Agent for this Dom'n, and I hope his Conduct will meet with Y'r Approbat'n.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE EARL OF HALIFAX.

Feb'y 12th, 1755.

R'T HON.:

Hav'g the Opp'ty of His Maj'y Ship Gibraltar, C't Spray, I c'd not shun pay'g my dutiful Respects to You. We are in daily Expectat'n of the Arrival of the two Regim'ts from Ireland His M'y was graciously pleased to order to our Assist'ce ag'st the Fr. on the Ohio, and I have been greatly engag'd in provid'g Provis's and other Requisites for their Receipt'n, and have continued in enlisting Recruits for the Service.

Our No. now is 800 Men or upwards, but we are very ill assisted by our neighbour'g Colonies, none of them have as yet granted proper Supplies. No. Car. Assembly has voted £5,000, and Mr. Dobbs writes me he will send here a Co'y and a Qu'ty of Provis's. M'y'l'd has voted 6,000£, and the Gov'r proposes 2 Compa's. Pensylvania Assembly, by an unhappy Difference with their Gov'r, is broke up with't do'g any Thing, and indeed with't a Supply of Mo'y from Home I dread the Conseq'ce of Paying and maintain'g the Forces, or can I now think we can have any Dependence on the Assemblies of the different Colonies with't a B. Act of Parliam't to raise a gen'l Tax on all his M'y's Subjects on this Cont't. I enclose You a Copy of an Informat'n from a Fr. Deserter, w'ch is here esteem'd genuine and true, by w'ch You will please to observe the No. of Men and Forts from Canada to Monongahela, but the Fr. say y't they expect great Reinforcem'ts from Fr., and y't they are collect'g all the Ind's they can, even to the Westw'd of Mississippi, and learning them the Art of War. However, if they sh'd see our Regulars appear with some Coehorns in the Aid, I dare say many of the Ind's will leave them; but the Delay of our Troops gives me much Uneasiness, as I wish they c'd be the other Side of the Allegany Mount's the latter End of Mar. or Beginning of Apr. If we sh'd be so happy as to destroy Fort at the Ohio, proceed up y't River to Lake Erie, destroy'g the Forts in the Way, get to our Fort Oswego, and to be joined by the two Regim'ts, rais'g in N. Eng., attack their Strong Fort at Crown Point, w'd be doing Business, and no more than tak'g Possess'n of the Lands ceded to us by the Treaty of Utrich. But w'n Gen'l Braddock arrives, I doubt not but the Operat's for the Sumer's Campaign will be properly consulted, and our Military Operat's in better Order than has been hitherto conducted here from the want of Persons of Knowledge and Understand'g in these Affairs. I much want to know if any Thing is done in regard to the Union of the Colonies. The Scheme from Albany on y't head is by no means agreeable to our People, and I dare not give my Opinion thereon, as I hear it lies with his M'y in Council; but it will be very agreeable if any Thing can be done to bring the wrong-headed People in this Part of the World to a proper Understand'g of their pres't Danger, and to rouse

an Emulat'n among them for their Safety in rais'g proper Supplies for defeat'g the Designs of the Com'n Enemy. I hope Y'r L'ds. will excuse this Long Let'r, but cann't leave off with't assur'g You y't I am With great Deference and due Respect,

R't Hon., Y'r L'd's most obed't humble Servant.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD ALBEMARLE.

Feb'y 12th, 1755.

R'T HON.:

I have the Hon'r of Y'r Let'r from Paris of the 16th Sept'r. The Skermish between the English Forces and those of Fr. is very unjustly reported with You. The State of y't Affair is this: Our Second Detachment, y't went over the Allegany Mount's to support those y't were ordered by me to build a Fort by H. M'y's Com'ds on the River Ohio, had notice on y'r March y't a No. of the Fr. came down the River Ohio, surpriz'd our People y't were building y't Fort, and from the Superiority of their Numb's, they oblig'd them to give up the Fort, and March off. This may justly be deem'd the first Breach. Colo. Washington, on hear'g this, encamp'd his Men in the Meadows, about fifty Miles distant from the above Fort. One of our f'dly Ind's sent him Notice y't a No. of F——h had been seen two or three Days reconoit'g their Camp, and if he, with a Detachm't, w'd come to him, he w'd let them know where the Party of Fr. were encamp'd. He accordingly march'd with 35 Men, march'g all Night, and about 9 o'Clock in the Morn'g they came within 200 y'ds of the Fr, w'n the Fr., on Sight of our Men, imediately flew to their Arms. The Ind's y't were with us began the Act'n, and after two or 3 Fires the Fr. were worsted, ab't 12 killed, and the others taken Prisoners. Among the killed was Mons'r Jumonville. It's true the Prisoners s'd they were come on an Embassy from their Fort, but Y'r L'ds. knows y't Ambassadors do not come with such an arm'd Force, with't a Trumpet or any other Sign of Friendship, or can it be tho't they were on an Embassy, by stay'g so long reconoitreing our Small Camp, but more

probable y't they expected a Reinforcem't from the Fort to cut them all off. It's true in the Capitulat'n, after they make use of the Assassinat'n, but Washington not know'g [the] Fr. was deceived by the Interpreter.²⁶⁴ If he had not, he declares y't he w'd not have agreed to it, tho' then in great Straits. The Interpreter was a Poltroon, and tho' an Officer with us, they say he has joined with the Fr. This is the Truth, reported by two of our Officers, and declared on their Hon'r. We are in daily Expectat'n of a Reinforcem't from B., w'n I hope our Affairs will be conducted with more Military Knowledge than hitherto. We have S'r Jno. St. Clair now here, who is an indefatigable good Officer. Y'r L'ds. interceed'g in behalf of Mr. Randolph's being reinstated in his former Office, has had a proper influence on me, and according to Y'r Desire, w'ch I can by no means withstand, I have replaced him in his Office. I presume S'r Jno. St. Clair writes You, to whom I desire You to be referred, and beg to assure You, I am, with great Deference and due Respects,
Y'r L'd's most ob'd't humble Servant.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SECRETARY HENRY FOX.

Feb'y 12th, 1755.

R'T HON.:

I rec'd Y'rs of the 27th of Sept'r, and w't is therein directed as to the Rank of the Officers, it shall be duly observed and communicated to all the officers concern'd. The N. York Comp'ys were extremely bad, but I beg to refer you to S'r John St. Clair, who writes You now thereon. The Orders I had relat'g to the In't Companies, were from the Sec'ry of State, and I am sorry it was not communicated to You; and if they understood this Co'try was to give them the necessary Supplies, they were mistaken, for on my Applicat'n to our Assembly, they absolutely refused. Copy of my Applicat'n and their Resolve I have transmitted home. They c'd not proceed on Act'n or rem'n here with't these necessary Supplies and Provis's, w'ch they had

²⁶⁴ Vanbraam. See note *ante* p. 51.

from me. And as H. M'y was graciously pleased to send out Money for the Service, I hope my charg'g the Supplies given them will be allow'd in my Acc't on disburs'g y't Money. We are in daily Expectat'n of the two Regim'ts from Irel'd, and the Ordnance Stores w'ch w'n here gives me Sanguine Hopes y't we shall be able to drive the Fr. from His M'y's Lands.

I rem'n with great Deference and due respects,

R't Hon., Y'r most humble servant.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CAPTAIN LEWIS.

Feb'y 12th, 1755.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 16th Jan'y from Y'r Ensign, Mr. Wright. I did send up to Capt. Stephens near 1,200[£], to pay the different Compa's, and I had no doubt but You was included; however, I cannot pay You up to the Time You mention, till Mr. Stephens settles his Acc't. I have sent by Mr. Wright 250£, [£]139 13s. for the Provis's, and the Remainder tow'ds Y'r Compa's Pay; and the Balla. y't may be due, w'n you send a proper Muster Roll Sign'd by Y'r Officers, must be paid. I now order You to leave the Ensign, a Serj't, or Corporal, and 18 private Men at the Fort You have built, and with the rest of Y'r Compa. You are to march imediately for Winchester, and there rem'n till You have further Orders. Mr. Long is to march with You to Winch'r, and he will be p'd for his Service. I desire [you] in Y'r Acc'ts to Charge 5£ for Mr. Wright's Exp's in Coming here for the Money. If you can 'list Some Stout young Men y't will march with You to Winchester, they shall, after Review, be rec'd into the Service, and be p'd their enlisting Money. I am,

Sir, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO ENSIGN WILLIAM WRIGHT.

Feb'y 12th, 1755.

SIR:

I have ordered Capt. Lewis to leave You a Corporal or Serjeant and 18 private Men at the Fort You lately built. You are to keep a good Look out, if You see any Number of Fr. or Ind's upon our Frontiers, and endeavour to be exact in Y'r Duty in mak'g short Marches from Y'r Fort to make Discoveries, and apply to Colo. Patton to have some of his Militia ready at an Hour's warning, in Case You discover any large Parties Com'g to disturb our Frontiers. I herewith give you £20 to buy Provis's for Y'r People, and You are to rem'n there till further Orders from me or some other Com'd'g Officer.

I am, S'r, Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

14th Feb'y, 1755.

SIR:

The Day after You left this I rec'd a Let'r from Capt. Stephens, acquaint'g me y't next Day he was to march for W. Creek with the Men at Winch'r, w'ch gives S'r Jno. St. Clair much Concern for the Reasons assigned when you was here. This Messenger is sent by S'r Jno. to the Gov'r of Pensylva. for a Description of his Colony, and to desire a Road may be opened from Phila. to the Allegany Mo'ts. The Messenger has my Orders to call on You in his Return, w'n I hope You will be able to write me agreeably of the Supplies from Y'r Assembly and Y'r Review of the Men at Fr'ksb'g and Alexa'a. S'r Jno. went this Morn'g to Hampt'n with his Dispatches for England. As the Wind is at S. W., I w'd gladly expect y't he will, on his return, give Acc't of the Arrival of the Men of War and Transports.

I rem'n with very great Respect and in Truth,

Y'r Ex's most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DENWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR MORRIS.

Feb'y 15th, 1755.

SIR :

Inclosed I send You a Let'r from S'r Jno. St. Clair to w'ch I desire to be referred, he is a very diligent, good Officer, and has been very much engaged ever since the Arrival in viewing our Colony, and preparing every Thing for the Receipt'n of the Troops (w'ch we daily expect) and for their March to the Camp at W. Creek. I wrote You the 14th Ult. to w'ch I expected your Answer before this, but Mr. Peters²⁶⁵ wrote me y't You was so hurried You c'd not write by Mr. Pitcher.²⁶⁶ I am heartily sorry for the Conduct of Y'r Ho. of Assembly, they appear to me to catch at any Thing rather than comply with his M'y's Com'ds or the pres't Situat'n of our Affairs in grant'g a Supply for conduct'g y's necessary Expedition, on the Success thereof, their Lives, Fortunes and Liberties depend. My former Let'r was to desire the Purchase of 600,000 w't of Flour to be d—d at the Magazine at W. Creek; as I have the Expedit'n much at Heart I have a thorow Dependence on that Supply from y'r Province, and as Y'r People have not granted You any Money, I propose pay'g for the above in Bills of Excha. rather y'n any Disappointm't sh'd happen. I wrote Mr. Allen on the same Subject and I hope for an agreeable Answer by return of this Express, w'ch S'r Jno. St. Clair sends on purpose to know the Situat'n of Y'r Province and y't a Road may be opened to the Allegany Mount's thro' Y'r City, but I refer You to his Letter, and desire to assure You y't I am, with great Respect,

Y'r Hon'r's most h'ble Serv't.

²⁶⁵ Richard Peters, D. D., born at Liverpool, England, in 1704; died at Philadelphia, July 10, 1776; came to America in 1735; pastor of Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1735-7; appointed Secretary to the Proprietary, October 26, 1737; provincial Secretary February, 1743, and clerk of the Council, May, 1749; a member of the Council, January, 1762. Resigned his civil offices December, 1762, and was rector of St. Peter's Church until September, 1775. He published a "Sermon on Education," 1751.

²⁶⁶ In *Pennsylvania Archives*, ii, pp 249-50, there is a letter from Governor Morris to Sir Thomas Robinson, dated January 30, 1755, which was "Sent by Mr. Pitcher to be put on board the Gibraltar, Captain Spry, at Virginia, January 31."

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ'R.

Feb'y 15th, 1755.

SIR:

I wrote You the 14th Ult., to desire Y'r favo. to purchase 600,000 w't of Flour to be d'd at our Magazine, at W. Creek, to w'ch I am not favo'd with Y'r Answer. As the Supply of the Troops now there and those expected from Irel'd greatly depends on y't Supply, I therefore pray Y'r Care to make the Purchase, the Amo. thereof shall be p'd by Bills of Excha., as You may direct. As I find Y'r Assembly will not grant any Supply, S'r Jno. St. Clair, Q'r M'r Gen'l of the Forces now here, says y't he ordered Mr. Walker, one of our Commissaries, from W. Creek to Y'r City to purchase 200,000 w't of Flour. Pray send for him and consult the Qu'ty y't can be immediately carried there, as we daily expect the Forces. I w'd hope they will be on their March over the Allegany Mount's the end of next Mo., so You may observe no Time is to [be] lost in providing the necessary Supplies of Provis's. I have laid in a large Qu'ty of Pork and Beef. I am heartily sorry to observe the lethargic Indolence of Y'r People, and their Supineness in not granting suitable Aid in the Time of so much apparent Danger, when the Enemy is at our Doors threat'g us with Destruct'n. I have been greatly fatigued from the Beginn'g of this Expedit'n, but the prospect we now have of defeat'g the malicious machinations of the Com'n Enemy raises my Spirits, yet with't a mutual Assist'ce of all the Colonies, I dread H. M'y's fraternal Care and generous Assistance for our Preservat'n will prove abortive, if the People in the different Colonies cannot be roused with Emulat'n and Spirit to their own Preservat'n. Pray tender my kind respects to Mr. Hamilton, and I wish You w'd freely communicate Y'r Opinion of the Operat's now in Hand. Excuse my Freedom and believe me to be, with very great Respect, Worthy Sir,

Y'r most ob'd't humble servant.

Since writ'g the above I rec'd, this Minute, Y'rs of the 4th of Feb'ry, and I am obliged for the Trouble of writ'g to the back Co'try, and if Flour can be purchased there and carried to W. Creek, y't will be the most eligible Method, for we can send

none by Water above Falls of Poto.; the Falls of Shannando, are in our way y't we cannot possibly send any y't way, and as the Urgency of Affairs is such we must not trust to uncertainties, and therefore must submit to the Farmer's and Miller's Prices. Every bl. of Pork from Alexa'a to the Camp, stands near 20s. for the Carriage thereof, by w'ch You may observe y't Y'r Proposal from Y'r Town, or the head of the Bay w'd be attended with monstrous Exp's. As Mr. Walker, one of the Comiss's, will be with You, pray direct the Advertisem'ts You propose, w'ch may be of great Service, and he can do it on his Ret'n to the Camp. And as I am an entire Stranger to Y'r back Co'try, I earnestly desire Y'r Direction therein. I have not rec'd any Let'r from Y'r Gov'r. Cash is so scarce here y't I have been obliged to send 2,000[£] Bills to Y'r Place to change into Cash, to answer the pres't Calls; but if it suits you, and You give me Direct's by return of this Express, I will send You Bills of Excha. or remit them from this to Y'r Fr'd in Londo., and shall accordingly wait Y'r direct'n. I shall answer y't Part of Y'r Let'r in regard to Beef after the Forces arrive here. I shall be glad of Y'r earnest Endeavours to procure the Supply of Flour in the most certain and quickest Method to be d'd at W. Creek, and I am with very great Respect,

Sir, Y'r most obed't Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THOMAS WALKER.

Feb'y 15th, 1755.

SIR:

Gov'r Sharpe and S'r J. St. Clair inform'g me y't You was directed to Phila'a to purchase Flour, I hope this will meet You there, and it's to desire You to consult with Wm. Allen, Esq'r, in regard to the Purchase and the Qu'ty. I have wrote to y't Gent. to the same Purpose, and let me hear from You on the Return of the Express. I wish You Health, &c., and am,

Sir, Y'r humble serv't.

[P. S.]—You know Dispatch is absolutely necessary.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Feb'y 18th, 1755.

SIR:

To Qualify You to state Your Acc't with No. Car., I herewith send You Colo. Hunter's Acc'ts, Sales, and Do. Current, and Y'r Acc't with me in w'ch I give You Cr. for the Balla. of Hunter's Acc't amo'g to [£]456 9s. 2d., w'ch, w'n the Things charged on the Debit side is accounted for, I will pay. S'r Jno. St. Clair comes up to review the Recruits and to discharge such [as] he may think not fit for Service. As he is a Gent. greatly known in military Affairs, I desire You will do w't he may direct. He was sorry for the Step You took in send'g for the Men from Winchester. He will give You his Reasons for it. In stating Y'r Acc't with Y'r Province, I think You may justly charge 10s. p' Day for the Time You have been in Service, and I have good Reason to believe it will be allowed, and y't will not hinder me from paying You properly from this Dom'n. The Forces are daily expected, and S'r Jno. is very earnest in hav'g Provis's lodged at Winchester, w'ch I have ordered accordingly. What You proposed relat'g to Y'rself is tho't not eligible, but You will be properly taken Care of, and You may speak freely to S'r Jno. on y't or any Thing else, and on the Gent's Arrival be assured I shall do any Thing in my Power for Y'r Service, and am, with great Regard,

Sir, Y'r affect'e Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

Feb'y 18th, 1755.

SIR:

This will be d'd You by S'r Jno. St. Clair. I am told many of our Recruits are sickly, distempered and unfit for Service. Sir Jno. is to review them, and those y't are unfit he is to discharge, and to particularly notice the officers y't enlisted them. After w'ch, the Remainder are to be distinguish'd by their proper Names in a Muster Roll sign'd by the Capt. and Subaltern

Officers; With't y't, I cannot pay them. You had Money enough w'n here to pay them all till the End of Oct'r, and I tho't I sent You sufficient to pay them till the End of Dec'r. Yet I p'd 100 and odd Pounds to Capt. Lewis. The Muster Rolls must be compleated Weekly and p'd every two Mos. I rem'n with Respect,

Y'r Friend, &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO CHARLES DICK.

Feb'y 18th, 1755.

SIR:

This comes by S'r Jno. St. Clair, who is to review our Recruits. I have had a bad Report of them. Those not fit for Service, he will discharge, as they will otherwise be an Expense, and consume the Provis's. I shall soon make the Pork sent You up, 400 bls. I desire You will get it lodged at Winchest'r with the Flour You have, with all possible Dispatch, and if You cannot hire Waggon's for carry'g it up, You are to press them, agreeable to Act of Assembly, for I c'd wish all the Provis's were at Winchester with all possible Dispatch. Pray let S'r Jno. know what Provis's You have engaged, y't he may know w't further to purchase, y't we may not be deficient by the Time the Forces arrive from Irel'd. Write me if You want Money, and how much. W'n a good Opp'ty Offers I shall send it [to] You. I am,

Sir, Y'r Fr'd and h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

Feb'y 18th, 1755.

SIR:

Y'r several Let's, Oct'r 12, 14, 15 and 28, I duly rec'd. As to w't you write in regard to the Augmentat'n of Y'r Salary, wants no Answer, as y't was done before Y'r letter was wrote, and as I had Int't sufficient to prevail with the Council to do

properly, I think You may be easy. I sent You a Bill of 100[£] on Messrs. H. for first six Mo's; the next will be in May. You must now be tender in Y'r extra Cha's, and no Coach hire, w'ch I promised to write You on y't Subject. You were too premature in engag'g to pay Mr. Leheup 100£ for resignat'n [of] his Agency, and I blame You for not consult'g me thereon, by w'ch You loose 100£. I omitted mention'g You to the Secr'y of State as Agent of this Dom'n, conceiv'g it sufficient to do it to the B'd of Trade, and the Earl of Albemarle. As to the Stile of my Let's to the different Offices, as they are chiefly on the main Subject of the Expedit'n, my dem'd of Supplies were more fully to the Secr'y of State, and to the others repeated my Solicitat'ns to y't Office, and entreat their different Interests in procuring the Supplies pray'd for. It's true some of my Letters to the Board of Trade (as Secr'y for the Plantat'ns) were formerly much the same as to S'r Thos. Robinson, but for the Future I shall alter y't by only hint'g w't I have pray'd for. The Warr't for replac'g the 20,000£ from the 2s. ⁶/₈ Hhd. Revenue, by my Warr'ts for Balla. of y't Revenue in the Rec'r-Gen'l's Hands, was enclos'd me by S'r T. Robinson. Agreeable thereto I sent for the Rec'r-Gen'l, and call'd the Council Yesterday, w'n I demanded of him the Balla. of y't Revenue in his Hands, his Answer in Council was y't he c'd not ascertain the Balla. as there was several of my Warr'ts to be bro't to Acc't, and a good many Necessaries from Mr. H's, w'ch he was to pay out of y't Fund, and therefore pray'd to be excused till Apr., the Time he is to pass his Acct's, w'n the Balla. will be considerably increased; and the Council as well as myself tho't this reasonable, and accordingly acquiesced therein, and shall by this Ship transmit the Minute of Council thereon to S'r T. R., and hope my act'g in this Man'r will not be judged any Disobedience to His M'y's Com'ds, or with any View to prevent his Order tak'g proper Place, for it was impossible for me to give a Warr't on the Rec'r for an uncertain Sum, but be assur'd in Apr. my Warr't on him (agreeable to H. M'y's Com'ds) shall be immediately issued after his Acc'ts are pass'd. Pray write how this short Delay of two Mo's is rec'd. As to Mr. Randolph, from the many Let's he bro't me, and his acknowledgm't under hand of his hav'g acted inconsist't with his Duty, and clear'g himself from the unjust Reflect's ag'st me in the News Papers at Home,

and his sincere Promise to conduct himself more regularly for the Future, and with more Regard to H. M'y's Service and proper Respect to me, I have re-instated him in his Office of Att'y Gen'l, and have agreeable thereto, wrote to the L'ds of Trade, and I believe he writes You to get his Com'n pass the Seals, for Y'r trouble herein, I advise You to charge Nothing.

There are two Persons with You y't have made Int't to be agent for this Dom'n, but I think You may rem'n easy dur'g the Time I preside, and I fancy I have secur'd Y'r Int't with the Council and am perswaded none can be appointed with't my Approbat'n. I think a Let'r of Thanks from You to the Board for Y'r Appointm't and Augmentat'n of Y'r Salary will be very proper. Inclosed You have the printed Proceedings of the last Assembly and the Acts y'n passed. One is to invest 700 Acres of Land on Cherrystone Creek in No'hampton Co'ty in Littleton Eyre,²⁶⁷ w'ch I desire You to use Y'r Int't to get Assent thereto, and I here send You a Let'r to Mr. Jas. Buchanan to Supply You with Money to pay the necessary Exp's thereof. As to our warlike Dispositions, we now rem'n in great Expectat'n of the Forces from Irel'd, and I continue still recruit'g all the Men I can; our numbers are upwards of 800, but no Assist'ce from our neighbouring Colonies. M'yl'd and Pensylva'a Assemblies are adjourned with't vot'g any Aid. No. Car. has voted 8,000 £ Proc. Mo'y, 5,000 thereof for the Expedit'n, but these Sums are very trifling for Conduct'g it with proper Spirit, the indolent Supineness of the different Colonies appears to me a gen'l Infatuat'n w'n our Enem'es are at our Doors; however, w'n the Regulars arrive I am in Hopes we shall be able to do some thing essential y's next Sumer. The Gov'r and Assembly of Pensylva'a, I think, differed ab't Trifles, w'ch sh'd subside at this Time of Danger; no doubt You will have their Proceedings at Home, w'ch ended without any Mo'y or Men. I think the Proprietary Gov'ts are highly blameable in not giving due obedience to H. M'y's Com'ds after so generous and large Supplies he has been pleased to grant for their Protect'n. I was ordered

²⁶⁷ Lands entailed to John, eldest son of John Armistead. See *Hen-ing* vi, pp. 405-7. The MS. confirmation of the act, by the Privy Council, is in the cabinet of the Virginia Historical Society—a gift from Severn Eyre, Esq.

from Home to advise and assist Gov'r Glen in building a Fort in the Upper Cherokee Co'try. I wrote him agreeable thereto and in Answer he sent me an Estimate amount'g to £6,480 St'g and had the Modesty to desire me to send him Bills of Excha. for £7,000 out of the Cr. I had to draw for £10,000. I cannot say but his Dem'd surpriz'd me much, as he very well knows the great Call on me on Acc't of this Expedit'n; however, to show my Readiness to comply with my Orders from Home, I sent him my Bills on Mr. H. for 1,000[£], and I think Car. sh'd be at the rest of the Charge, but every Person here thinks it may be done for $\frac{1}{3}$ of his Calculation. He is altogether the strangest possitive assum'g Man I ever corresponded with, and there I leave him. You may easily conceive the Trouble and Hurry I am engaged in, and in course excuse my writ'g any more than to assure You I am with true Regard,

Sir, Y'r affect. h'ble Serv't.

P. S.—Pray pres't my kind Complim'ts to Mr. Turie and Lady. I can't tell how to acc't for Mr. H's omiss'n of this Thing needful, or do I know w't Advantage he may have therefrom, for I rec'd the whole Mo'y, and I think you are sufficiently acquainted to tell him of his Omiss'n therein. My Dem'd on the Portorico affair was not duly attended to by the Person y't made the Calculat'n or probably he was not told y't I had no more than four Pistreens for Ps's $\frac{8}{8}$ [*sic*],²⁶⁸ w'ch was little more than 3-9 St'g.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DOBBS.

Feb'y 18th, 1755.

SIR:

Y'rs of the 11th Curr't I rec'd last Night. Y'r Serv't, by Advice of Mr. Watson, carried Y'r Dispatches on b'd the Gibraltar. I much approve of Y'r Son's com'g with a Compa. of 100 Men, and the sooner the better, as the Transports from Irel'd are daily expected. I am convinced the pernicious Scheme of last Year will make Y'r Son's Recruit'g very troublesome, but hope

²⁶⁸ The Spanish dollar, or piece of eight reals.

y't will be surmounted, as Y'r People will have the same Pay with ours. I cannot tell whether the Traders in Suffolk will take Y'r Paper Bills, as they are in Debt to Y'r Province, w'ch can be no Inconvenience to them; but they will not pass Curr't thorow the Province, as they are so adverse of issueing Paper for their own Service and on proper Security. I wrote You in my last the Price of Pork and Beef here. S'r J. St. Clair answers Y'r Let'r by Y'r Serv't; he sets out this Day for the Camp; he is a very capable and diligent Officer. When the Forces arrive, I shall take Care to give Notice to the different Tribes of Ind's, but the Twightwees being at a Distance, and the Fr. between us and them, y't it will be difficult, but a Message is sent to them some Time since, but as yet no return. I expect some Catawbas and Cherokees at Winchester the End of next Mo., to make Peace between the former and the No'ern Ind's. The Fr. are collecting all the Ind's they can, even to West of the Mississippi, but if our Forces get over the Mount's and shew them some of our Coehorns, I doubt not but many of them will desert. I shall send You Copy of the Operat's concluded on after the Gen'l arrives. I have sanguine Hop'es of Success after our Forces are marched, but Pensylva'a has behaved monstrously bad; the Assembly broke up with't grant'g us any aid. I shall, at all Times, take Pleasure in correspond'g with You; at pres't much hurried, must, therefore, take leave with all our kind respects and Wishes. I rem'n, in great Sincerety,

Y'r Ex's most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL FAIRFAX.

Feb'y 19th, 1755.

SIR:

I have Y'r favo. of the 10th of Feb'y, with Mr. Wood's Com'o. ret'd, w'ch is well. The Forces [are] not yet arrived, tho' daily expected. Sir John is gone for the Camp. Mr. Carlyle wrote me his Affairs w'd not admit him to be at the Camp, and the Money necessary c'd not be lodged there, but in the Hands of a Person of Character and Estate, and it's expected

y't Mr. Carlyle will continue to act in any Thing y't may be necessary at Alexa'a. I always had and have a good Opinion of Mr. Gist's Capacity and Integrity, yet I did not think him a proper Person to act as Commissary with the Forces. The Acc'ts and Ballances due, You know must be laid before the Comittee, as the Act of Assembly has vested them with Authority to examine and pass them, so y't I cannot advance Money on y't Acc't, and indeed for listing Money, Provis's, Horses, Waggon, the Men's Pay, &c., I have advanc'd near 12,000£, so y't I must now begin on my Cr. from Home to draw Bills. My Service to Mr. Carlyle. I am so hurried I cannot write to him or Capt. Mercer, w'ch please tell them. [I] am sorry for the difference between Gist and Cresap; the former has shown me some unmannerly Affidavits sworn to in M'yl'd, and I believe Cresap is a person of hot Resentm't and great Acrimony. I believe Mr. Gist's Acc'ts are with Mr. Walthoe. I suppose they will lie with him till You come to Town. I rem'n with my very kind respects to You, and all the Branches of Y'r family, in Truth, I am,

Sir, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO MAJOR CARLYLE.

Feb'y 20th, [1755].

SIR:

Mr. Gist has been here two Days and produces several Acc'ts ag'st the Public, but as he is not an officer appointed by me, I have no Concerns with him, if by You, he must settle with You, and You with the Public. He has many Receipts for his Purchases, but none of his delivery of the Provis's at the Fort, w'ch is wrong, for they must be produced, and the issuing of the Provis's, daily or Weekly, is also to be furnished; for his Charge for Beef, added to w't You was p'd in Oct'r, will come to 4 bls. of Beef p' Man a Day, besides Pork, so y't the Acc't's cannot be settled w't the above Requisites, or will any Acc'ts from Mr. Gist be looked on but throw You. However, as he complains much the want of Money, I send You [£]80, 4s., and have taken his Receipt to be d'd You, and You may take his Receipt for

the same, if You see proper. General Braddock²⁶⁹ arrived last night at Hampton. Being in [a] hurry, I cannot enlarge, but y't I am,

Sir, Y'r h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO JAMES ABERCROMBY.

Feb'y 24th, [1755.]

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let's 29th Nov'r and 16th Dec'r by Gen'l Braddock, who came to my House last night, and the Gibraltar, by w'ch Ship I wrote You, being to sail To morrow, straitens me in Time. I am much surpriz'd the Pistole Fee sh'd still rem'n

²⁶⁹ Edward Braddock, son of Major-General Edward Braddock, entered the army as ensign in the Coldstream Guards, October 14, 1710; fought a duel with Colonel Waller, with sword and pistols, May 26, 1718; Captain, February 10, 1736; served in Flanders; became Second Major to his regiment in 1743; present at Fontenoy, May 11, 1745; Lieutenant-Colonel, November 21, 1745; Brigadier-General, April 23, 1746; served again in Flanders in 1747-8; Colonel Fourteenth Foot, 1753; Major-General, March, 1754, and September 24, Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in America; sailed from England, December 21, and arrived in Virginia, February 19, 1755. He was fatally wounded at the hapless engagement on the Monongahela, July 9; was borne from the field in his officer's sash, improvised as a stretcher, and died on the 13th inst. following. His arrogance made him obnoxious to both the native soldiery and the Indian allies, and the generally accepted tradition is that he was murdered by one of the former—Thomas Fausett, a subsequent resident of Fayette county, Pa., who, in later years, avowed the fact. Braddock's private character appears to have been that of a heartless, broken-down gambler and spendthrift. Yet those who most bitterly censured him allow him certain merits. "Desperate in his fortune, brutal in his behaviour, obstinate in his sentiments," says Walpole, "he was still intrepid and capable."

A sister, Miss Fanny Braddock, singularly gifted with attractions of person and mind, having impoverished herself to relieve the necessities of a man whom she loved, and being deserted by him, in her despair sought the excitement of the gaming table. Soon dissipating the scanty remains of her patrimony, and wearied of life, she committed suicide at Bath, September 8, 1731.

in Remembrance and tho't y't prevents our Assembly giving Assistance to the pres't Expedit'n, if it had not been in support of the Lords of Trade Approbat'n thereof, y't Affair sh'd have been quash'd here, and how can it be tho't y't hindered the Supplies of y's Gov't w'n, in fact, they have voted almost d'ble the Sum of all the other Colonies put together. The People here are very easy on y't Fee and I acknowledge to You if I tho't it w'd have been so canvass'd and considered I w'd rather have given it entirely up, for it produces a mere Trifle. I am mighty glad Gen'l Braddock is arrived, w'ch I hope will give me some Ease, for these 12 mo's past I have been a perfect Slave, and nothing but His M'y's Com'ds, National Service and the Good of these Colonies c'd have prevailed on me to undergo such Fatigue, but the Prospect w'n the Troops from Irel'd arrive will raise my Spirits and hope for Success, w'ch I shall esteem an agreeable Issue to all my Troubles; being very much in haste, I am Y'r affect. h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD HALIFAX.

Feb'y 24th, 1755.

R'T HON'BLE:

I have the Hon'r of Y'r Let'r of the 26th Nov'r by Gen'l Braddock, and this Day Y'r L'ds. of the 19th Dec'r, both w'ch I have very seriously read and considered. His M'y's great Care of His Colonies on y's Cont't are of so remarkable and distinguish'd paternal Affect'n, y't it ought to rouse the most obstinate People to a dutiful Compliance with his Direct's and Orders for a mutual Supply. But my Heart is grieved, and I want Words to express the obdurate and inconsist't Behaviour of our neighbour'g Colonies, not as yet awaken'd from y'r Lethargy, No. Car. only excepted, who have voted [£]5,000 for the Expedit'n. M'yl'd Assembly now siting. Pensylva'a Assembly adjourn'd with't vot'g one Farth'g, and by pretence of a Misunderstand'g between the Gov'r and them, they reject the royal Instruct's, and I fear are not well inclined to their own Preservat'n, for no small Punctilios sh'd preside w'n so imminent

Danger appears. I am affraid it is down right obstinacy, as I flattered myself y't the Vote of our Assembly for £20,000 w'd have raised an Emulat'n among our neighbour'g Colonies. If the People in these Colonies had only a Spirit of Gratitude and proper Reflect'n, w't w'd they not do after so great Care taken of them from their Mother Co'try, and the very great Indulgence from H. M'y; but truly I think, in gen'l, they have given their Senses a long Holliday. I wish I c'd see them ret'n and seriously consider their Lives, Fortunes and Religion at Stake, and I must join with Y'r L'dship, y't if they do not very quickly exert themselves with Spirit, Ruin must be the Consequence. I am very glad I was able to prevail with our Assembly to grant the £20,000, but was in hopes they w'd have doubled y't Sum, and if the other Colonies w'd only exert themselves, I doubt not but our Assembly w'd Vote a further Sum, but indeed I am Still of Opinion y't with't a B. Act of Parliam't to oblige all the Colonies to a mutual Supply, y't nothing of Conseq'ce will be done here. The Forces from Irel'd not yet arrived, but Gen'l Braddock thinks they may be here in a Fortnight, w'ch will be full late; yet I have great Hopes of their doing Business essential on the Ohio, under the Direct'n of so good an Officer. I have 'listed near 1,000 Men, and from the Opperrat's and Dispositions proposed, I conceive there will be no Occas'n of 'listing more, as they are not so expert as the officers c'd wish them; but I shall advise with the Gen'l, and if more are wanted, I think they may be soon raised, and am of Opinion if they get over the Allegany Mount's next Mo. with the Regulars and those at W. Creek, we shall be strong enough for the Enemy. I have and shall do all in my Power for the service. The Fort and Magazine at W. Creek is tho't by S'r Jno. St. Clair not to be in a proper Situat'n, yet of much Use as a Magazine.

From the best Informat's there are not above 1,200 Fr. at the Fort on the Ohio, besides Ind's, who are a very uncertain Auxillary, and I have no doubt, but on the Appearance of our Regulars, there will be many deserters. In my Opinion, the Fr. cannot support many Forces on the Ohio with't the Assistance of the B. Colonies on this Cont't, w'ch to me, appears obvious, it has been a constant Trade to Lewisburg. Mr. Braddock designs to be in Act'n as soon as possible, but the Carriage of the

Ordinance Stores, &c., over the Mount's appears to me to be difficult, and I fear attended with great Delays, tho' S'r Jno. St. Clair thinks otherways. I am sorry to inform You y't I think New York has been very neglectful of the Six Nat's, and I fear the Fr. have really got some of them over and others wavering, for not building some Forts in their Co'try and pay'g for some Lands they claim and possessed by the N. York People. A Trifle w'd have pleased them. New Engl. appears sanguine and in earnest to defeat the Fr. Measures. I wish I c'd write Y'r L'dship the same of the other Colonies, but I now hope Gen'l Braddock will form things on a better foundation y'n formerly. The cutting the Fr. Communicat'n from Canada to Mississippi is the only Thing they must have in View, and I do not see any impracticability in doing of it, and y't done will ensure all our Colonies and distress the Fr. in the most sensible Manner, and all these Things might easily be effected if the obdurate Hearts of the English Subjects on this Cont't c'd be softened, or they properly awakened to their own Preservat'n. With't y's, I fear their Destruct'n, but now is the Time, and I much hope they will be convinced of the absolute Necessity of behav'g as B. Subjects. I have good Reason to expect a considerable Number of Catawbas and Cherokees to meet our Forces on the Ohio, unless prevented by ill-natured Insinuations. To be sure, the Gov'r of So. Car. has acted with much Imprudence. I am mighty glad Mr. Littleton is to be Gov'r of So. Car.; it gives me much Joy; he is from a good Stock, and I have no doubt will make the People happy, and discharge his Duty to King and Country with Integrity and shall have much Pleasure in correspond'g wth him. Y'r L'dship may guess the great Joy I have in hav'g Y'r Approbat'n of my Conduct and Zeal for the pres't Expedi't'n, and I always had a Depend'ce on Y'r L'd's Countenance and Support, and the Hon'r of y't made me ever Cautious in my Conduct, and I know my own Heart, I cannot deviate from the Rules of Hon'r and Integrity, unless by a mistaken Judgm't, w'ch I shall always endeavour to bring right. And I h'bly desire to assure Your Lordship, with the greatest Gratitude and true Sense of Y'r Favours and Patronage,

I rem'n, Rt. Hon., Y'r L'd's

much obliged and most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DOBBS.

Feb'y 27th, 1755.

SIR :

I have the Pleasure to acquaint You y't Gen'l Braddock came to my Ho. last Sunday Night, and he expects the forces from Irel'd in a Fortnight. He has formed the Virg'a Forces as follows: Two Compa's of Carpenters, chose from the whole; four Compa's of Rangers, and one Compa. of light Horse, and w't may rem'n and are suitable, are to Augm't the two Regim'ts from Irel'd. He has been so busy since he came here that he has not fully fix'd the Gen'l Plan of Operat's, but in Discourse with him I find it will be very proper, and pretty much on the Scheme we talk'd of when [you were] here. He is (I think) a very fine Officer, and a sencible, considerate Gent. I wish Y'r Son with his Co'y was arrived. I send You a Packet from Mr. Abercrombie, to w'ch please be referred for News. Pray send the Express immediately forward for So. Carolina, and he may call on You in his Return. Being very much hurried, I cannot enlarge, but y't I rem'n, with very great Respect,

Y'r Ex's most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR GLEN.

Feb'y 27th, 1755.

SIR :

I refer You to my last Let'r of the 8th Curr't. Y's is to advise You of the Arrival of Gen'l Braddock, Com'd'r in Chief of all His M'y's Forces on y's Cont't, and y't the two Regim'ts from Irel'd are expected in a Fortnight, so y't I hope the Gen'l will take the Field and begin his March some Time next Mo. Pray God [to] give the desired Success. The Gen'l Writes You by this Express, and he Says there is an Officer in one of Y'r Compa's, the name of Shaw, who he wants to come here. It will be service to y't Gent'n, and very agreeable to the Gen'l if he is sent hither with all possible Expedition. The Operations the Gen'l proposes are very just, tho' not yet fully concluded on. The Forces of this Dom'n are formed into Co's,

and the necessary Cha's and Subsist'ce will soon exhaust the Supplies granted by our Assembly, and am sorry our neighbouring Colonies are so backw'd in an Affair of so great Consequence to the Nat'n and the British Dom'ns on this Cont't. I am greatly hurried, so y't I cannot enlarge, but y't I am

Y'r Ex's most humble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR MORRIS.

Feb'y 28th, 1755.

SIR:

This Minute I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 10th Feb'y, as I did Y'r former last Week. I rec'd Mr. Norris's²⁷⁰ Let'r to You, w'ch appears to me very evasive. The Supply of Flour I wrote You ab't, is for His M'y's Forces daily expected from Irel'd, Gen'l Braddock being now with me, and I presume their first Attempt will be to rout the Fr. from that Fort they built on the Ohio, w'ch Mr. Hamilton, Y'r predecessor, believed to be on the Lands belong'g to Your Proprietors. If y't is so, pray w't objection can there be to supply the Forces with Flour, who are engaged to drive the Enemy from Y'r frontiers, unless intended to perplex; in short, to refuse any Supplies? Surely their Conduct, w'n properly represented, will appear y't they are bad Subjects, and disobedient to H. M'y's Com'ds; the Consequence thereof they may easily conceive; but the Flour, if possible, must be had, and if sent from Y'r Place to Winchester, w'ch is a Waggon Road, will answer. I write a short Let'r to Mr. Allen on the Head, but impatiently expect the Return of my last Express. I have not Time to add, but to desire You to send a fresh Express to N. York with the Let's he will deliver You, and Mr. Delancey must forward them with a fresh Express for Boston. I am with very great Respect,

S'r, Y'r most h'ble Serv't.

²⁷⁰ Isaac Norris, son of Isaac Norris, who emigrated to Philadelphia from Jamaica; married a daughter of Governor Lloyd, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; died June 3, 1735. The son, a member of the Assembly, succeeded his father as Chief Justice; Speaker of the Assembly in 1755, in which year he, Evan Morgan, Joseph Fox, James Pemberton and others, were appointed commissioners to borrow and disburse £5,000. He declined reelection to the Assembly in September, 1759..

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GENERAL BRADDOCK.

Feb'y 27th, [1755].

SIR:

I desire You will please to appoint an Officer to form the Virg'a Forces into Companies agreeable to Y'r Plan. From
Y'r Ex's most h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ.

Feb'y 28th, [1755.]

SIR:

I just now rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 10th. Gen'l Braddock is now here, and he daily expects the Forces from Irel'd, and great Dependence for their Supply is on the 600,000 w't of Flour I formerly wrote about. The Express I sent to You the 15th, not being ret'd, leaves me in doubt whether You c'd comply with my Proposal therein, of remitting You Bills of Excha. for to re-imburse Y'r Advance. Winchester is now proposed for the Magazine of Provis's, &c. There is a Waggon Road from Y'r Place to it. Can You engage Quantities of Flour to be delivered there, and the Price? If You have engag'd any Quantities from Cumberl'd Co'ty, it will so far reduce the Qu'ty to be sent to Winchester. The Commissary at the Camp had 2,000£ in Specie to pay w't Quantities of Provis's might be bro't there. I sent You my object'n to the Purchase at the Head of the Bay, and I now hope You will be able to purchase with You a Qu'ty to be d'd as above. I am greatly hurried, but on return of my former Express shall write You more fully; in the mean Time, I hope You will excuse the Freedom I take, and the Trouble I give You.

I am, most Sincerely,

S'r, Y'r most humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR DELANCEY.

Feb'y 28th, 1755.

SIR:

This will acqu't You of the Arrival of Gen'l Braddock, and the Forces from Irel'd are daily expected and I hope they will

take the Field some Time next Mo., w^{ch} I hope will raise the Spirits of the Six Nat's to take up the Hatchet in earnest. The Treaty of Neutrality between the Commiss'rs of Ind'n Affairs at Albany with the Cognawaga Ind's, is look'd on here as done with a Lucrative View to the Com'rs, and probably may extend to other Tribes of Ind's and produce Consequences on the pres't Expedit'n, and therefore judge y't no Neutrality can be eligible at this Time. I thank You for the enclosed Informat'n. The Fr., as usual, have stuffed their Speech to the Ind's with Inconsistent Falsehoods; however, I hope the Campaign of y's Summer will open the Eyes of the Ind's and convince the Enemy y't we are not always to rem'n inactive after their unjust Insults and Invasions. The two Hostages the Fr. had at the Meadows were sent to Quebecque, vizt., Capts. Robt. Stobo and Jacob Vanbraam. I rec'd a Let'r from them this Week desiring a Cr. to furnish them with Necessaries on Mr. Cornelius Ceculer, Merch't at Albany. If You will please to direct that Gent. to supply them with 50£, Y'r Curr'cy, that, with the £5, is. for the Belt of Wampum, shall be paid by—Hon'ble Sir,

Y'r very h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Mar. 1st, 1755.

SIR:

Last Sunday Gen'l Braddock came to my House and says we may very soon expect the Forces from Irel'd. I sh'd have immediately sent You an Express on his Arrival, but was willing to delay till I had some Conversat'n with him. After the Transports arrive, he proposes going for Alex'a, from thence shall send You an Express. I sent one this Morn'g to the No'w'd. The Gen'l has desir'd Gov'r Shirley to meet him at Annapolis to concert the Plan for the Operat's. S'r Jno. is gone to W. Creek to review the Independents and the Recruits raised for this Province, and to form them into Companies. I considered You w'd be much engag'd with Y'r Assembly, and I hope they have voted You a handsome Supply, as I propose wait'g on the Gen'l in Alexa'a, w'n I shall be glad in Person to assure y't I am

Y'r Ex's most obe'd't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD FAIRFAX.

Mar. 7th, [1755].

MY LORD:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 21st Ult'o. I am sorry the People in Frederick and Hampshire are not armed according to Law. Y'r L'ds. knows they are subject to Fines in not comply'g with the Law, and y't those Fines w'd in one Year provide them with Arms. If they enlist I shall provide them, but as they are Y'r Tenants, You must be sensible it's not eligible for me to provide them with Arms to defend Y'r Property. I am sorry the Clerks do not reside in their Counties, or the Lawyers, w'ch I cannot remedy, unless You recomend Persons resid'g in them. If You can point out a Method to bring Your Courts to more Regularity, it shall be comply'd with; and as they are hon'd with Y'r being their Lieut't, I think it is with You to bring them into better Order, w'ch will meet with my hearty Concurrence. Only two of the Transports are yet arrived. Gen'l Braddock is now at Hampton, and will very soon go from this [place] for Alex'a. My kind Complim'ts to Mr. Martin, and I am, with great Respect,

Y'r L'd's most ob'd't humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL INNES.

Mar. 7th, [1755].

SIR:

I rec'd Y'rs of the 21st Ult'o, and as S'r Jno. St. Clair will probably be With You before y's, I must refer You to him. I sent Y'r former Let's to Carolina forw'd some Time since, and shall soon write the Gov'r the Reasons for Y'r Remaining at the Camp. My Money is exhausted, hav'g p'd to Mr. Dick 2,000£ last Week. Calender was to deliver the Horses at the Camp, and on produc'g a Receipt he has my Obligat'n to pay him, and if he does not Comply I must order a Prosecut'n, and the same for Perkins. The Flour from Phila'a will come dear; but as there is a Waggon Road from thence to Winchester, it's tho't Proper to make y't Place the Magazine, and I have wrote

Mr. Allen accordingly, but have not rec'd his Answer. I am much hurried, and must therefore leave off, assur'g You I am with Respect,

Y'r affect. Friend, &c.

P. S.—Gen'l Braddock I expect y's Night from Hampton, two of the Transports being arrived.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO COLONEL STEPHEN.

Mar. 7, 1755.

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 27th Ult'o. Sir J. St. Clair is gone to review the Men, and from w't I hear, I am sorry to think there will be many rejected, w'ch will greatly reduce their Numb'r. I took proper Care to have You the eldest Capt'n, so y't You will now have no Trouble but with Y'r own Compa. The Cloth'g for the Men I daily expect from Engl'd, and [it] shall be immediately sent up after arrival. As for their Pây, they must rem'n easy till Ap'l, w'n no doubt they will be p'd up to y't Time. Mr. Dick had all the Money, and some to spare. You may argue with them, "If hired by any Gent. in the Co'try they w'd be p'd but once a Year, and not so well fed," therefore they must rem'n satisfied till Ap'l, when I hope the Treasurer will have sufficient to pay them to y't Time. S'r Jno. will give orders about Val. Sevier's Men, and Painter must be prosecuted for harbour'g them in his House. Y'r Acc'ts are with the Clerk of the Committee. Being in [a] Hurry,

I am, Sir, Y'r F., &c.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO DR. ALEXANDER COLHOUN.

Mar. 7th, [1755].

SIR:

I rec'd Y'r Let'r of the 21st Ult'o. The Sec'y of War wrote me he intended to send You a Chest of Medicines, but did not direct them to my Care, but there were two Chests went from

y's [place] with the Cloth'g, one whereof I believe belongs to Y'r Compa. I p'd the Freight of the whole from y's to Alexa'a, w'ch Capt. Demore and You must repay me. The Freight from Engl'd is usually p'd at Home. I suppose these two Chests are at Conegochege, and hope You will receive them w'n the Cloth'g comes to the Camp, and I desire to know if You have, agreeable to the above, rec'd them; if not, I shall make further Enquiry. I am, with Respect,

Sir, Y'r most humble serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR SHARPE.

Mar. 10th, 1755.

SIR:

Y'r Favo. of the 27th Ult'o I rec'd. I wrote You by Mr. Wolstonholm, but I observe You had not rec'd it. I sh'd have wrote you on the Gen'l's Arrival, but was desirous to know his Intentions of going for Alex'a, w'ch he now proposes to be early next Week, where I hope to see You. I congratulate You on Y'r Assembly's voting £10,000, w'ch will be of great Service. I have ordered our Assembly to meet the 1st of May, for much more Money will be wanted to conduct the Expedit'n with a proper Spirit. Three more of the Transports are arrived at Hampton, and I expect they will all be there this Week. I have confirmed Mr. Dick's Contract for Beeves and given him Money to make good the Purchase. Pensylvania has ordered the purchase of 14,000 Bush's of Wheat, to be bolted into Flour and d—d at Conegocheek, w'ch, with the Qu'ty already engag'd, [I] am in hopes will be sufficient for Bread. I have sent to Alex'a and Fredericksb'g, 800 bls. Pork and 1,000 bls. Beef on board the Transports. I conceive, with Bacon and Butter in the back Counties, will answer for Provis's; the greatest strait we shall be under will be the want of Horses and Carriages, this is an Affair of the greatest Consequence, but must suspend saying any more till I have the Pleasure of see'g You, only to assure You y't I am with great Respect,

Y'r Ex's most humble and ob't Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO GOVERNOR MORRIS.

Mar. 10th, 1755.

SIR :

Y'r favo. of the 26th Ult'o I rec'd Yesterday. I am very glad You prevail'd with Y'r Committee for the Flour of 14,000 bush's of Wheat, to be d'd at Conegocheek. Y't is a very seasonable Supply, as y't qu'ty, with w't I have purchased, I hope will answer the Bread kind, and I hope I have salt Provis's sufficient, but must entreat You to direct the delivery of the Flour with all imaginable Expedit'n, as the Transports are mostly arrived. I hope the Gen'l will take the Field soon, and w'd gladly hope y't no Delay sh'd be on Acc't of Provis's. I hope You will see it necessary to call Y'r Assembly immediately, to endeavour with them, now the Forces from B'n are arrived, to raise a considerable Sum of Money; for if it please God to give the Gen'l Success in taking the Fort on the Ohio, it will be necessary y't a Garrison of 250 Men be left in it at the Charge of the different Colonies, not to prevent his further Designs, and y's Charge, I think, sh'd be bore by the Colonies, otherways his taking the Fort and leaving it with't a Garrison, will encourage the Fr. next Year to retake it and in course keep the Colonies in continual War; whereas, strengthen'g ourselves on the Ohio, as above, I am in hopes may prevent any further Attempts from the Fr., and protect our Frontiers. And as a great deal of Money will be wanted for y't Service, I have called our Assembly to meet the 1st of May, in hopes to prevail with them for a further supply—for 100,000 £ now, will be of more service than a Million some Years hence. The Gen'l goes for Alexa'a the Beginning of next Week, and expects Gov'r Shirley to meet him at Annapolis, and I propose waiting on him to y't Place.

I rem'n, with very great Respect,

Sir, Y'r most obed't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO WILLIAM ALLEN, ESQ'R, OF
PHILADELPHIA.

Mar. 10th, 1755.

SIR :

Your Favo. of the 25th Ult'o I rec'd Yesterday, and am rejoic'd y't Y'r Committee have at last ordered 14,000 Bush's of Wheat to be bolted into Flour and d'd at Conegocheek. Y's is a very seasonable Supply, and I expect with w't is already purchas'd, will serve our Forces for Six Mo's. I have sent up to Alexa'a and Fredericksb'g near 1,000 bls. Pork and 1,000 bls. Beef on board the Transports, with the Bacon, Butter, &c., in our frontier Counties, will make a pretty good Supply, and I have engaged 800 Beeves to be d'd at our Camp the other Side the Allegany Mount's, in the Mo's of June and July. I hope Y'r Gov'r will press the delivery of the Flour, as above, with all Expedition. As the Transports are most of them arrived, I believe the Gen'l will take the Field soon, but the want of Carriages for Ordnance Stores is w't I have much in Tho'ts. I have ordered 16 Waggons to be built, but we shall want 100. Can we be supplied from Y'r Colony? Much Money will still be wanted. Suppose the Gen'l succeed in taking the Fort, it will be proper to have a sufficient Garrison left in it (to prevent his being retarded in proceeding to Niagara, &c.); that Garrison must be at the Charge of the different Colonies. I therefore hope Y'r Gov'r will immediately call Y'r Assembly, and y't they will vote a considerable Sum. I have ordered our Assembly to meet the 1st of May on the same Subject, for there is nothing more necessary y'n acting now with Spirit, and the tenth Part of the Money will do more now y'n a large Sum next Year. The Behaviour of Y'r Quakers and Germans is intolerable,²⁷¹ and am sorry they give me the Opp'ty of represent'g them to the Ministry in their proper Colours, and I suppose may

²⁷¹ A MS. pamphlet, supposed to have been written by Samuel Wharton in 1755, says that the party on the side of the Friends derive much of their influence over the Germans, through Christian Sower, who published a German paper in Germantown. Through this man, says he, they have persuaded them there was a design to enslave—to enforce their young men [by a contemplated militia law] to become soldiers, and to load them with taxes, etc.—*Watson's Annals* ii, pp. 255-6.

be attended with some Alterations in Y'r Constitut'n, but w'd gladly hope at y's Period they may be prevailed on to vote a large Sum. I am in hopes w'n our Forces get the other Side of the Allegany y't many of the Ind's will desert from the Fr., and I expect a good Number of Cherokees and Catawbias will join us. What may be expected from the Six Nat's? I fear the N. York Colony has not managed well with these People. You know Washington's Conduct was in many Steps wrong, and did not conform to his Orders from me, or he had not engaged till the other Forces had joined him. However, now I am in great Hopes something essential may be done if the Colonies join with Spirit in strengthening the Gen'l's Hands, and not to be parcimonious. The Money raised by N. York sh'd be put into a Gen'l Fund for driving the Fr. from H. M'y's Lands; after y't, to repair Y'r Forts, &c. I shall wait on the Gen'l to Annapolis, where he expects to meet Gov'r Shirley, to consult the General Plan of Operations, and I doubt not Niagara will be greatly the Object of their Consultat's, as I think y't Fort to be of the greatest Consequ'ce. If I live to see the Fr. drove off the B—h Lands and confined to their Bounds in Canada, it will fully answer any Trouble I have had about them. I thank you for the Trouble I have given You, and for Y'r Offer of Service hereafter, w'ch is very kind. Pray favo. me with a Letter to Annapolis, describ'g the Wensh Ferry Carriage for convey'g Provis's, &c., over the Mount's. The heavy Guns of 4,000 lbs. will require great Care and Labour to get them over, tho' the Number of Engineers now here may be supposed well qualified for such Work. Excuse the length of this Letter, and be assur'd I rem'n with great Esteem and Regard,

Sir, Y'r most ob'd't h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.

Mar. 17th, 1755.

R'T HON.:

My last was by His M'y's Ship Gibraltar; since y't, Gen'l Braddock arrived here, and last Week, all the Transports, except one. The Forces on b'd are in good Health and high spirits, not one Person sick. The Transports with them are

ordered immediately for Alexa'a, for w^{ch} Place I set out with the Gen'l To-morrow. He inclines to have an Interview with Gov'r Shirley at Annapolis in M^yl'd. An Express was accordingly sent to him the 1st of y's Month. I presume at this Meet'g a Plan of Operat's will be agreed on, as I shall attend the Gen'l there; on my return I shall write You fully. I have been closely employ'd in providing Provisions for the Forces, and I think there is sufficient for six or eight Mo's for the whole. The only Difficulty is providing Carriages for the Ordnance Stores, &c., but as I hope by Diligence we shall be able to surmount y't, tho' the passing the Allegany Mount's will be troublesome, but those better acquaint'd with these Things y'n I am, seem to make light of it. If our neighbouring Colonies had been equally obed't to His M^y's Com'ds as y's Dom'n, how soon c'd we have drove the Fr. from the Ohio; but they continue obstinate and blind to their own Preservat'n. Money is wanted, I therefore have ordered the Assembly of y's Colony to meet the 1st Day of May, to endeavour to get a further Aid, but I much fear the Supineness of the other Colonies will be a great Hindrance to me, our People declaiing their Backwardness to grant any further Supplies, as the other Colonies will look on them as Dupes to the whole, by assisting the Expedit'n with Chearfulness, while the others rem'n Indolent and passive, tho' in equal Danger with Us, but I shall endeavour all in my Power to palliate y's objection. I inclose You a Copy of a Let'r sent me by the Gov'r of N. York, contain'g a Speech of the Gov'r of Quebec to the Six Nat's, by w^{ch} You'll please observe w't false Insinuat's he Uses to delude the poor Ignorant People to their Int't. I wish the N. York Gov't had been more assiduous in retain'g these People. If properly informed, a little Money applied for the Payment of some Lands settled by the Subjects of N. York, w^{ch} they claim, w'd have fixed them to our Int't, and now I do not despair of their declaring themselves, w'n they see our regular Troops, in our Favo. And I have strong hopes w'n Gen'l Braddock gets other Side of the Allegany y't he will be able to do w't is expected from him. The Forces I raised in y's Dom'n, the Gen'l has formed as follows: Two Compa's of Carpenters; Six Co's of Rangers, and a Comp'y of Light Horse, w^{ch} Disposition I think very prudent, and will be of great Use. I shall with great assiduity do every Thing in my Power for His M^y's Service and his Dom's on y's Cont't.

I beg leave to assure You y't I rem'n with Deference and Respect,

R't Hon., Y'r most obed't and faithful h'ble Serv't.

¶ Capt. Randolph.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO THE LORDS OF TRADE.

Mar. 17th, 1755.

R'T HON.:

Inclosed You have Copy of my last by His M'y's Ship Gibraltar, to w'ch I pray to be referred. Since y't, Gen'l Braddock arrived here the latter end of Feb'y, and last Week all the Transports, excepting one, arrived at Hampton in Ja's River. The Forces on board are all in good Health, and not one Person sick, w'ch I observe as an agreeable Presage to our Success in driving the French from the Ohio. The Gen'l ordered the Transports immediately to Alexa'a, and To-morrow I set out with him to y't Place; he thinks proper of having an Interview with Gov'r Shirley. I accordingly sent an Express to him the 1st of y's Mo.; he is to meet us at Annapolis, in M'yl'd, where I presume the Plan of Operations will be established, and on my return to y's, I shall write Y'r Lordships. If the Northern Colonies had been as earnest and ready to grant Supplies as Y's Dom'n, I am convinced the Expedit'n w'd have been conduct'd with great Spirit. But Pensylva'a, the most populous, and I think, the richest Province on y's Cont't, have not granted any Aid of either Men, Money or Provis's till lately. By my repeated Let's, they have at last Order'd us some Flour. The other Colonies have also been very backward y't I am greatly in want of Money. I have, therefore, ordered our Assembly to meet the first of May, to endeavour to get them to vote a further Supply, but I fear the Remissness of the other Colonies will [be] a very great Bar to me in preavailing with our Legislature to grant further Aid. I have been very much engaged in providing Provis's, and have a proper Qu'ty ready, y't I have great hopes y't y's Summer's Campaign will fully answer the End of Gen'l Braddock's coming here. The want of Carriages and Horses appears to be the greatest Obstacle, as a great No. will be necessary. I have secured pretty many, and hope by Diligence to provide more, and every Thing in my Power shall be done with Chearfulness and Assiduity. I have laid an Embargo

on Provis's as a Precedent for the other Colonies, to prevent the Fr. being supplied therewith, tho' I verily believe there is none carried from y's Colony. The Gen'l has wrote to the different Colonies to lay an Embargo on Provis's. I have the Hon'r to assure You y't I am, with h'ble Respects,

Y'r L'd's most obed't faithful h'ble Serv't.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE TO LORD HALIFAX.

Mar. 17th, 1755.

R'T HON.:

My last to You was the 24th Ult'o by His M'y's Ship Gibraltar, to w'ch I beg leave to be referred. Since y't I have the Pleasure to acquaint You y't the Transports, except'g one, arrived here last Week. The Forces are all in good Health, and they are ordered to proceed in the Transports for Alexa'a, to w'ch Place I set out To-morrow to accompany Gen'l Brad-dock. He tho't it necessary to have an Interview with Gov'r Shirley, and has sent an Express for him to meet him at Annapolis, in M'yl'd, where I shall accompany him, and I expect they will fully settle the Plan of Operat's. I gave my Opinion freely to the Gen'l y't one of the Regim'ts raised in N. Eng'd sh'd march and attack the Fort at Niagara, and the Gen'l to attack y't on the Ohio, w'ch, if he succeeded, may march his Men to Lake Erie (after leaving a proper Garrison in the Fort at Ohio), and his Forces may join those raised to the No'w'd, and attack their strong Garrison at Crown Point. I am further of Opinion y't N. York sh'd reinforce ye Fort at Oswego with at least 400 Men, for undoubtedly if the Fr. find we are determin'd to attack them at Niagara and the Ohio they will endeavor to get Oswego into their Hands. These are my Sentim'ts, w'ch I communicate to You only. Probably Mr. Shirley may have something better to offer, but on my return shall write You their Determinat'n. How easy is it to drive the Fr. from His M'y's Lands if the Colonies w'd join as one Man to grant Supplies of Men and Provis's; but unhappy it is y't our Neighbours continue still indolent and unactive for their own Preservat'n and disob'd't to H. M'y's Com'ds, as Y'r L'ds. no doubt will be informed from the different Gov'rs of their Con-

duct. I shall not now trouble You with my Observat's on them. I have with great Care and infinite Trouble provided Provis's sufficient (I think) for the whole Forces for near 8 Mo's; but my Cash is almost all exhausted. I therefore have called our Assembly to meet the 1st Day of May, w'n I shall with all my Int't endeavour to get a further Supply, but the refractoriness of our Neighbours will be a very great Bar to my Endeavours, as the People here think the other Colonies want to make Dupes of them by loading y's Dom'n with all the expence of Supplies, while they remain unactive in not supplying either Men, Money or Provis's. By my Let's to Pensylva'a they have at last condescended to supply us with some flour, y't Colony I esteem the richest and most populous Province on y's Con't and the most backward on y's Expedit'n tho' equally concerned in the Danger with y's Dom'n; however, I shall not desist doing all in my Power with our Assem'y. I communicate my Acts and Tho'ts to Y'r L'ds. in a very free Manner, hoping w't You may think amiss, y't You will pass it over, as the whole is from a real Zeal for His M'y's Service and the Good of these Colonies, and I have sanguine Hopes y't y's Summer's Campaign will effect w't Gen'l Braddock is sent to perform. His M'y has been pleased to send me his Warr't to remit the Ballance y't may hereafter be due on the 2s. $\frac{1}{2}$ Hhd. Revenue rec'd here, to replace the £20,000 sent me, w'ch I shall do; the Rec'r Gen'l settles y't Acc't next Month. That Revenue was the only Fund I had to call on in an Emergency of Gov't and c'd have wished it had been suspended the touching it during y's Expedit'n; however, the Royal Mandat shall be duly comply'd with.

I beg leave to assure Y'r L'ds. y't I am with great Deference and due Respects,

R't Hon., Y'r most obliged and faithful h'ble Serv't.



